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**HISTORY OF  
MODERN  
EUROPE  
SINCE 1789**

**V. D. MAHAJAN**



## PREFACE TO THE FIFTH EDITION

I am grateful to all those who have patronised this book. This gives me the satisfaction that my labours have been well appreciated by the people concerned. I have revised the book thoroughly and added some material at various places with a view to add to the utility of the book. A few maps and illustrations have also been added with the same object.

A study of the history of Europe is very important for the people of India, particularly at this juncture. This study will show that every free nation has always to face difficulties and dangers from various quarters and no free nation can survive which refuses or fails to face those challenges. A continuous conflict goes on in the world and it is foolish for any nation to believe in peace and act upon the same. If it insists on pursuing that policy in spite of warnings and set-backs, it is bound to disappear altogether as a free and independent country. A country that ignores the growth of a forceful army to defend its frontiers, becomes the laughing stock of the world.

Not only leaders of our country but its people can learn a lot from the experiences of European states which have suffered terribly in defence of their liberty and freedom. We should devote more study to the march of events in Europe so that we are awakened to a sense of realities of life and are ready to adjust our doctrinaire approach to politics so that we do not suffer again in future.

III-M/10,  
Lajpat Nagar,  
New Delhi-14

VIDYA DHAR MAHAJAN

## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

It gives me great pleasure to put this book in the hands of students preparing for various Universities and competitive examinations in India. I have left no stone unturned to make the book as useful as possible. Full advantage has been taken of my experience of teaching this paper to my students for more than two decades.

Suggestions for the improvement of the book will be welcomed.

III M/10,  
Lajpat Nagar,  
New Delhi-14.  
30th June, 1959

VIDYA DHAR MAHAJAN



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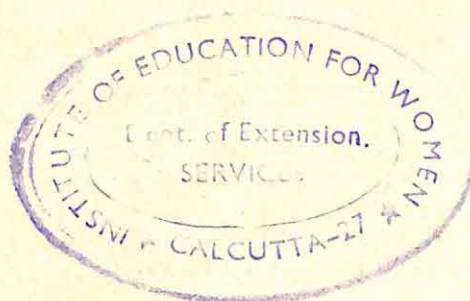
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***Dedicated to***  
***Prof. J. F. Bruce***  
***Who Taught me European History***





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## CHAPTER I

### EUROPE ON THE EVE OF FRENCH REVOLUTION

With the outbreak of the French Revolution, "*European history merges into the history of one nation, one event and one man ; the nation is France, the event is the French Revolution and the man is Napoleon.*" However, before we deal with the French Revolution itself, it is desirable to refer to the condition of Europe on the eve of that great event in European history.

Generally speaking, Europe was organised aristocratically. This was true not only in the case of monarchies but also in the case of Republics. The Republic of Venice was governed by an oligarchy and the same was the case with Switzerland. Even in England where Parliament was strong, the power rested not with the people but with the landed aristocracy. Parliament itself was controlled by big landlords. The man in the street still did not count. If this was true of England, the same was the case in other European countries like Austria-Hungary, Prussia, Russia, France, Spain, Poland, etc. In most of the European countries, the rulers were despots although during the 18th century they were called enlightened despots. The people had no hand in the administration of their country. They did not enjoy any personal liberty and everything depended upon the whims of the rulers. Serfdom prevailed almost everywhere in Europe.

European rulers at that time were dishonest and unprincipled. International morality reached its lowest ebb during the 18th century. A man like Frederick, the Great, did not hesitate to annex Silesia in spite of his promises to Charles VI, the father of Maria Theresa. Russia, Prussia and Austria conspired among themselves to put an end to the very existence of Poland. There was a general craze for territorial expansion at the expense of the weaker neighbours. "No consideration was paid to race limits or national boundaries." According to Prof. Holland Rose, "That respect of dynastic rights and treaty obligations which generally held sway when Christendom was more than a name, now gave place to a state policy which avowedly aimed at little else but gain of territory or markets." According to Prof. Hazen, "The old regime in Europe was disloyal to the very principles on which it rested" and those principles were respect for the established order and regard for regality and engagements.

All over Europe there were privileged classes which were completely or partially exempted from taxation and the burden of taxation fell on the unprivileged classes. The rich paid less to the state and the main burden fell on the poor. European society was organised on a feudal basis and the landlords acted like petty sovereigns in their localities. The serfs were attached to the land and most of the proceeds from land went into the pockets of the landlords. The condition of the serfs was miserable. To quote,



"The great sub-structure of European society was an unhappy, unfree, unprotected, undeveloped mass of human beings, to whom an opportunity for growth and improvement was closed on every side." While a few enjoyed privileges, the others suffered. Inequality in every field weakened the very foundations of the social system. There was hardly any awakening among the masses of Europe and thus the system continued.

As regards the religious condition of Europe, Western and Central Europe were roughly divided between a Protestant North and a Roman Catholic South. In the Centre, people of Switzerland and Savoy were Protestants. The people of Ireland and Poland were Catholics. In Eastern Europe, the Orthodox or Greek Church held sway over Russia and the Balkans. The Jews were found all over Europe. In some places, they were tolerated, while at others persecuted.

Europe was not free from religious strife but religious toleration was making headway. It was felt that persons of different faiths could be the loyal subjects of the state. The growth of humanitarianism also played its part. The spread of the spirit of scientific inquiry made for tolerance. There was the decline of dogmatic religion.

The Roman Catholic Church was attacked and its position was weakened. In 1763 was published a book entitled *On the Present State of the Church and the Lawful Authority of the Roman Pontiff*. This was written by a Roman Catholic bishop. It denied the authority of the Pope over the bishops. Joseph II was influenced by this book and he made the Church subordinate to his authority.

The Pope was forced to modify the famous Bill of 1713 against the Janerists in France. In 1759, the Jesuits were turned out from Portugal. In 1764, their Order was suppressed in France. In 1767, they were expelled from Spain, Sicily and Parma. In 1773, the Pope abolished the Order of the Jesuits. The Jesuits got protection only in Russia and Prussia.

**Germany.** As regards the political condition of Europe, there were a large number of states which were struggling for expansion and supremacy. Germany was disunited and weak. There were more than 360 sovereign states and their only bond of union was their inclusion in the Holy Roman Empire. The Holy Roman Emperor came from Austria-Hungary from the last many centuries. There was an Imperial Diet to regulate the internal affairs of the Holy Roman Empire, but it was not strong enough to accomplish anything. Voltaire pointed out that the Holy Roman Empire was neither *Holy* nor *Roman* nor an *Empire*. The affairs of Germany were controlled by Austria and Prussia and both of them were the deadly enemies of each other.

**Prussia.** As regards Prussia, its prestige had been raised very high during the reign of Frederick, the Great, who ruled from 1740 to 1786. It was he who captured Silesia and in spite of the efforts to Maria Theresa during the War of Austrian Succession and



the Seven Years' War to get back the same, Frederick was able to retain it notwithstanding heavy odds. Although Catherine, the Great, wanted to annex the whole of Poland herself, Frederick persuaded Austria to join hands with him to force Russia to give them a part of the spoils. The result was that when the first partition of Poland took place in 1772, Frederick was able to get West Prussia as a part of his share. With the help of West Prussia, Frederick was able to link up East Prussia with the rest of his territories and thereby establish the territorial continuity of Prussia. Frederick also prevented Austria from acquiring Bavaria by exchanging it with the Austrian Netherlands or Belgium. He also formed the *Frustenband* or the League of German Princes with a view to putting a check on the power of Austria in Germany. Frederick was absolutely unscrupulous in his dealings with other countries. He followed a policy of expediency and it was explained by him in these words : "*Take what you can ; you are never wrong unless you are obliged to give back.*"

"If there is anything to be gained by being honest, honest we will be ; and if it is necessary to deceive, let us be scoundrels." Regarding the conquest of Silesia, he observed thus : "My soldiers were ready, my purse was full." Again, "Silesia was that part which was most useful to the House of Brandenburg."

As regards his home policy, Frederick promoted the material resources of the country. He improved agriculture by draining marshes. He constructed new canals. He encouraged industries by giving subsidies. He worked day and night to bring about the material prosperity of his country. He followed a policy of religious toleration and was prepared to allow even the Turks to come to Prussia if they could add to the prosperity of his country.

When Frederick died at the age of 74, he left behind him a kingdom which was nearly double in size with a population more than doubled. He considered himself as a first servant of the state. However, he always thought more of Prussia and not of Germany. He considered the German language as a "Jargon devoid of every grace." In spite of that, he was regarded throughout Germany as a great national hero and he captured the imagination of the people of Germany in the same way as Luther had done before.

Frederick did not rule Europe or the whole world, but he was the most celebrated king of his time. His principles and methods of "enlightened despotism" were admired and copied by half the rulers of his day. When he died, a peasant pronounced his epitaph in these words : "*Who is now to rule the world ?*"

After the death of Frederick, the Great, in 1786 Frederick William II came to the throne. He was a man of feeble intellect and vacillating nature. He was opposed to both Austria and Russia. When the French Revolution broke out in 1789, Prussia was interested more in the affairs of Poland than those of France.

**Austria-Hungary.** The Habsburgs ruled in Austria-Hungary. Their Emperor was also the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.



However, this state was not very strong because the territories were scattered and there were people of many nationalities within the Empire. There was no solidarity on account of their racial, religious and linguistic differences. The bond of union between the Bohemians, Hungarians, Netherlands, Milanese and Austrians was a very weak one.

Maria Theresa was the ruler of Austria from 1740 to 1780. She was a woman of lofty character and high spirits. She was one of the greatest women rulers of modern times, comparable to Queen Victoria of England. Her husband was the Emperor but she was the real ruler. She was kind, generous and beautiful. She was loved by Germans, Magyars, and Slavs. All of her subjects thronged to kiss her hand at the palace on New Year's Day. She was an able ruler and vigorous reformer. It was she who made the Austrian army march in step for the first time. Even Frederick, the Great, admitted that her measures were worthy of a man. It is true that she lost Silesia to Prussia but she left no stone unturned to recover the same. She had her share of the partitioning of Poland.

She was succeeded by **Joseph II** who became the Holy Roman Emperor in 1765 after the death of his father. He inherited the dominions of the House of Austria in 1780 on the death of his mother. He was a typical enlightened despot. He was industrious and conscientious. He worked day and night for the improvement of his people. His object was to unite all the dominions of the House of Austria by abolishing all differences of race, language and religion. He aimed at welding together the various races of his Empire into one Austrian Nation. He abolished the old territorial divisions and redivided the whole of his Empire into 13 provinces. Each province was put under a military commander. Provinces were divided into districts and towns and a uniform system of government was set up in all of them. German was declared to be the official language all over the Empire. The judicial system was overhauled. A uniform code of law was prescribed for the whole country and the people were guaranteed equality before law, freedom of press and religious toleration. He founded a large number of schools. He abolished all privileges of the nobles and the clergyman and everyone was required to pay a tax of 13 per cent on his land. He tried to bring the Church under the control of the state and lessen the control of the Pope. The control of the clergymen in educational field was lessened. He practically abolished serfdom within his Empire.

However, his reforms were carried out in a hurry, unmindful of the sentiments and traditions of the people. The people were not ready for those reforms. Joseph II boasted that he had made *philosophy the architect of his Empire*, but doing so he committed a blunder. He ought to have known that philosophical ideas rarely find a place in the practical life of the people. It was impossible to force the people to rise to the high ideals which were set for them by the genius of Joseph II. The result was that all his reforms failed. His attempts to consolidate his Empire almost brought about its dissolution. The Empire of Austria-Hungary was a polyglot Empire and it was impossible to



Joseph II was trying to do the impossible, and no wonder he failed. However, he had the courage to cancel all his reforms before his death. To quote, "In the most courageous act of the reformer's career, he decreed the revocation of his entire work."

It is said about Joseph II that "he does not know how to eat or drink or amuse himself or to read anything but official reports." In spite of that he failed because, as Frederick said, "he took the second step before he took the first." Joseph himself suggested the following for his epitaph, "Here lies a prince who, with the best of intentions, failed in all he attempted."

Reference may be made to the foreign policy of Joseph II. The main object of his foreign policy was to re-establish the supremacy of the Habsburgs in Germany and also to readjust the boundaries of his Empire. Joseph II co-operated with Prussia in the first partition of Poland to prevent Russia from annexing the whole of Poland. Along with Russia, and Prussia, Joseph II got a share of the spoils. He was also able to get Bukovina from the Turks. He forced Holland to give up the barrier fortresses which were allowed to be garrisoned by her by the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713. He unsuccessfully tried to throw open the river Scheldt. He entered into an alliance with Russia to check the growing influence of Prussia. He tried to exchange the Austrian Netherlands with Bavaria but failed to do so on account of the opposition of Prussia. He also declared war against the Turks with a view to dismembering Turkey. However, he did not succeed in his mission on account of the hostile attitude of Prussia. Prussia, England and Holland entered in a Triple Alliance to help the Turks and in 1791, Leopold II, who came to the throne of Austria in 1790, retired from the war.

The Austrian Empire was in a state of intense ferment on the eve of the French Revolution. She was not only interested in the affairs of France but was also concerned over the intrigues of Russia and Prussia in Poland. This divided attention was in the interests of the cause of the French Revolution.

**Russia.** Catherine the Great, was the ruler of Russia from 1762 to 1796. She was a very clever and crooked woman and she followed in the footsteps of Peter, the Great. She was an enlightened despot. She took pleasure in the company of the learned persons of Europe and patronised literary persons like Diderot. She set up a very efficient system of administration but otherwise did not care much for the lot of the people. No freedom was given to the people in any field and her word was law in every sphere.

Her foreign policy was directed against Poland and Turkey. The war between Russia and Turkey started in 1768. The Turks were defeated and forced to evacuate Moldavia and Wallachia. The war was ended by the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji in 1774. By this treaty, Russia got Azoff and a number of other places which gave her control over the northern shore of the Black Sea and also over the Sea of Azoff. The Black Sea was opened to Russian navigation. The independence of the Crimea was recognised. Russia was to have her Consuls in Turkey. Russian subjects were to be



allowed to visit the holy places in Palestine. Russia was given the right to interfere in the internal affairs of Turkey to protect the Greek Christian subjects of Turkey. Peace between Turkey and Russia did not last long and war was renewed in 1787. At this time, Catherine joined hands with Joseph II of Austria to dismember Turkey. Austria was forced to withdraw from the war in 1791 on account of the Triple Alliance between England, Prussia and Holland. However, Russia carried on the war alone which was ended in 1792 by the Treaty of Jassy. By this treaty, Turkey recognized the Russian annexation of Crimea. This she lost her control over the northern coast of the Black Sea up to the river Dniester.

Catherine, the Great, played the most important part in the three partitions of Poland in 1772, 1793 and 1795. Her original idea was to annex the whole of Poland but both Prussia and Austria joined hands to force her to give them a part of the spoils in 1772. As regards the partition of 1793, Austria got no share but Prussia got something. In the third partition of Poland in 1795, Russia got the lion's share, although both Prussia and Austria also got their shares. It cannot be denied that Catherine, the Great, raised the prestige of Russia in Europe. Her achievements can be summed up in her own words thus : *"I came to Russia as a poor girl ; Russia has dowered me richly, but I have paid her back with Azov, the Crimea and the Ukraine."*

**Great Britain.** The Hanoverians ruled England. In accordance with the provisions of the Act of Settlement George I ascended the throne of England in 1714 after the death of Queen Anne. He was succeeded in 1727 by his son George II who ruled up to 1760. It was during the reign of George I and George II that the Whig oligarchy ruled in England. It was during the period that the cabinet system was put on a state basis. The office of the Prime Minister came into existence under Walpole. England had to fight the Jenkin's Ear War, the War of Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War. The Seven Years' War was still in progress when George III came to the throne in 1760. He ruled up to 1820. He differed from his father and grandfather in many respects. He was born and brought up in England and glorified in that fact. From the very beginning, he was determined to set up his personal rule. Pitt, the Elder, resigned in 1761 and Lord Bute, King's own tutor acted as Prime Minister from 1761 to 1763. From 1760 to 1770, George III followed the policy of creating dissensions among the Whigs and also giving training to his own friends whom he could trust. Having accomplished this by 1760, he appointed Lord North as his Prime Minister and the latter occupied that position up to 1782. It was during this period that the dispute with English colonies in North America took a serious turn and the War of American Independence started. England was defeated and she had to recognise the Independence of the American colonies by the Treaty of Versailles of 1783. In December 1783, Pitt, the Younger was appointed Prime Minister and he held that office up to 1806 with some break. When the French Revolution broke out in 1789, Pitt, the Younger, was at the helm of affairs in England. The



Industrial Revolution and the Agrarian Revolution were making a lot of progress in England and as a result England was leading Europe in the field of agriculture and industrial production. France was destined to get the greatest amount of opposition from England.

**Poland.** Poland was a very powerful State during the 16th and 17th centuries and she was responsible for saving Vienna which was besieged by the Turks in 1683. She saved not only Germany but the whole of Europe from the danger of Turkish domination. However, she began to decline from the 18th century and her very name was removed from the map of Europe towards the end of the century. That was due to many causes.

Polish monarchy was elective and the result was that after the death of every king, there were intrigues and the neighbouring countries got an opportunity to interfere in the internal affairs of Poland. The Great Powers had their own groups in Poland which backed their interests. Those groups owed their allegiance to their foreign patrons and were prepared to subordinate the interests of their own country to those of their patrons. At the time of the election of a Polish king, the nobles of Poland managed to get a large number of concessions and this process was repeated on the occasion of the election of every king. The nobles managed to get a large number of privileges and concessions and consequently the position of the king became very weak. As a matter of fact, real power was in the hands of the nobles. Moreover, the election of foreign princes as the kings of Poland added to her difficulties. Those princes brought their own dominions along with them when they became kings of Poland and consequently Poland was unnecessarily dragged into European politics.

Another unfortunate institution of Poland was the *Liberum Veto* by which even one member of the Polish Diet had the power to veto any bill in Parliament. The result was that no legislation could be passed unless there was unanimity in the Diet. This was impossible to secure because the other Powers which were interested in the fall of Poland, could easily manage to win over a few nobles to oppose the progressive legislation in the country. The *Liberum Veto* was the most absurd thing and proved to be fatal. This gentlemen's agreement was the most stupid political instrument which could be found in any sane country. The nobles insisted on it on account of their vanity and pride, unmindful of its consequences.

There was too much inequality in Poland. While on the one side the nobles had all their privileges, the condition of the peasants was simply deplorable. The result was too much bitterness in the society. Under the circumstances, there was no solidarity in Polish society and that considerably weakened the strength of the country. Religious differences added to the difficulties of Polish patriots. The Polish Protestants were cruelly persecuted by the Catholics. Racial differences also were responsible for the lack of homogeneity in Polish society. There were many elements in Poland who looked up to foreign countries for help and support for their independence.



Unluckily, Poland had no geographical unity and the various parts of the Polish kingdom did not consider themselves as the parts of a single organism. Poland had no natural boundaries of rivers or mountains and consequently it was difficult for her to defend herself from foreigners. It was unlucky for Poland that during the second half of the 18th century some very unscrupulous persons were the rulers of the neighbouring states. Both Catherine, the Great, and Frederick, the Great, were absolutely unscrupulous in their dealings, and no wonder Poland met her doom at their hands.

Both Catherine, the Great, and Frederick, the Great, had their eyes on Poland. To begin with, they tried to exclude the House of Saxony from the throne of Poland. They got their opportunity in 1763 when Augustus III, King of Poland, died. Both Russia and Prussia put pressure on the Polish nobles and got their nominee elected. The new King of Poland was Stanislaus Poniatowski who was a great favourite of Catherine. Having put their nominee on the throne of Poland, preparations were made for the partition of the country. The patriots of Poland resented the influence of Russia and formed a League to resist the same. War started between Russia and Poland and Russia was able to break the resistance of the Poles. Frederick proposed the partition of Poland but the proposal was rejected by Catherine who wanted to have the whole of Poland for herself. However, the opportunity of Frederick came when war started between Russia and Turkey. When Austria and Prussia joined hands, Russia agreed to the partition of Poland. *The first partition took place in 1772.* By this partition, Russia got Livonia and a part of Lithuania and thus advanced up to the Duna and Dnieper. Prussia got West Prussia and Austria got Zips and Red Russia (Galicia). On the attitude of Maria Theresa, the cynical remark of Frederick, the Great, was that *"she weeps but takes all the same."*

After the first partition of 1772, Poland became dependent on Russia and for some time the patriots of Poland could do nothing on account of an alliance between Russia and Prussia. Things improved after 1781 on account of an alliance between Prussia and Austria which was more friendly to Poland than Prussia. In 1787, there started a war between Russia and Turkey. In 1788 was formed the Triple Alliance which aimed at checking the ambitions of Russia and Austria. The Polish Diet met in 1788 and decided to carry out certain reforms. Unfortunately, the work of reforms was delayed because the King of Poland was afraid of Russia and also because the Polish nobles were not in favour of reforms. Opposition came from Prussia also. According to the reforms of 1791 kingship was to be hereditary in the family of the Elector of Saxony. The Polish king was to control the army and the executive. The Liberum Veto was to be abolished. Religious toleration was to be given to all. Russia resented these reforms and decided to take action against Poland. She also encouraged Austria and Prussia to take interest in the French Revolution so that she might be able to have her own way in Poland. Prussia also gave up her friendly attitude towards Poland and no wonder the Poles resented this



change of attitude. The attitude of Austria was friendly. It was in this atmosphere that Russia attacked Poland and defeated the Poles. The latter were forced to cancel the new reforms. They got no help either from Austria or Prussia and all their resistance collapsed. *Poland was partitioned for the second time in 1793.* Austria got nothing. Russia got Eastern Poland including Minsk, Podolia, Volhynia and Little Russia and Prussia got Danzig, Thorn, Rosen, Genezen and Kalisch. Russia got four times as much territory and twice as many new subjects as Prussia. The partition revealed the shameless selfishness of the Powers and their utter distrust of one another. Austria strongly resented the partition which was made without her approval and which brought the Russian territory into touch with the Austrian dominions. The relations between Austria and Prussia were strained.

Russia strengthened her position in Poland and the king of Poland became a mere agent of the Russian Minister at Warsaw. The Poles resented the partition and secret societies were set up to regain their independence and carry out the necessary reforms. In 1794, Russia demanded the disbandment of the Polish troops, but that demand was rejected. There were revolts and the Russians were turned out from many places in Poland. Russia attacked Poland and defeated her. All opposition was crushed. It was then that the *third partition of Poland took place in 1795.* According to it, Russia got the land between Galicia and the Lower Duna covering about 2,000 sq. miles of territory. Austria got Cracow and the rest of Galicia and her share included about 1,000 sq. miles of territory in all. Prussia received Warsaw and the land between Bug and the Dnieper, about 700 sq. miles of territory in all. By a treaty of January 1797, Russia, Prussia and Austria asserted "the necessity of abolishing everything which may recall the memory of the existence of the kingdom of Poland."

According to Guedalla, the partitioning of Poland was the most shameless and barren act of European diplomacy. It was shameless because it was against the canons of international morality and justice. It was barren because it brought no strength to those countries which received their shares of spoils. The Poles never reconciled themselves to the partition of their country and continued their struggle relentlessly till they got their freedom in the 20th century. The Polish territories in the possession of Russia, Prussia and Austria remained free undigested fragments in three stomachs. The partition of Poland was "a vast national crime". However, the interference of the Great Powers in the affairs of Poland helped the cause of the French Revolution. France was able to maintain her independence because her enemies were divided on the question of Poland and consequently could not take any concerted action against her.

**Italy.** Italy at that time was merely a geographical expression and was divided into a large number of states. In the north, there was the kingdom of Savoy with Sardinia, the two republics of Genoa and Venice and four duchies of Milan, Parma, Modena and Lucca. In the south were the duchy of Tuscany, the Papal States



including Rome and Naples along with Sicily. Corsica went to France in 1769.

After the War of Spanish Succession, Austria succeeded Spain as the dominating power in Italy. Austria had Milan in direct sovereignty. The house of Emperor Francis held Tuscany. Austria exercised a measure of control over Parma, Modena and Lucca. She also cast her hungry eyes on Venice.

It is true that the states of Italy were independent but that did not mean much. The glories of Genoa and Venice were over. The Papal States were the worst governed States in Europe. Naples was very backward. However, Tuscany was the best governed State in Europe. In 1737, Francis, husband of Maria Theresa, succeeded to the throne of Tuscany. His work was continued by his son, Leopold (1765—90). Serfdom was ended and feudal rights were limited. The inquisition was abolished. The powers of the Clerical Courts were reduced. Torture was abolished. The annual budget was published. Thus, Tuscany became a light to Italy and Europe.

The most promising feature of the situation in Italy was the steady growth of the house of Savoy. It is true that Savoy (or Sardinia) was not prepared at that time to take the lead in any Italian movement but she developed considerable ability in exploiting her strategic position. She joined sometimes one power and sometimes another and at times was in danger of being crushed. However, she was able to enlarge and consolidate her territories in a manner pregnant for the future.

"Italy (said a French observer about this time) has seven or eight centres of civilization. The simplest action is performed in an entirely different way in Turin and Venice, Milan or Genoa, Bologna or Florence, Rome or Naples. Venice is gay and frank whilst Turin is surely aristocratic. Milanese good humour is as familiar as Genoese meanness. The Bolognese are full of fire, passion, generosity, and sometimes imprudence. As for the Neapolitan, he is the servant of the whim of the moment.

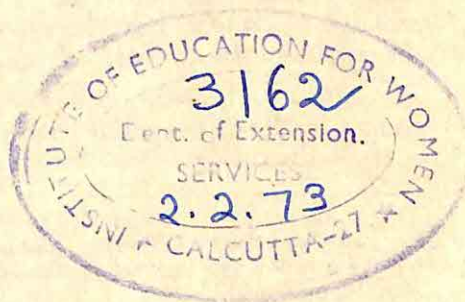
**Spain.** Spain was a great country during the 16th century under Charles V and Philip II. She became a second-rate power during the course of the 17th century. Reactionary forces directed the destiny of the country. After the War of Spanish Succession, the grandson of Louis XIV of France was recognised the ruler of Spain. In 1761, Spain entered the Seven Years' War on the side of France. A series of reforms were carried out by ministers like Albernoi and Patino. In the time of Charles III, further reforms were carried out by which the legal system was reformed, brigandage was suppressed, the severity of the Inquisition was lessened, the Jesuits were turned out from the country, and the economic development of the country progressed. An impetus was given to the intellectual life of the country also. The new king, Charles IV, was a weak and unsteady person.

**Portugal.** Under Pombal, the minister of Joseph I, a large number of reforms were carried out by which industry was expanded, education was encouraged and secularized, the power of the Pope was reduced and the jurisdiction of the Inquisition was curtailed.



## Suggested Readings

- Bourne, H.C. : *The Revolutionary Period in Europe, 1763—1815*  
 Bruun, G. : *The Enlightened Despots.*  
 Fisher, H.A.L. : *A History of Europe.*  
 Gooch, G.P. : *Louis XV : The Monarchy in Decline, 1756.*  
 Gottschalk, L.R. : *The Era of the French Revolution, 1715—1815.*  
 Gottschalk, Louis and Lach, Donald : *Europe and the Modern World, 1962.*  
 Goldsmith, M. : *Frederick, the Great.*  
 Grant and Temperley : *Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.*  
 Hayes, C.J.H. : *A Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe, Vols. I & II.*  
 Johnson, A. : *The Age of the Enlightened Despots.*  
 Ketelbey, C.D.M. : *A History of Modern Times.*  
 Lowell : *Eve of the French Revolution.*  
 Macaulay (Lord) : *Essay on Frederick, the Great.*  
 Marriott, J.A.R. & Robertson, C.G. : *The Evolution of Prussia.*  
 Phillips, W.A. : *Modern Europe.*  
 Robinson & Beard : *Readings in Modern European History.*





## CHAPTER II

### CAUSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The French Revolution was a great event in the history not only of France and Europe but also of mankind. It gave to humanity new ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity which have found their way in every nook and corner of the world. It was as much a war of bayonets as that of ideas<sup>1</sup> and it seems desirable to refer to some of its important causes.<sup>2</sup>

(1) **Social cause.** The most important cause of the French Revolution was the social cause. *"The Revolution of 1789 was much less a rebellion against despotism than a rebellion against inequality."* There was too much of inequality in French society on the eve of the French Revolution. French society was divided into two parts: the privileged and the unprivileged. *The privileged part* consisted of the nobility and the clergy. Both of them formed a small minority of the total population of the country. In the total population of 24 millions, there were 150,000 nobles and 130,000 clergymen. Roughly, their combined strength was about one per cent. In spite of their smallness in size they excelled all others in the matter of rank, possessions and privileges. A noble was addressed as "My Lord", "Your Grace" etc. The man in the street was required to salute him as his superior. Ordinarily, his coach was decorated with an ancestral coat of arms. The best seats were reserved for him both in the church and in the theatre. He was not expected to marry below his class. He had a monopoly of practically all the jobs in the army and the Church. Every noble left to his son either a castle or a mansion and also a lot of territory from which he could collect taxes. Montesquieu, a nobleman himself, wrote thus: "*A great noble is a man who sees the king, speaks to his minister and who possesses ancestors, debts and pensions.*"

Like the nobles, the clergymen also occupied a privileged position. They competed with worldly men in the field of riches, lands and luxuries. The clergymen had castles, cathedrals, palaces,

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1: According to Kropotkin, "The Great Revolution, that set all Europe astir, that overthrew everything, and began the task of universal reconstruction in the course of a few years, was like the working of cosmic forces dissolving and re-creating a world."

2. According to Kropotkin, "Two great currents prepared and made the Great French Revolution. One of them, the current of ideas, concerning the political reorganisation of States, came from the middle classes; the other, the current of action, came from the people, both peasants and workers in towns; who wanted to obtain immediate and definite improvements in their economic condition. And when these two currents met and joined in the endeavour to realise an aim which for some time was common to both, when they had helped each other for a certain time, the result was the Revolution." (*The Great French Revolution*, p. 1)



invaluable pictures, golden chalices, rich vestments and rentals from land in the form of tithes. The Cardinal of Rohan had an annual income of 25 million livres.

The Archbishop of Strasbourg had an income of 300,000 dollars a year. He held a high court in a splendid palace and entertained 200 guests at a time. Even the sauce-pans of his kitchens were made of silver. There were 180 horses in his stables for the pleasure of his guests.

The church was a state within the state. There was so much of favouritism and extravagance among the clergymen that the moral sense of the nation was shocked and the people felt indignant. Most of the income of the church went to the higher clergy, *i.e.*, 134 bishops and archbishops and a small number of abbots, canons and other dignitaries. The total number did not exceed five or six thousands. However, the condition of the lower clergy was simply wretched. They were treated as plebians. They managed to keep their body and soul together with great difficulty. They were discontented and indignant against their superiors who neglected and exploited them. According to Prof. Salvemini, "The lower clergy grew exasperated at so insolent and scandalous a display of luxury, and canons, abbots, priors, bishops and archbishops were all detested by the humble parish priests. This dissension between the higher and lower ranks of the clergy was one of the most potent causes leading to the early victories of the Revolution." (*The French Revolution*, p. 45).

It is estimated that the clergy and nobility owned about one-fifth each of property in France. Thus about one per cent of people owned about 40 per cent of property in the country. While they enjoyed privileges, they were exempted from taxes. There was a French maxim that "*the nobles fight, the clergy pray, the people pay*".

If such was the enviable lot of the privileged classes, the condition of the *unprivileged classes* was not satisfactory. The lot of the peasants was particularly unhappy. A peasant had to work on the land of his landlord from sunrise to sunset. Sometimes, the landlord sold his dues to a money-lender and the latter harassed him a great deal. The peasant could not plant according to his best judgment. On account of the absence of rotation of crops, the yield from the land was very low. The landlord kept large flocks of pigeons, deer and game and all of them were fed on the crops of the peasant. Fencing was not allowed and consequently all his crops might be eaten away, but the peasant could not drive away the game on account of the fear of the landlord. He was bound to grind his corn at the mill of the landlord and as the mill was situated at a great distance, he was put to a lot of inconvenience. He was punished if he tried to grind the corn himself with stones. The lords tried the cases of the peasants and whatever fine he imposed and collected, went straight into his pocket. Heavy punishments were inflicted on the peasants by the lords.

The peasant owed a large number of *dues to the lord, the Church and the King*. Ordinarily, he had to work three days a week on the



land of the lord. During the harvest days he had to work five days a week. Double rent was to be paid on the death of the peasant. If the farm was sold, one-fifth of the price went to the landlord. The peasant paid tithe<sup>1</sup> to the Church which usually amounted annually to one-twelfth or one-fifteenth part of the gross produce of the peasant's land. His dues to the king excelled all others. The *Taille* or land tax was the most important of all the dues. Its amount was not fixed but was considered to be proportionate to the value of the land and dwelling of the peasant. As a matter of fact, the tax collectors managed to take as much as they could lay their hands on. The system of farming taxes multiplied the worries of the peasants. The right of the collection was given to the highest bidder and the collectors paid the fixed amount to the Government and tried to enrich themselves as much as they could at the cost of the peasants. The peasants were virtually fleeced. The burden fell especially on the peasants because the nobility and the clergymen paid nothing. Another tax paid by the peasant was *Vingtieme* or income-tax. This amounted to about 5 per cent of all incomes. The nobles paid only a part and the clergymen were completely exempted. Another tax was *Gabelle* or salt tax. This was the most regressive of all the taxes. The Government had a monopoly of salt and everybody above the age of seven had to buy a certain quantity of salt every year (approximately seven pounds) from the Government. The price of salt was about ten times its real value. Nobody was allowed to drink water at salt springs or cook his food with sea-water. The price of salt was not uniform and varied from place to place and thereby added to the hardships of the people. Another tax was the *Corvee* or road tax. Road-making was the duty of the peasants and they had to spend many weeks in a year on the construction and maintenance of roads in their neighbourhood.

It has been estimated that after paying all the dues, the French peasant was left with only about 20% of his total produce. In a few districts of France, the peasants were able to pay their taxes and still live comfortably, but in the rest of France, their condition was most miserable and can be better felt than described. With the best of harvests they found themselves unable to make their both ends meet. A dry summer or a long winter completely finished them. Starving peasants tried to satisfy their hunger with roots and herbs and thousands of them died of starvation. No one seemed to bother about them. It is rightly pointed out that "*in France, nine-tenths of the population died of hunger, and the tenth of indigestion.*"

1. The tithe or dime levied upon the crops by the clergy brought them about 120 million livres a year. Its origin lay in the Middle Ages when the clergy saw to the building and repair of roads and helped to maintain public order, administered justice in the ecclesiastical courts and were responsible for education and for care of the poor and sick. In other words, the clergy carried out many functions which civil authorities were incapable of doing. However, in the 18th century, the lay bureaucracy took over most of those functions. The result was that the payment of the tithe to the rich and indolent clergy was considered to be a totally unjustifiable burden. No wonder, everybody tried to evade or reduce the payment of tithe. Although it had dropped to a twelfth, a twentieth or a fortieth part of the produce of the land at many places, it was a source of great bitterness.



There was great distress among the peasants. The feudal system of land tenure in France was oppressive and the peasants opposed all movements which deprived them of their common rights. They opposed the enclosure movement and the division of the village commons as the large proprietors gained at their expense. They also suffered on account of the rise in prices during the 18th century. The average general prices of consumers' goods were higher between 1785 and 1789 than they had been between 1726 and 1741. The rise in the cost of living adversely affected those who were nearest the subsistence level. The cereals eaten by the peasants rose more in price than wheat which was eaten by the well-to-do.

The bourgeoisie or the middle-class also belonged to the privileged part of French society. To this class belonged the professors; lawyers, physicians, bankers and merchants. This class was all powerful in the field of finance, trade and industry. From this class came ministers of state, judges, magistrates, tax-collectors, intendants, etc. They had both brains and money.<sup>1</sup> They were the people who visited the various parts of the world and consequently were wide awake in every possible way. They were profoundly influenced by the French philosophers and consequently were not in a mood to put up with the inferior status which the *Ancien Regime* assigned to them. It is the members of this class who became the leaders of the people of France in their revolt against the *Ancien Regime*.

According to Prof. Salvemini, "In the second half of the eighteenth century, therefore, French society might be said to resemble an ancient city, grown up in past times without design or order, built of diverse materials and according to the methods of different ages; with old and out-of-date buildings huddled together amongst new and solid structures. Almost all the inhabitants—working-class, middle-classes and even a large part of the privileged orders—were ill at ease and discontented, amidst the discordant claims of old and new.

"The state officials had become the instruments of a corrupt and reactionary system against which the nation needs must revolt, if it were not to relapse into feudal darkness. The privileged classes plundered the Exchequer, disrupted the administration and paralysed the country's economic life. They had reached the very brink of the abyss without perceiving it, and continued to wrangle with one another, when all were about to be engulfed.

"The commons, forced to choose between their own ruin and the destruction of every vestige of feudalism, had hoped that the King might return to the traditional anti-feudal policy that had been the glory of his dynasty in times past. In the end, tired of waiting in vain, they overthrew what was left of feudalism together with the monarchy that intervened in its support, freed themselves by their own efforts from their last remaining fetters, and set the new

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1. According to Voltaire, "The middle-class has enriched itself through industry and commercial profits have increased; there is less luxury among nobility than formerly and more in middle-class life, so that the contrast between them is not so marked."



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### CAUSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The French Revolution was a great event in the history not only of France and Europe but also of mankind. It gave to humanity new ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity which have found their way in every nook and corner of the world. It was as much a war of bayonets as that of ideas<sup>1</sup> and it seems desirable to refer to some of its important causes.<sup>2</sup>

(1) **Social cause.** The most important cause of the French Revolution was the social cause. "*The Revolution of 1789 was much less a rebellion against despotism than a rebellion against inequality.*" There was too much of inequality in French society on the eve of the French Revolution. French society was divided into two parts: the privileged and the unprivileged. *The privileged part* consisted of the nobility and the clergy. Both of them formed a small minority of the total population of the country. In the total population of 24 millions, there were 150,000 nobles and 130,000 clergymen. Roughly, their combined strength was about one per cent. In spite of their smallness in size they excelled all others in the matter of rank, possessions and privileges. A noble was addressed as "My Lord", "Your Grace" etc. The man in the street was required to salute him as his superior. Ordinarily, his coach was decorated with an ancestral coat of arms. The best seats were reserved for him both in the church and in the theatre. He was not expected to marry below his class. He had a monopoly of practically all the jobs in the army and the Church. Every noble left to his son either a castle or a mansion and also a lot of territory from which he could collect taxes. Montesquieu, a nobleman himself, wrote thus: "*A great noble is a man who sees the king, speaks to his minister and who possesses ancestors, debts and pensions.*"

Like the nobles, the clergymen also occupied a privileged position. They competed with worldly men in the field of riches, lands and luxuries. The clergymen had castles, cathedrals, palaces,

1: According to Kropotkin, "The Great Revolution, that set all Europe astir, that overthrew everything, and began the task of universal reconstruction in the course of a few years, was like the working of cosmic forces dissolving and re-creating a world."

2. According to Kropotkin, "Two great currents prepared and made the Great French Revolution. One of them, the current of ideas, concerning the political reorganisation of States, came from the middle classes; the other, the current of action, came from the people, both peasants and workers in towns, who wanted to obtain immediate and definite improvements in their economic condition. And when these two currents met and joined in the endeavour to realise an aim which for some time was common to both, when they had helped each other for a certain time, the result was the Revolution." (*The Great French Revolution*, p. 1)



invaluable pictures, golden chalices, rich vestments and rentals from land in the form of tithes. The Cardinal of Rohan had an annual income of 25 million livres.

The Archbishop of Strasbourg had an income of 300,000 dollars a year. He held a high court in a splendid palace and entertained 200 guests at a time. Even the sauce-pans of his kitchens were made of silver. There were 180 horses in his stables for the pleasure of his guests.

The church was a state within the state. There was so much of favouritism and extravagance among the clergymen that the moral sense of the nation was shocked and the people felt indignant. Most of the income of the church went to the higher clergy, *i.e.*, 134 bishops and archbishops and a small number of abbots, canons and other dignitaries. The total number did not exceed five or six thousands. However, the condition of the lower clergy was simply wretched. They were treated as plebians. They managed to keep their body and soul together with great difficulty. They were discontented and indignant against their superiors who neglected and exploited them. According to Prof. Salvemini, "The lower clergy grew exasperated at so insolent and scandalous a display of luxury, and canons, abbots, priors, bishops and archbishops were all detested by the humble parish priests. This dissension between the higher and lower ranks of the clergy was one of the most potent causes leading to the early victories of the Revolution." (*The French Revolution*, p. 45).

It is estimated that the clergy and nobility owned about one-fifth each of property in France. Thus about one per cent of people owned about 40 per cent of property in the country. While they enjoyed privileges, they were exempted from taxes. There was a French maxim that "*the nobles fight, the clergy pray, the people pay*".

If such was the enviable lot of the privileged classes, the condition of the *unprivileged classes* was not satisfactory. The lot of the peasants was particularly unhappy. A peasant had to work on the land of his landlord from sunrise to sunset. Sometimes, the landlord sold his dues to a money-lender and the latter harassed him a great deal. The peasant could not plant according to his best judgment. On account of the absence of rotation of crops, the yield from the land was very low. The landlord kept large flocks of pigeons, deer and game and all of them were fed on the crops of the peasant. Fencing was not allowed and consequently all his crops might be eaten away, but the peasant could not drive away the game on account of the fear of the landlord. He was bound to grind his corn at the mill of the landlord and as the mill was situated at a great distance, he was put to a lot of inconvenience. He was punished if he tried to grind the corn himself with stones. The lords tried the cases of the peasants and whatever fine he imposed and collected, went straight into his pocket. Heavy punishments were inflicted on the peasants by the lords.

The peasant owed a large number of *dues to the lord, the Church and the King*. Ordinarily, he had to work three days a week on the



seal of the Republic upon modern society." (*The French Revolution*, pp. 45-46)

According to Napoleon Bonaparte, "The French Revolution was a general mass movement of the nation against the privileged classes. The French nobility, like that of all Europe, dates from the barbarian invasions which broke up the Roman Empire. In France, the nobles represented the ancient Franks and Burgundians; the rest of the nation, the Gauls. The introduction of the feudal system established the principle that every landed property had a lord. All political rights were exercised by the priests and the nobles. The peasants were enslaved, partly by binding them to the soil.

"The progress of civilisation and knowledge liberated the people. This new state of affairs caused the prosperity of industry and trade. In the eighteenth century, the larger part of the land, of wealth, and of the fruits of civilization belonged to the people. The nobles, however, still formed a privileged class: they controlled the upper and intermediate courts, they held feudal rights under a great variety of names and forms, they were exempt from contributing to any of the taxes imposed by society, and they had exclusive access to the most honourable employments.

"All these abuses stirred the citizens to protest. The chief aim of the Revolution was to destroy all privileges; to abolish manorial courts, justice being an inalienable attribute of the sovereign authority; to suppress all feudal rights as remnants of the people's former slavery; to subject all citizens and all property without distinction to taxation by the State. Finally, the Revolution proclaimed the equality of rights. All citizens could fill all employments, subject only to their talents and the vicissitudes of chance." (*The Mind of Napoleon*, p. 65).

(2) **Rotten administrative system.** Another cause of the French Revolution was the rottenness of the French administrative system. The King was the head of the state and he acted in an arbitrary manner. According to Louis XVI, "The sovereign authority is vested in my person, the legislative powers exist in myself alone... My people are one only with me; national rights and national interests are necessarily combined with my own and only rest in my hands." Such a system could not be efficient and no wonder the people suffered. The King did not go on tours to visit the various parts of the country and consequently lost his personal touch with the people. No wonder, he had no knowledge of the sufferings and aspirations of the people. The King centred all his attention at the capital where the nobles assembled from all over the country to participate in the frivolities of the royal court. In the time of Louis XV, his mistresses influenced the politics of the country. In the time of Louis XVI, his Queen, Marie Antoinette, interfered in State affairs. It was pointed out that "the Court is the tomb of the nation."

The court of Versailles was composed of 18,000 persons out of which 16,000 were attached to the personal service of the king and



his family. The rest of the 2,000 persons were courtiers<sup>1</sup> who were busy in a perpetual round of pleasures and were always busy in feathering their own nests by begging favours from the king. There was luxury on all sides. The occupants of the palace considered themselves to be the darlings of the gods. The king, the queen, the royal children and the brothers, sisters and aunts of the king had their separate establishments. It is stated that the queen alone had more than 500 servants. There were more than 1,900 horses and 200 carriages in the royal stables which cost more than 4 million dollars a year. The table of the king cost more than a million and a half dollars. On the eve of the French Revolution, all this enormous waste amounted to more than 20 million dollars a year.

The administrative system of the country was hopelessly unsatisfactory. Various units of the administration possessed ill-defined and overlapping jurisdictions. At different times, France had been divided into districts under bailiffs and seneschals whose offices were purely ornamental. It had also been divided into provinces under governors. It had been divided into intendancies (under intendants), judicial districts, educational districts and ecclesiastical districts. The conflict of jurisdictions added to the difficulties and troubles of the people.

The legal system of the country was full of confusion. There was no uniform law for the whole of the country. Different laws were in force in different parts of the country. While at one place German law prevailed, at another place the Roman law was in force. It is estimated that there were about 400 different systems of law in the country. The laws were written in Latin and consequently were not within the comprehension of the people. The laws were cruel and unjust and very severe punishments were prescribed for ordinary offences. Torture was a common feature. The punishments of breaking one's bone on a wheel or cutting off the hands or ears were also imposed. There was no regular criminal procedure. Anybody could be imprisoned on the whim of an influential person. All that was required to be done was the issuing of a *lettre de cachet* and the person concerned could be kept in prison for an indefinite period without any trial. There was no provision for a writ of *Habeas Corpus*. Men like Voltaire and Mirabeau were imprisoned like many

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1. According to Prof. Salvemini, "Many of them knew neither what their incomes were nor where their estates lay : a great lord would have thought it beneath his dignity to discuss such matters as fertilizers or the housing of his peasants. It was the business of the bailiffs and attorneys to keep his accounts, and his to spend the money. 'My lord Archbishop', said Louis XVI to Monseigneur Dillon, 'it is said that you have a great many debts.' 'Sir', replied the prelate ironically. 'I will inquire of my intendant, and shall have the honour of rendering an account of them to Your Majesty.'

"Naturally, they were riddled with debt. The Duc de Lauzun, at twenty-six years of age, had squandered the whole capital of his 100,000 crowns' income and was in debt to the sum of two millions ; the Prince de Conti, with 600,000 livres a year, had a horde of creditors at his heels : the Comte de Clermont, Abbot of Saint-Germain des Pres, went bankrupt twice in succession ; the millions of the Comte d'Artois and the Cardinal de Rohan went to pay the interest on their debts ; the Duc de Choiseul had property worth 14 millions and debts amounting to 10 millions ; while the Duc d'Orleans had creditors claiming 74 millions." (*The French Revolution*, pp. 20-21)



others. There was confusion not only in the field of laws but also in the field of law-courts. There were royal courts, military courts, church courts and courts of finance. Their overlapping jurisdictions added to confusion and injustice. A peculiar institution in France was the *Noblesse de la robe* or nobility of the robe. These persons were judges in perpetuity or for life. Their offices were bought and sold. As these persons bought their offices, they tried to impose as heavy fines as they could to fill their pockets. Their number was in the neighbourhood of 50,000. Such a class must have been a curse to society. That was the negation of all judicial principles.

On the eve of the French Revolution, the French army consisted of 35,000 officers (of whom 1,171 were generals) and 135,000 men. The officers were maintained at a cost of 46 millions a year, although only 3,500 were on active list. The maintenance of the rank and file amounted to 44 millions in all.

Weights and measures had different names and different values in different provinces. Sometimes this difference was witnessed as a person moved from one village to another village.

The French *Parlements* were high courts of justice of great antiquity. They reviewed judgments given in the inferior courts of the *bailliwick*s, *sanechausses* and *prevotes* into which the country was divided for judicial purposes. Towards the end of the 18th century, there were 13 such *Parlements* in France. Each *Parlement* consisted of a close corporation of rich magistrates whose offices had become hereditary in course of time.

*Parlements* claimed and exercised certain political powers. They had acquired the right of registering royal edicts and ordinances.

They could defer the registration and thereby bring pressure on the king. A strong king could deal with them effectively but unfortunately there were no strong kings in France after Louis XIV. In 1771, *Parlements* were abolished by Louis XV but those were revived in 1774 by Louis XVI. The *Parlements* thus revived were in a position to harass royal ministers and circumvent financial reform while posing as champions of popular rights and liberties.



Louis XIV

In some parts of France, there were *provincial estates* or local representative assemblies which met periodically. They shared responsibility for local administration with the agent of the Central Government or *Intendant*. They had certain

fiscal privileges which they successfully defended against reforming



finance ministers. They had the option of making fixed annual grants or *abonnements* in the case of new taxes which enabled them to evade full liability. The assessment and collection of State taxation was also left to the fiscal agents of the estates. Special local taxes were voted in the estates to meet local expenditure. These estates were controlled by the lay or clerical aristocracy and tended to be reactionary and conservative. They were reluctant to any reform designed to weaken or destroy their privileges.

The method of collection of taxes was hopelessly faulty. Taxes were not collected by the state through its own agency ; the right of collecting taxes was given to highest bidder. The result was that while the contractors paid a specific amount of money to the state, they tried to get as much as they could from the people. While the people were exploited, the Government did not benefit in any way. The system of farming of taxes was the most objectionable. It resulted in a lot of oppression and tyranny. As taxes were not paid by the clergymen and nobles, the burden fell on the unprivileged class and this fact was resented bitterly. The whole of the administrative system of France required a thorough overhauling.

(3) **Successor of Louis XIV.** Another cause of the revolution was the incapacity of the successors of Louis XIV. The Grand Monarch left a legacy of financial bankruptcy for his successors. While on death-bed, he is stated to have advised Louis XV, his great grandson, in these words : "My child,...endeavour to live at peace with your neighbours, do not imitate my fondness for war, nor the exorbitant expenditure which I have incurred...Endeavour to relieve the people at the earliest possible moment and thus accomplish what unfortunately, I am unable to do myself." It is well-known that this advice fell on deaf ears and instead of giving any relief to the people, he added to their miseries by his wars and frivolities. He used to say : "After me, the deluge."

About Louis XV's rule, Comte de Mercy, the Austrian Ambassador at Paris, wrote thus to Emperor Maria Theresa : "At Court, there is nothing but confusion, scandals and injustice. No attempt has been made to carry out good principles of Government ; everything has been left to chance ; the shameful state of the nation's affairs has caused unspeakable disgust and discouragement, while the intrigues of those who remain on the scene only increase the disorder. Sacred duties have been left undone, and infamous behaviour tolerated."

According to Dr. G.P. Gooch, "The legacy of Louis XV to his countrymen was an ill-governed, discontented, frustrated France. Viewed from a distance, the *ancien regime* appeared as solid as the Bastille, but its walls were crumbling for lack of repairs and the foundations showed signs of giving way. The Absolute Monarchy, the privileged Noblesse, the intolerant Church, the close corporation *Parlements*, had all become unpopular, and the army, once the glory of France, was tarnished by the rout of Rossbach. Though there was little thought of republicanism, the *mystique* of monarchy had



almost evaporated." (*Louis XV, the Monarchy in Decline*, p. 244)



Louis XV

Louis XVI (1774—93) became king at the age of 20. His helplessness to manage the state of affairs can be noticed by the following statements made by him : "It seems as if the universe is falling on me." Again, "God, what a burden is mine and they have taught me nothing." He was awkward and too shy to preside over the meetings of the council. He was lazy and stupid. His hobby was lock-making and shooting deer from the palace window. He might have been a good citizen but he was a failure as a king when the country was confronted with serious difficulties. According to a contemporary, "No one trusts him, for he has no will of his own." He did not seem to be interested in the art of governing and this is clear from



his following remarks to Malesherbes on the latter's resignation : "How fortunate you are. I wish I could resign too."

**Marie Antoinette (1755—93).** Marie Antoinette was the daughter of Maria Theresa, Empress of Austria-Hungary. The object of her marriage to Louis XVI was to unite Austria and France into a bond of friendship. She was beautiful, gracious and vivacious. She had a strong will, a power of rapid decision and a spirit of initiative. However, she was lacking in wisdom and breadth of judgment. She did not understand the temperament of the French people and the spirit of the times. Born in a royal family, she could not understand the point of view of the unprivileged. She was extravagant, proud, wilful, impatient of restraint and fond of pleasure. She committed a large number of mistakes and was hated by the people of France. She was the living symbol of French humiliation in the Seven Years' War. She was the centre of a group of greedy persons, who were opposed to all reforms.

This is what Emperor Joseph II, her real brother, wrote about Marie Antoinette : "Let me, my dearest sister, address you with a frankness justified by my affection for you and my interest in your welfare. From what I hear, you are becoming involved in a great many matters that are no concern of yours, and of which you know nothing, led on by intrigue and flattery that excite in you not only self-conceit and a desire to shine but jealousy and ill-feeling. This conduct may well impair your happiness and sooner or later must provoke serious trouble between you and the King, which will detract from his affection and esteem for you, and cause you to fall into disfavour with the public...Why should you, my dear sister, employ yourself in removing ministers from their posts, in banishing one and giving office to another, in seeing that some friend of yours wins his law-suit or in creating a new and expensive court appointment, in brief, in discussing affairs in a manner that is little suited to your position? Have you ever asked yourself what right you have to meddle in the affairs of the French Government or monarchy? What studies have you made, what knowledge have you acquired, that you believe your opinion of value, particularly in matters calling for such wide experience? You, a charming young woman who think only of frivolity, of your *toilette*, of your amusements; who do not read books or listen to serious talk for more than ten minutes in a month; who never stop to reflect, or to give a thought to the consequences of what you say or do? You simply act on the spur of the moment, prompted by the favourites in whom you believe.....Listen to the advice of a friend, give up all these intrigues, have nothing whatever to do with public affairs and think only of deserving the King's affection and confidence.....For the rest, do some reading, improve your mind. After all, that is the role of every woman in her own home."

(4) **French Philosophers.** Another cause of the French Revolution was the effect of the preachings of the French philosophers. Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau were the three intellectual giants of the age. *Montesquieu (1689—1755)* was a polished and eminent lawyer, well-versed in history, serious, acute, a profound student of human institutions and master of a terse and pointed



style. On the whole, his writings were not the flights of fancy but the result of systematized and careful thought ; weighty, luminous,

moderate in tone and scientifically sane. He initiated a philosophic movement and unmasked the batteries of criticism and satire which were to strike at the foundations of the *Ancien Regime* in France. He stood for a constitutional form of government and believed in the supremacy of law. His view was that liberty was impossible without the separation of powers. The legislative, judicial and executive powers must be put in different organs and then alone could there be liberty of the people. The combination of any two powers or all the three in one organ was bound to result in tyranny. Montesquieu analysed the laws which regulate government and custom and thereby destroyed the mysterious prestige which was attached to



Montesquieu

the institutions of France.

*The Spirit of Laws*, his great work, which was the product of 20 years of labour, was published in 1748. It is stated that 22 editions of this book were printed in 18 months. It was a study of political philosophy, an analysis of various forms of governments and their merits and demerits. Setting aside the claim of divinity for the institutions, he examined them with the detachment of a botanist.

According to Prof. Salvemini, *The Spirit of Laws* "awakened in cultivated persons a taste for juridical and political studies, brought the social sciences into the field of literature, and helped more than any other work to create that atmosphere of sociological and philosophic dilettantism which enabled eighteenth century revolutionary theories to prosper." (*The French Revolution*, p. 64)

Another giant was *Voltaire* (1694—1778). In verse, in prose, in history, in drama, and in romance, Voltaire attacked traditions, beliefs and abuses. He exposed their shortcomings mercilessly. He laughed at their absurdities. "Voltaire's rare and versatile wit, his light touch, his unabashed scepticism, his brilliant commonsense appealed irresistibly to the minds of his countrymen. He made the philosophic movement popular. He identified with many errors and with the gravest faults of taste. But with it all he taught men to despise many follies and to impeach many wrongs." The Church in France was the main target of his attack. He called it the infamous thing. He was a deist and he attacked Christian bigotry and fanaticism and stood for religious toleration. "Since we are all



steeped in error and folly, we must forgive each other for our follies." "Worship God and be a good man." On account of their literary merit, Voltaire's writings were widely read and he commanded tremendous influence on his age.

Voltaire was one of the master minds of European history whose name has become the name of an era. We speak of the age of Voltaire in the same way as we speak of the Age of Luther or Erasmus. He was called by the name of King Voltaire. World renowned, he melted into world history. He was a warrior all his life. He was a pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night. He was never tiresome. He was always interesting and generally instructive. He could not tolerate tyranny in any shape or form. He was always ready to take up the cause of the oppressed. He stood for a benevolent despotism and had no love for democracy. He is said to have remarked that he would prefer to be ruled by one lion than by a hundred rats.

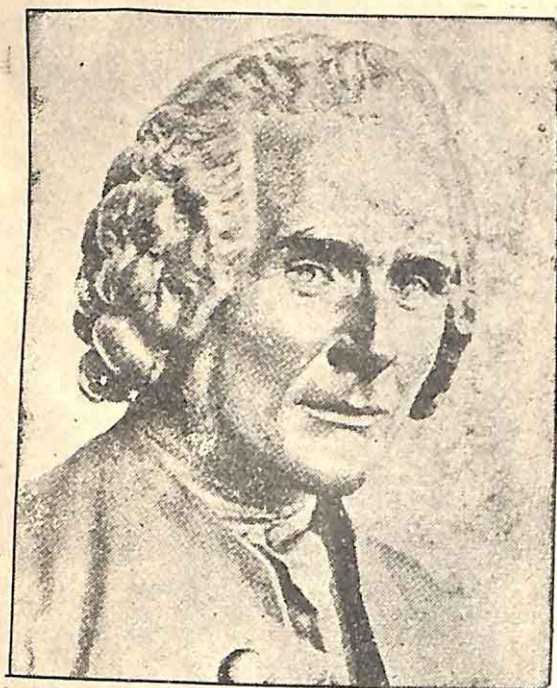


Voltaire

The French philosopher whose influence was the most prominent was *Rousseau* (1712—78). He did not like the study and analysis of the past. He did not care for the spread of knowledge and art. It appeared to him that study knowledge and cultivation degraded man. All societies were artificial. All accepted forms of political organizations were tyranny and abuses. Man was born free but he was everywhere in chains. The surroundings of society destroyed the natural simplicity of man, tainted his virtues and were responsible for his sufferings and sins. Rousseau appealed to the people in these words: "*Sweep away, therefore, all the false fabric of society, the world of ugly want and insolent riches miscalled civilization, the oppression miscalled order, the error miscalled knowledge. Level its inequalities, repudiate its learnings, break its functions, shatter its chains. Let men return to the simplicity of ancient days, to the idyllic state, when uncorrupted instinct only ruled them, and then once again, innocent and ignorant, as nature made them, and guided only by the 'Immortal and Celestial voices, of reason, seek the high paths of felicity of life.'*"



Again, "Are not all advantages in our society reserved for the rich and powerful? Are not all lucrative employments held by them alone? Are not the



Rousseau

public authorities entirely at their service? If an influential man defrauds his creditors or commits other villainies, can he not count on impunity before the law? If he is guilty of violence or murder, is not everything hushed up and after six months no longer referred to? But if this same man is robbed, the whole police is at once set in motion, and woe betide the innocent upon whom suspicion falls! Should this rich man have to pass through a dangerous place, he is provided with a large escort. If the axle of his carriage breaks, all fly to assist him. If there

is a noise at his door, a word from him and all is silence. If the crowd incommodes him, a sign and all are scattered. If he finds a carter in his way, his servants rain blows upon him. All these conveniences cost him nothing, since the rich are entitled to enjoy them without expending their own wealth on such trifles. But how different is the spectacle of the poor man! The more compassion society owes him the less he receives. All doors are closed to him, even when he has a right to have them opened. Should he, once in a way, obtain justice, he has to labour more for it than others for a favour. If a *corvée* is called for, or a military levy made, he is the first to be taken. He bears not only his own burdens but those his neighbour has managed to shift on to his back. At the least accident that befalls him, all leave him to his fate. If his cart overturns, he is unlikely to escape insults from the duke's servants who hurry by. All gratuitous aid is refused him in his need, precisely because he has no way of paying, for it. And woe betide him if he has the misfortune to possess an honest soul, a beautiful daughter or a powerful neighbour. He is lost. Let us, then, sum up in a few words the social compact between the two classes: 'You have need of me, because I am rich and you are poor; let us make an agreement, therefore, between ourselves; I will allow you the honour of serving me, provided that you give me what little you still possess, in return for my trouble in giving you orders.'







power of conversion and indomitable perseverance. He had an ardent desire for the improvement of mankind.

*Helvetius* propounded the doctrine that self-interest dictates both the conduct and the views of men, and the attainment of pleasure is their final aim.

*Holbach* indicated the vices of kings and the slavery of men. He stood for a revolution. To him, atheism and materialism were the only two philosophies of life. To quote him, "*Religious and political errors have changed the universe into a valley of tears.*"

Men like *Quesnay* (1694—1744) and *Turgot* were great enthusiasts for reform and had contempt for the past. They stood for liberty and the subordination of all private rights to the public interest. They preached the necessity of national education as the first essential of national prosperity. They stood for throwing the burden of taxation on land which they considered to be the sole source of wealth. They advocated free trade, free agriculture and free industry, but did not care for freedom itself.

The great contribution of the *Encyclopaedists* was that they hated unjust things, condemned slavery, inequality of taxation, corruption of justice and wastefulness of war. They had dreams of social progress and sympathy with the rising empire of industry.

According to *Mallet*, "The seed sown by these remarkable writers fell upon fruitful soil. The orders which immediately preceded the outbreak of the Revolution in France were orders of vague but widespread agitation. An enthusiasm for the natural greatness of man and a boundless contempt for the age of society in which he lived pervaded the thought of the time. In almost every European country, observers noticed the same presentiment of impending change—a change which, on behalf of humanity, most people were prepared to welcome. Thinkers and talkers alike were full of illusions, full of curiosity, full of unselfishness, full of hope." (*The French Revolution*)

According to *Kropotkin*, "The eighteenth-century philosophers had long been sapping the foundations of the law-and-order societies of that period, wherein political power, as well as an immense share of the wealth, belonged to the aristocracy and the clergy, whilst the mass of the people were nothing but beasts of burden to the ruling classes. By proclaiming the sovereignty of reason; by preaching trust in human nature—corrupted, they declared, by the institutions that had reduced man to servitude, but, nevertheless, certain to regain all its qualities when it had reconquered liberty—they had opened up new vistas to mankind. By proclaiming equality among men, without distinction of birth; by demanding from every citizen, whether king or peasant, obedience to the law, supposed to express the will of the nation when it has been made by the representatives of the people; finally, by demanding freedom of contract between free men, and the abolition of feudal taxes and services—by putting forward all these claims, linked together with the system and method characteristic of French thought, the philosophers had undoubtedly prepared, at least in men's minds, the downfall of the old regime." (*The Great French Revolution*, pp. 1-2)



According to Prof. Thomson, the connection between the ideas of the French philosophers and "the outbreak of revolution in 1789 is somewhat *remote* and *indirect*. They did not preach revolution, and were usually ready enough to lend support to any absolute monarch who was prepared to patronize them and adopt their teachings. Nor were most of their readers inspired to want, or to work for revolution; they were mostly themselves aristocrats, lawyers, business people and local dignitaries, whose lot in the existing order was far from unhappy. The doctrines of the *philosophes* came to be used later on, during the course of the revolution in France, often to justify measures that the *philosophes* themselves would have opposed. Their teachings became more important later; if they had any influence at all on the outbreak and the initial stages of the great revolution, it was only to the extent that they had fostered a critical and irreverent attitude towards all existing institutions. They made men more ready, when the need arose, to question the whole foundation of the old order. What mattered in 1789—and what made men revolutionary almost in spite of themselves—was the whole 'revolutionary situation'; and in producing that situation the work of the *philosophes* played no very important role." (*Europe Since Napoleon*, pp. 4-5)

(5) **Financial Condition.** Another cause of the French Revolution was the condition of the finances of the French Government. It has rightly been pointed out: "*The Revolution was precipitated by the economic factor and the train which had been laid by philosophy was fixed by finance.*" "*The fiscal causes lay at the root of the Revolution.*" The war of the Louis XIV had upset the finances of France. The financial condition of the country was deplorable when the Grand Monarch died. Although he advised Louis XV to improve the finances and desist from wars, the latter did not care for the advice. He not only wasted a lot of money on palaces and mistresses, but also had the audacity to take part in many wars. He took part in the War of Polish Succession. He participated in the War of Austrian Succession. The Seven Years' War also cost a good deal. France was on the verge of bankruptcy when Louis XVI ascended the throne, but in spite of that France joined the War of American Independence. It is true that France had the satisfaction of having her revenge against England for her humiliation in the Seven Years' War, but French participation in the War of American Independence completely upset the finances of the country. It cannot be denied that it was the French participation in that War of American Independence which precipitated the financial crisis which led to the French Revolution.

The financial system of France was deplorable. The nobility and the clergymen who owned about 40% of the total wealth of the country did not make any contribution towards the State exchequer. No wonder, the burden of taxation fell on the unprivileged classes. That in itself created bitterness. The national debt had increased tremendously and is estimated to have reached the figure of 4,467,478,000 livres. Out of the nominal revenues of 472,415,549 in 1788, the State got 211,708,977 livres and it had to pay 236,999,999 livres as annual interest.



It has been estimated that at the end of the *Ancien Regime*, over three-fourths of the annual State expenditure was being incurred on defence and the service of public debt which was in itself mainly the result of previous wars. It was practically impossible to reduce these heavy items of national expenditure without undermining public credit and national security. Financial retrenchment could be made only in the field of civil expenditure which represented 23% of the total expenditure in 1788. Even economy in royal expense costing about 6% could not help matters. Some radical remedy alone could improve matters.

In 1774, Louis XVI appointed Turgot as the Controller of Finance. The latter had been an intendant of a poor province of France. He had made that province prosperous by applying the principles of the most advanced economists. He realised that if the annual deficit of the Central Government was allowed to continue, it was bound to result ultimately in bankruptcy. He outlined his programme in these words : "No bankruptcy, no increase of taxation, no more borrowing." He hoped to tackle the problem of finance by effecting economies and by developing public wealth. The latter could be done by introducing the regime of liberty into agriculture, industry and commerce. As a matter of fact, Turgot succeeded in saving many millions by stopping useless expenditure. However, by doing so, he annoyed all those who were gaining from that useless expenditure. They all joined hands with Marie Antoinette to put pressure on the king to dismiss Turgot. Although the king declared that "*M. Turgot and I are the only persons who love the people*", he dismissed the Controller of Finance in 1776 and thereby brought trouble for himself.

Necker, a banker of Geneva, was appointed in 1776 as the successor of Turgot. Necker had risen from poverty to power. He had to face a lot of opposition while effecting economies. He was the first person to publish a financial report which showed the annual income and expenditure of the State. Formerly, the whole thing was kept as a secret. There was a lot of indignation in the court circles as the report showed how much money was annually spent on pensions and free gifts to the countries. Necker was dismissed in 1781.

He was succeeded by Calonne. He was an agreeable person. His only purpose was to please all. The members of the court had merely to say what they wanted and the same was granted by Calonne. Calonne had a wonderful philosophy of borrowing. To quote him, "A man who wishes to borrow must appear to be rich, and to appear rich he must dazzle by spending freely." The result of his philosophy was the money flowed like water. In three years, he was able to borrow about 300 million dollars. But the net result of all his acts of commission and omission was that by August 1786, the royal treasury was completely empty and there were no more fools willing to lend to the State. When Calonne proposed a general tax which was to be paid both by the privileged and the unprivileged classes, he was removed from office. The king tried another treasurer but he also failed to help him in straightening the finances.



With a view of tackling the financial problem, Louis XVI summoned in 1787 an Assembly of the Notables in the hope that they would consent to the taxation of the privileged classes. However, the nobles were not prepared to oblige the king and consequently they were sent home. The king tried new loans but the *Parlement* of Paris refused to register further loans or taxes. The latter drafted a Declaration of Rights and contended that subsidies could constitutionally be granted only by the Estates-General. The Government took action against the *parlement* of Paris and abolished the same. There was a lot of hue and cry and the soldiers refused to arrest the judges. Crowds demanded the convocation of the Estates-General.

It was under these circumstances that the king was forced to give way and he ordered the elections to the Estates-General after a lapse of 175 years (1614—1789). That led to the French Revolution of 1789.

According to Prof. Goodwin, "The immediate causes of French Revolution of 1789 must be sought, not in the economic grievances of the peasants, nor in the political discontents of the middle class, but in the reactionary aspirations of the French aristocracy. Though the revolution established the political power and consolidated the economic position of the middle class, it was set in motion by the aristocracy in the years 1787 and 1788 in the attempts to defend its own fiscal and political privileges, which were threatened by the reforming policy of the Bourbon monarchy. The decision of Louis XVI, in July 1788, to summon the Estates-General, or national representative assembly, which had not met since 1614, marked the Crown's capitulation to the concerted pressure of the lay, ecclesiastical, and judicial aristocracy. These privileged classes expected that the adoption of the traditional method of voting in the Estates-General—by order and not by head—would enable them, not only to prevent radical reform, but also to consolidate their victory over the Crown by a similar subjugation of the third estate. This gross miscalculation rendered inevitable a revolution which might well have been avoided by the nobility's acceptance of the consequences of political and fiscal equality."

**Real makers of the French Revolution.** While it is admitted that the French Revolution originated with the Third Estate, there is difference of opinion as to whether the peasantry or the middle-classes took the initiative in bringing about the Revolution. It is pointed out by some writers that the oppressed peasantry of France, goaded by the extremity of their sufferings, was driven to Revolution. However, this view is not accepted by Prof. Hearnshaw. According to him, condition of the peasants of France was better than those of Germany, Spain, Russia and Poland. Their main grievance was not their exclusion from political power but the weight of the taxes they had to pay. They had neither the brains nor the capacity to precipitate the revolution. It is the enlightened middle-classes which led the way and the peasants merely followed them. The middle-classes had brains. They had money and influence. They were the persons who were deeply



influenced by the philosophies of the French philosophers. No wonder, the middle classes were the real makers of the French Revolution.

**Why Revolution broke out in France?** It is pointed out that monarchical absolutism and oppression of the peasantry existed in most of the countries of Western Europe. There was nothing exceptional in the grievances of the people of France. In spite of that, the revolution started in France and not in any other country of Western Europe. There are many reasons for this. In other countries there were feudal privileges and duties. The feudal lords not only enjoyed certain exemptions from taxes but also performed certain duties. They served in the army of the kings and were responsible for maintaining law and order within their locality. However, in the case of France, the feudal system had become worn out. While the nobles still retained their exemptions and privileges, they were deprived of all their powers and duties by the king. The result was that while in other countries the feudal system was a reality, it had lost all its vitality in France. No wonder, the privileges of the nobles in France were irritating to the people of France. The whole system had become an anachronism and consequently it was condemned. The discontentment against the nobility burst out in the form of the Revolution of 1789.

Another reason was that there existed in France an enlightened middle class which was not to be found in other parts of Europe. The members of this class were well-to-do persons, but they still belonged to the unprivileged class. They had wealth and brains and consequently were not in a mood to put up with the inequality which the *Ancien Regime* imposed on them. They were profoundly influenced by the philosophy of Rousseau, Voltaire and Montesquieu. After having assimilated thoroughly the philosophy of the above intellectual giants, the middle-classes were not prepared to put up with their deplorable position. They could not find any justification for their humiliating condition. *The Social Contract* of Rousseau became the Bible of the Revolution. The writings of the French philosophers put before the Frenchmen an idealism for which they were prepared to make any sacrifices. No such atmosphere existed in other countries of Europe. No wonder, although the unprivileged classes in other countries of Europe also suffered, they had neither any idealism nor any leaders among them who were prepared to challenge the existing order and hence no revolution broke out there.

There was another reason why the Revolution started in France and not in any other country of Europe. It is rightly pointed out that the Revolution was precipitated by the economic factor, and the train which had been laid by philosophy was fired by finance. The annual income of the State was less than the interest it had to pay on the national debt. It was impossible to carry on government under the circumstances. The Estates-General had to be summoned to get the money and that led to the French Revolution. There were no such circumstances in other parts of Europe and although the people had their grievances, they kept on suffering but had not the courage to revolt.



According to Prof. Salvemini, "France was, in fact—however paradoxical the statement may seem at first—better off than the rest. It was precisely because of the more favourable conditions prevailing in the social life of France that the revolutionary crisis broke out there rather than elsewhere in Europe. The French middle-classes—richer, more educated, in closer contact with the higher ranks of society than were those of other European nations, and divided from the nobility by less marked differences in their way of life—were more acutely conscious of the injustice that excluded them from political influence and honours; and being possessed of moral and material strength that others lacked as yet, they were first to win that place in public life to which they felt entitled. Furthermore, in other countries, as for instance in Russia, Germany, Denmark, or Hungary the peasants, utterly ground down by feudal serfdom, were too wretched to grasp such ideas as those of civil equality and liberty. In France, on the contrary, every peasant proprietor felt himself a free man on the piece of ground he had won by the sweat of his brow: and it was to defend himself from what remained of feudal tyranny, and his property from ruthless taxation, that he had recourse to revolution. In no other country, moreover, had the lay and ecclesiastical nobles, as in France, deserted the provinces and flocked round the central authority in a scramble for favours; and there was nowhere so deep an abyss between the different social classes as that which the French monarchy, with its centralized State control had created by removing local administration from the nobility's hands. Elsewhere, the nobles, brutal and semi-barbarous, lived on their fiefs, carried out their political functions, administered justice and provided for the common weal. If the peasants were oppressed, they also felt themselves protected by the rough rule of their lord; and the noble's duties were some justification for his privileges. Finally, in France alone had the capital city acquired such importance as to become the centre of the nation's entire political and administrative life; so that, when the revolutionary forces had gained mastery over Paris, the whole country too succumbed to them. In other nations, administrative centralization was as yet rudimentary or entirely lacking, and provincial life remained more or less autonomous; unrest that arose in one area did not necessarily disturb the rest, and disorder in the principal centre had little effect on the provinces, where those who carried on the administration were not forced to wait for all orders, assistance reproofs and payment to come from the capital. In France, widespread trouble in the provinces had an almost paralysing effect on the capital; while disorder in Paris was a mortal blow to the whole political organism and had repercussions throughout the country." (*The French Revolution*, pp. 188-89)

To quote Prof. Salvemini again, "The most dangerous city was Paris, with its more than half a million inhabitants. With the growth of a centralized administration, the capital had attracted to itself a crowd of fortune-seekers, both rich and poor. To satisfy the diverse needs of all these people new houses and factories were built, which absorbed a stream of workers and peasants from the provinces. The Government, disturbed yet gratified at such an increase in popula-



tion—embarrassed at having so large a city to administer, but thankful for additional sources of revenue—wavered between distributing favours and privileges, and imposing absurd restrictions, in an effort to stem the flood. But the colossus went on growing with or without the King's permission; rearing up within itself an army of rebels that was to become a most efficacious weapon for destroying the old France. On the eve of the Revolution, employers in Paris were complaining that 'the workers were dictating to the Government and making leagues of resistance; what with insolent speeches and insulting letters, they seemed to think that anything was permissible.' (*The French Revolution*, p. 37)

### **French Revolution compared with English Revolutions.**

The French Revolution may be compared with the Puritan Revolution of 1642-49 and the Glorious Revolution of 1688 in England. It is to be observed that the aims of the English revolutions were mainly political. Their object was to put a check on the arbitrary powers of the king and give all the powers to the British Parliament which was considered to be representative of the people. On the other hand, the main motive force of the French Revolution was social and not political. It is true that the people of France had their political disabilities but they do not seem to have cared much for them. The people of France were accustomed to authoritarian traditions for centuries and accordingly they do not seem to have bothered much about the evils of centralised despotism. The people suffered most on account of social inequality. No wonder, the French Revolution was aimed mainly against inequality and that also was its chief achievement.

The English Revolution of 1688 was defensive and conservative in character. There was nothing new in the Bill of Rights which the people got after the Glorious Revolution. There was no violent breach with the past. The king was merely forced to act according to the laws of the country and not to act according to his whim. On the other hand, the French Revolution was revolutionary and destructive. It destroyed the *Ancien Regime* root and branch.

According to Kropotkin, "The insurrection of the peasants for the abolition of the feudal rights and the recovery of the communal lands which had been taken away from the village communes, since the seventeenth century, by the lords, lay and ecclesiastical, is the very essence, the foundation of the great Revolution. Upon it the struggle of the middle class for their political rights was developed. Without it the Revolution would never have been so thorough as it was in France. The great rising of the rural districts which began after the January of 1789, even in 1788, and lasted five years, was what enabled the Revolution to accomplish the immense work of demolition which we owe to it. It was this that impelled the Revolution to set up the first landmarks of a system of equality, to develop in France the republican spirit, which since then nothing has been able to suppress, to proclaim the great principles of agrarian communism, that we shall see emerging in 1793. This rising, in fact, is what gives the true character to the French Revolution, and distinguishes it radically from the Revolution of 1648-1657 in England.



"There, too, in the course of those nine years, the middle classes broke down the absolute power of royalty and the political privileges of the Court party. But beyond that, the distinctive feature of the English revolution was the struggle for the right of each individual to profess whatever religion he pleased, to interpret the Bible according to his personal conception of it, to choose his own pastors—in a word, the right of the individual to the intellectual and religious development best suited to him. Further, it claimed the right of each parish, and, as a consequence, of the townships, to autonomy. But the peasant risings in England did not aim so generally, as in France, at the abolishing of feudal dues and tithes, or the recovery of the communal lands. And if Cromwell's hosts demolished a certain number of castles which represented true strongholds of feudalism, those hosts unfortunately did not attack either the feudal pretensions of the lords over the land, or even the right of feudal justice, which the lords exercised over their tenants. What the English revolution did was to conquer some precious rights for the individual, but it did not destroy the feudal power of the lord, it merely modified it whilst preserving his rights over the land, rights which persist to this day.

"The English revolution undoubtedly established the political power of the middle classes, but this power was only obtained by sharing it with the landed aristocracy. And if the revolution gave the English middle classes a prosperous era for their trade and commerce, this prosperity was obtained on the condition that the middle classes should not profit by it to attack the landed privileges of the nobility. On the contrary, the middle classes helped to increase these privileges, at least in value. They helped the nobility to take legal possession of the communal lands by means of the Enclosure Acts, which reduced the agricultural population to misery, placed them at the mercy of the landowners, and forced a great number of them to migrate to the towns, whereas proletarians, they were delivered over to the mercy of the middle-class manufacturers. The English middle classes also helped the nobility to make of their immense landed estates sources, not only of revenue often fabulous, but also of political and local juridical power, by re-establishing under the new forms the right of manorial justice. They helped also to increase their revenues ten-fold by allowing them through the land laws, which hamper the sale of estates, to monopolise the land, the need of which was making itself felt more and more among a population whose trade and commerce were steadily increasing.

"We now know that the French middle classes, especially the upper middle classes engaged in manufactures and commerce, wished to imitate the English middle classes in their revolution. They, too, would have willingly entered into a compact with both royalty and nobility in order to attain power. But they did not succeed in this, because *the basis of the French Revolution was fortunately much broader than of the revolution in England.* In France, the movement was not merely an insurrection to win religious liberty, or even commercial and industrial liberty for the individual, or yet to constitute municipal authority in the hands of a few middle-class



men. It was above all a peasant insurrection, a movement of the people to regain possession of the land and to free it from the feudal obligations which burdened it, and while there was all through it a powerful individualist element—the desire to possess land individually—there was also the communist element, the right of the whole nation to the land ; a right which we shall see proclaimed loudly by the poorer classes in 1793." (*The Great French Revolution*, pp. 95-7)

### Suggested Readings

Acton	: <i>Lectures on the French Revolution.</i>
Aldington	: <i>Voltaire.</i>
Aulard, A.	: <i>Political History of the French Revolution, 1910.</i>
Belloc, H.	: <i>The French Revolution.</i>
Brinton, C.C.	: <i>A Decade of Revolution, 1789—99.</i>
Cobban, A.	: <i>The Debate on the French Revolution (1789—99), 1945</i>
Cobban, A.	: <i>Rousseau and the Modern State, 1934.</i>
Dickens	: <i>A Tale of Two Cities.</i>
Ducros, L.	: <i>French Society in the Eighteenth Century.</i>
Goodwin	: <i>The French Revolution, 1953.</i>
Gooch, G.P.	: <i>Maria Theresa and Other Studies, 1951.</i>
Gottschalk, Louis	: <i>The Era of the French Revolution, 1929.</i>
Kropotkin	: <i>The Great French Revolution, 1909.</i>
Lefebvre, G.	: <i>The French Revolution.</i>
Lowell, E.J.	: <i>The Eve of French Revolution.</i>
Madelin	: <i>The French Revolution.</i>
Matthews	: <i>The French Revolution.</i>
Mathiez, A.	: <i>The French Revolution, 1928.</i>
Salvemini, G.	: <i>The French Revolution, 1954.</i>
Shackleton, Robert	: <i>Montesquieu.</i>



### CHAPTER III

#### WORK OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (1789-91)

When Louis XVI (1774—93) could not tackle the problem of French finance, he decided to summon the Estates-General. Elections were held in the winter of 1789 and, in accordance with the old custom and royal request, the electors drafted reports on the condition of their localities and recommendations for their representatives and the government. Those reports and recommendations were called *Cahiers* and there were many of them. A study of those *Cahiers* shows that they were not revolutionary in wording. They expressed loyalty and fidelity to the king. There was no threat of violence even in one *Cahier*. In spirit, most of the *Cahiers* reflected the radical political philosophy of the age and demanded thoroughgoing reforms in the government and society. Many of the *Cahiers* of the Third Estate were particularly insistent upon the removal of social inequalities prevailing in the country. There was an emphasis on the necessity of establishing national unity and solidarity.

It is to be observed that the Estates-General consisted of *three Estates*. The First Estate represented the nobility, the Second represented the clergymen and the Third Estate represented the unprivileged classes consisting of the middle class, the artisans and the peasantry. Formerly, the three Estates met separately and each of them had an equal number of delegates. However, in 1789, the Third Estate was given as many members as those of the nobles and the clergymen put together. This fact emphasised the important part the Third Estate was to play in the future.

The mood of the Third Estate was expressed in a pamphlet written by Abb Sieyes which was circulated in large numbers on the eve of the French Revolution.



Sieyes

“What is the Third Estate ?” asked Sieyes.

“Everything.”

“What has it been in politics up to now ?”

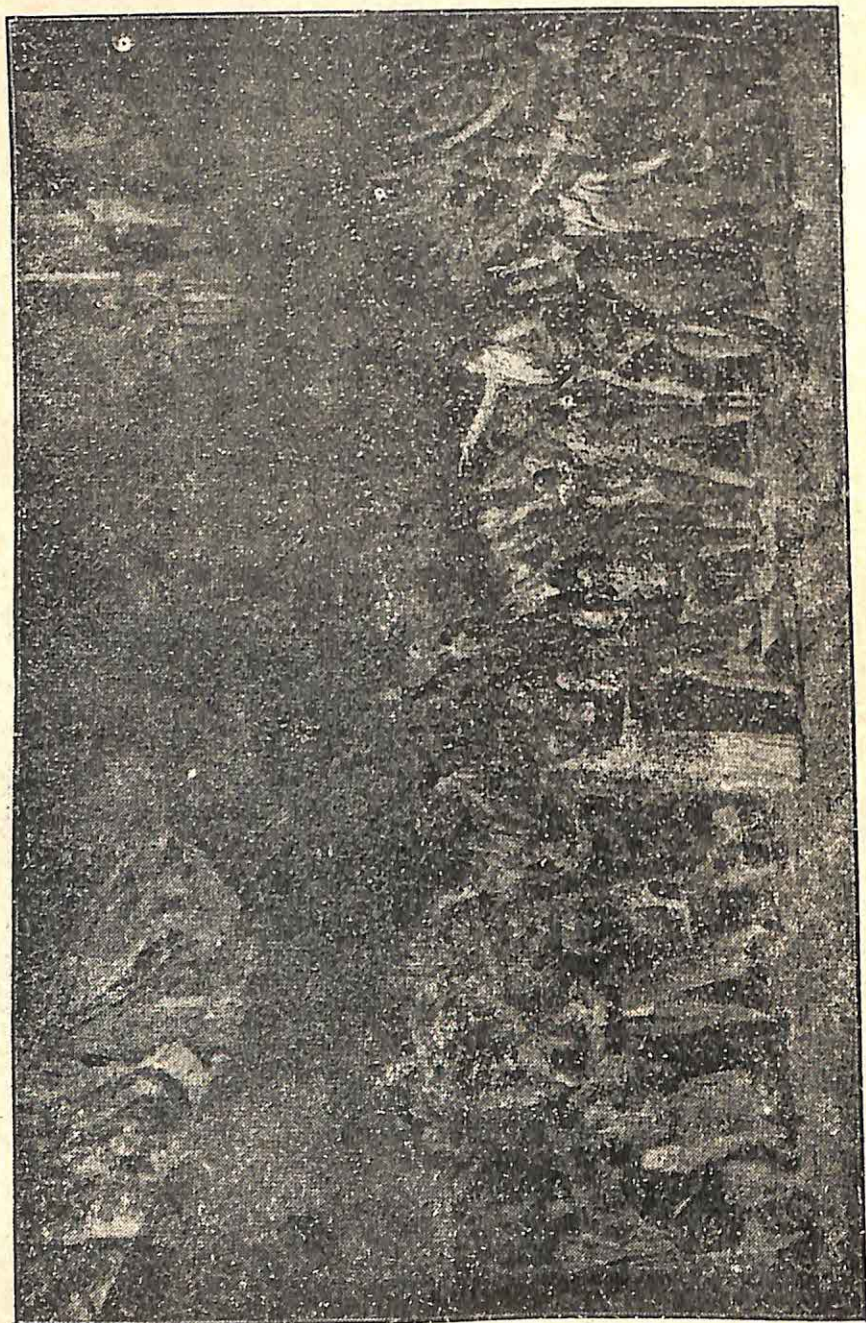
“Nothing.”



"What does it desire?"

"To become something."

The Estates-General met on 5th May, 1789, and the three Estates had their sittings separately. However, the members of the



The Tennis Court Oath

Third Estate maintained that the Estates-General of 1789 was not a feudal assembly, but represented the people of France. They



demanding that all the three Estates should sit together and there should be voting not by "*Order*" but by "*Head*". Both the clergymen and the nobles were opposed to this demand and consequently there was a deadlock. On 17th June, 1789, the Third Estate declared itself the National Assembly.

On 20th June 1789, the members of the Third Estate went to their usual meeting place, but they found that their entrance was blocked by soldiers. On enquiry, they were informed that there was going to be a special royal session in the hall and the same had been closed for making the necessary arrangements. For a moment, the members did not know what to do. However, after some time, they went to a neighbouring building which served as a Tennis Court and held a memorable session there. Under the Presidentship of Bailly, they took the famous Tennis Court Oath. All the deputies present with one exception voted "*never to separate, and to re-assemble wherever circumstances shall require, until the constitution of the kingdom shall be established.*"

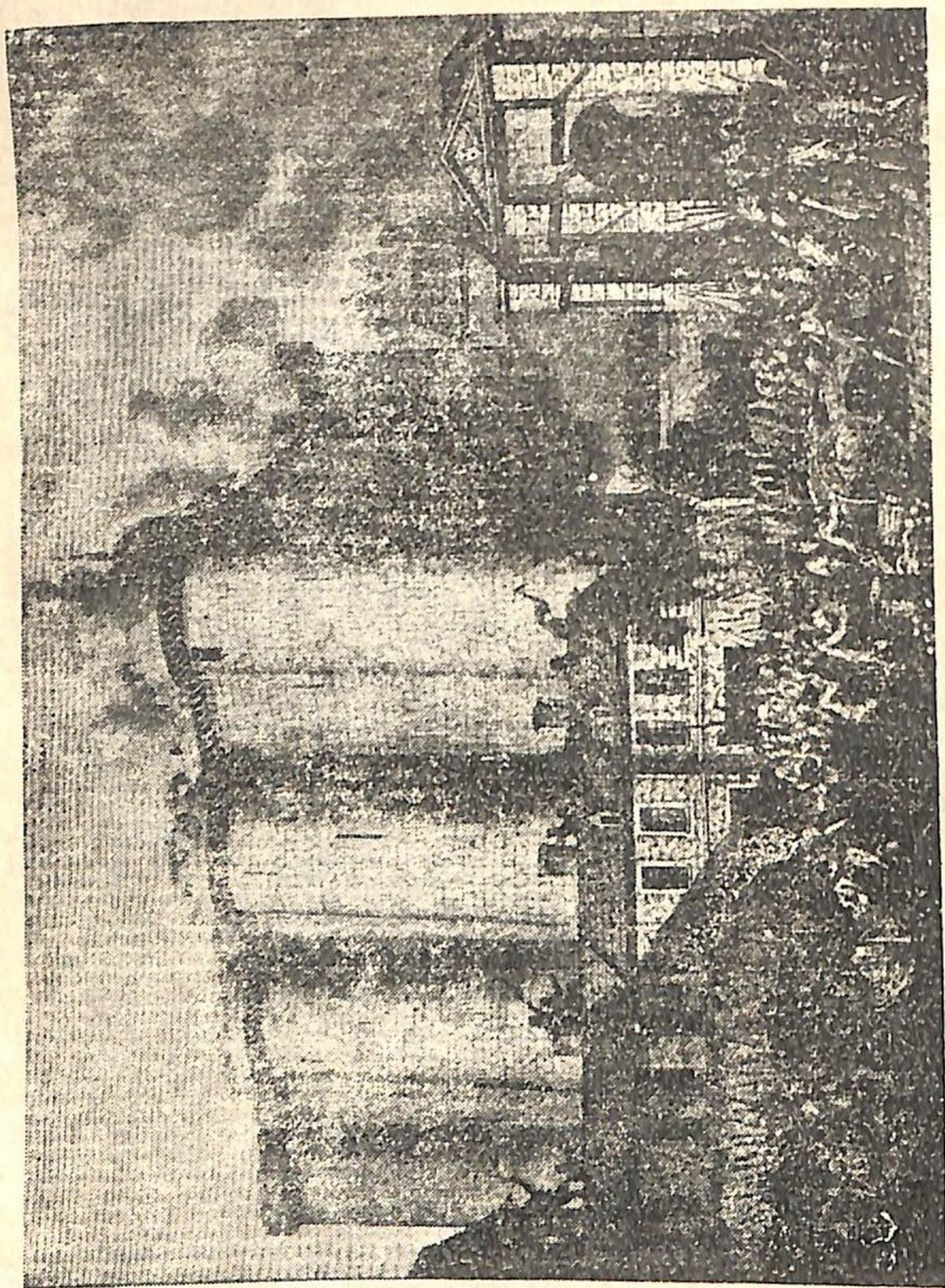
On 23rd June 1789, the special royal session was held. The king declared the recent acts of the Third Estate as illegal and unconstitutional. He also ordered that the three Estates should meet separately. The king, the nobility and the clergy left the hall in a spirit of victory. However, the members of the Third Estate remained in the hall and did not leave. The Master of the Ceremonies addressed them thus: "*You have heard the king's orders. His Majesty requests the Deputies of the Third Estate to withdraw.*" Soldiers were also seen at the gate. It was intended to drive out the members of the Third Estate from the hall. At this time, Mirabeau, one of the members of the Third Estate, went straight to the Master of the Ceremonies and thundered thus: "*Go tell your Master that we are here by the will of the people and that we shall not leave except at the point of bayonet.*" On a motion of Mirabeau, it was voted that all persons who should lay violent hands on any member of the National Assembly would be "*infamous traitors to the nation and guilty of capital crime.*" De Breze reported all this to Louis XVI. The king did not know what to do. At last, he observed thus: "*They wish to remain, do they? Well, let them.*" Referring to the manner in which the king first refused and then gave way, Mirabeau observed: "*This is how kings go to the scaffold.*"

On 25th June 1789, a majority of the clergymen and a minority of the nobility went over to the National Assembly. On 27th June 1789, Louis XVI ordered all the three Estates to sit as one body. Thus was solved a matter which could have been solved earlier without unpleasantness.

It appears that the king had not taken his defeat happily. He was determined to intimidate or suppress the National Assembly and regain the ground lost by him. A large number of soldiers were brought to Versailles and Paris and on 11th July, 1789 Necker and his colleagues who were in favour of reforms were dismissed. Necker was also ordered to leave the country immediately.



The people of Paris did not approve of the dismissal of Necker, their popular minister. It was feared that the king was determined



Storming of the Bastille

to use force to suppress the National Assembly. Under these circumstances, there was a riot and the Bastille, which was considered to be the symbol of the *Ancien Regime*, was stormed. It was captured on 14th July, 1789, and razed to the ground. *The fall of the Bastille* was considered to be the triumph of liberty in the country.

According to Goodwin, 'No other single event in the revolution had so many-sided or far-reaching results as the fall of the Bastille. It marked the end of the royal despotism in France, completed the transfer of political authority to the national legislature, and by



encouraging the peasants to revolt, paved the way for the fall of feudalism. It freed the country from the restraints of press censorship and thus led to the rise of popular journalism, the political effect of which was amply demonstrated in the preparation of the next revolutionary *journée* in the following October. It was accompanied by an important revolution in the municipal administration of Paris and was quickly followed by an almost complete decentralization of government. It provoked the first emigration of the reactionary nobility, led by the count d'Artois, and set in train the forces that led, in time, to foreign intervention and war with Europe. For the moment, however, the impression made by the news from Paris in foreign countries was wholly favourable. The popular vengeance taken on de Launay and de Flesselles was condoned, the heroism of the mob loudly proclaimed and the absence of any private plundering generally admired. The fall of the fortress was widely acclaimed as heralding a new birth of liberty, not only in France, but throughout the world."

According to Prof. Salvemini, the capture of the Bastille aroused great enthusiasm among the liberal-minded people throughout the world. The gloomy fortress with its eight towers—where so many political prisoners had languished and from which a resolute government could suppress any attempt at rebellion by the citizens of Paris—seemed a very symbol of the old absolutist France. All who hated the past saw in its fall the now inevitable triumph of liberty. (*The French Revolution*, p. 129)

Although the king removed the troops, reinstated Necker and recognized the National Guard, the people were not contented.



March of Women to Versailles

National Guards were organized in all the towns. On the countryside, the peasants revolted, plundered the castles of the nobles and took special pains to destroy all the documents of titles of the nobles. Nobles were killed and their castles were razed to the ground. Early in October 1789, rumours reached Paris from Versailles that a banquet was given to some of the crack regiments which had been summoned there. On that occasion, the tricolour



was stamped upon. Threats were held out against the National Assembly. The queen, by her presence there, sanctioned those outrages. The women of Paris marched to Versailles drawing cannon with them and brought the king, the queen and their child shouting on the way: "*We have the baker and the baker's wife and the little cook-boy—now we shall have bread.*" It was in this tense atmosphere of storm and stress that the National Assembly or the Constituent Assembly performed its work from 1789 to 1791.

**Work of the National Assembly.** (1) The most important work of the National Assembly was the abolition of feudalism, serfdom and class privileges. On 4th August 1789, one of the nobles, who was a relative of Lafayette, stated in the Assembly that one of the reasons of the attack of the peasants on the nobility and their property was the prevalence of inequality based on injustice. He maintained that the remedy was not to repress the peasants but to end inequality which was the root cause of the trouble. A resolution was moved and passed that there should be equality of taxes. Then nobles competed with nobles and clergymen with clergymen in giving up their rights and privileges. It was in this atmosphere that the game laws were repealed, manorial courts were suppressed and serfdom was abolished. The clergymen gave up the tithes and other privileges. Sale of offices was to be discontinued. In short, all the special privileges of classes, cities and provinces were swept away. All this happened throughout the night of 4th August, 1789. All the separate measures were consolidated and thus the feudal system was abolished in the country. What could not be done by Turgot and Necker was accomplished by the National Assembly. Critics point out that the privileged classes did not show any spirit of sacrifice while giving up their privileges. The people had already helped themselves by destroying all documents of title of the nobles. The privileged classes had already lost their privileges as a result of the action of the peasants themselves. On the suggestion of Archbishop of Paris, Louis XVI was officially proclaimed by the National Assembly as '*Restorer of French Liberty.*'

According to Kropotkin, "The night of August 4 is one of the great dates of the Revolution. Like July 14 and October 15, 1789, June 21, 1791, August 10, 1792, and May 31, 1793, it marked one of the great stages in the revolutionary movement, and it determined the character of the period which follows it."

Again, "It would not be fair to try to diminish the importance of that night. Enthusiasm of this kind is needed to push on events. It will be needed again when a Social Revolution comes. In a revolution enthusiasm must be provoked, and words which make heart vibrate must be pronounced. The fact that the nobility, the clergy and the privileged persons of every kind had recognised during that night's sitting the progress of the Revolution, that they decided to submit to it instead of taking up arms against it—this fact by itself was already a conquest of the human mind. It was all the greater as the renunciation was made with enthusiasm. It is true that it was done in the light of the burning chateaux, but how many times had that same light merely provoked in the privileged classes an



obstinate resistance, and led to hatred and massacre ! That night in August those distant flames inspired other words—words of sympathy for the rebels ; and other acts—acts of conciliation.

“Ever since July 14, the spirit of the Revolution, born of the ferment which was working through the whole of France, was hovering over everything that lived and felt, and this spirit, created by millions of wills, gave the inspiration that we lack in ordinary times.

“But having pointed out the effects of the enthusiasm which only a revolution could inspire, the historian must also consider calmly how far all this enthusiasm did actually go, and what was the limit it dared not pass ; he must point out what it gave the people and what it refused to grant them.

“Well, that limit can be indicated in very few words. The Assembly only sanctioned in principle and extended to France altogether what the people had accomplished themselves in certain localities. It went no further.” (*The Great French Revolution*, pp. 124-5)

According to Goodwin, “The surrender of their feudal rights and fiscal immunities by the aristocracy and clergy on the night of 4th August was not, therefore, the product of spontaneous generosity. Fear, calculation and suspicion inspired the action of many deputies and the famous session was a parliamentary manoeuvre planned by a radical ‘cave’ in the Breton club on the previous day. The plot was that the partial surrender of feudal privileges should be proposed by members of the liberal nobility at an evening meeting, at which, it was hoped, opponents of the measure would not be present. The initiative was left to the duke d’ Aiguillon, whose example as one of the largest landed proprietors in the country would, it was thought, sway the attitude of the more conservative provincial nobility. In fact, d’ Aiguillon’s motion was anticipated by the viscount de Noailles, who proposed that the Assembly should decree complete fiscal equality and the redemption of all feudal dues, except those involving personal servitude. The latter, he suggested, should be abolished outright. This motion and not d’ Aiguillon’s passed the Assembly and set the tone of the unprecedented sacrifices which followed. In a mounting spirit of patriotic enthusiasm the representatives of privilege came forward to propose the admission of all citizens to public office and the abolition of feudal jurisdictions, exclusive hunting rights and the purchase of judicial and other offices. Even more impressive and dramatic, according to Dumont, who was an eye-witness of the scene, was the surrender of all municipal, corporate and provincial privileges, proposed by the representatives from Dauphine. The proceedings closed with a loyal address to the king, conferring on him the title of ‘Restorer of French Liberty.’

“In their enthusiasm, however, the members of the National Assembly had overshot the mark, and cooler reflection on the part of the nobility prompted them later to restrict and even to contest some of these sacrifices. The result was that when the decisions of principle were cast in legislative form between 5th and 11th August,



middle-class conservatism and legal caution preserved many features of the feudal regime, which had been over-hastily condemned on the night of 4th August. In this way, the "St. Bartholomew of privilege" came to be a misnomer. Though the *ancien regime* had been dismantled, the declaration of the Assembly that 'the feudal regime had been entirely destroyed' was misleading. In the final draft, ecclesiastical tithes were abolished, but the most onerous of the feudal dues—those of a contractual nature—were made subject to redemption. Until they were redeemed, on terms which were left for settlement at a later stage, they were to be levied as before. The disillusionment of the peasants was complete and when the king refused his sanction to this limited social revolution the Assembly found itself in a quandary."

(2) The second great work of the National Assembly was the Declaration of the Rights of Man. This document reflected the spirit of Rousseau's philosophy and incorporated some of the provisions from the constitutional laws of England and the U.S.A. It became the platform of the French Revolution and influenced the political thought during the 19th and 20th centuries. It states that "the representatives of the French people, constituted as a National Assembly, believing that ignorance, forgetfulness or contempt of the rights of man are the only causes of public misfortunes and of the corruption of governments, have resolved to set forth in a solemn declaration, the natural, inalienable and sacred rights of man; in order that this declaration being constantly before all members of the social body may always recall to them their rights and their duties; in order that the acts of the legislative and executive powers being constantly capable of comparison with the objects of all political institutions may on that account be the most respected; in order that the demands of citizens being founded henceforth on simple and incontestable principles may be always directed to the maintenance of the constitution and the happiness of all."

The following Rights of Man and the Citizen were declared by the National Assembly :—

- (i) Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinction can only be founded on public utility.
- (ii) The aim of every political association is the reservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression.
- (iii) Liberty consists in being allowed to do whatever does not injure other people.
- (iv) The free communication of thought and opinion is one of the most precious rights of man.
- (v) No person shall be accused, arrested, or imprisoned except in the cases and according to the forms prescribed by law.
- (vi) Since private property is an invaluable and sacred right, no one shall be deprived thereof except where public necessity, legally determined, clearly demanded, and then only on condition that the owner shall have been previously and equitably indemnified.



- (vii) Law is the expression of general will. All citizens have the right to take part personally or through their representatives in its formation.
- (viii) Sovereignty resides in the nation and no body or individual can exercise authority if it does not take its origin from the nation.
- (ix) The people have the right to control the finances of the country.
- (x) All officials of the States are responsible to the people.

According to Prof. Thomson, "It was, first, a *Declaration*—a manifesto and a statement of the general principles on which the National Assembly hoped to reform the French system of government. It was, secondly, a *Declaration of Rights*—not a *Declaration of Duties*. It was an assertion of the new claims and a statement of the political, constitutional, and social rights that its framers held to be essential for making a better regime. It was, thirdly, held a *Declaration of the Rights of Man*—a statement intended to a universal application and which certainly had very far-reaching implications. It was drawn up not for France alone, but for the benefit of men everywhere who wanted to be free and to rid themselves of comparable burdens of absolutist monarchy and feudal privilege. The universalism of the original French Revolution was to be of great importance. It was, finally and fully, a *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*, and although the last three words of its title are often omitted they are among its most important. It was careful to specify those civil rights that most concretely expressed the immediate aims of the middle classes which now predominated in the Assembly: equality of all before the law, eligibility of all citizens for all public offices, personal freedom from arbitrary arrest or punishment, freedom of speech and the press, and above all an equitable distribution of the burdens of national taxation and the inviolability of private property. These claims it founded on the two general doctrines that 'the principle of all sovereignty rests essentially in the nation,' and that 'law is the expression of the general will.' These doctrines—intended to be universal in application—would clearly, if accepted, destroy the very foundations of the old order of society and disrupt the State everywhere in Europe. This was the inherent challenge of events in France to every one of her neighbours, including Britain. One French historian has called the *Declaration* 'the death certificate of the old regime.' It certainly remained a charter of liberalism throughout the nineteenth century.

"Even so, the *Declaration* is less abstract and most realistic than it might appear at first. Its omissions, as a manifesto of liberalism, are significant. It made no mention of freedom of economic enterprise or of trade, so dear to its bourgeois makers because the older order had already in recent years suppressed the guilds and removed controls on the grain trade; it said nothing of rights of assembly and association, nor of education or social security, although many were aware of how important these were, for these matters were less relevant to the immediate tasks of



destroying the old regime. Although it tried to be universal it did not set out to be comprehensive. It deliberately omitted any Declaration of Duties, an omission not remedied until 1795. Its most liberal principles were stated cautiously. Exercise of natural rights is limited by the need to assure enjoyment of the same rights for others. 'Law may rightfully prohibit only those actions that are injurious to society.' Freedom of opinion is limited by the proviso that it must not be trouble public order as established by law, and that it must be abused. Even the sanctity of property is subject to an obvious requirement of public necessity'." (*Europe Since Napoleon*, pp. 10-11)

The Declaration has been described as "the most remarkable fact in the history of the growth of democratic and republican ideas" in France, "the gospel of modern times."

According to Prof. Hazen, "As a matter of fact the expectation of its authors that the Declaration would constitute a new evangel for the world has not proved an entire exaggeration. When men wish anywhere to recall the rights of man it is this French document that they have in mind. The Declaration long ago passed beyond the frontiers of France. It has been studied, copied or denounced nearly everywhere. It has been an indisputable factor in the political and social evolution of the modern world. During the past century, many a nation aspiring to liberty has sought its principles in this French Declaration."

According to Prof. Salvemini, "If by a metaphysical work we mean one wholly confined to theory and out of touch with reality, then none could be found less metaphysical than the Declaration of Rights, to which the history of France and Europe has subsequently given ever wider application. The Rights of 1789 are certainly not 'natural' in a sense implying that all human society not in conformity with them must be considered 'unnatural': but they are 'natural' to us moderns in the sense that without them our own civilization could not exist, and we ourselves could not live. Every government in France from 1789 onwards has had to give fuller recognition and guarantees to the principles of the Declaration. It was the inspiration of all those peoples who in the nineteenth century rose against despotism and set up their own constitutional governments. All our civil and penal legislation is descended from the Rights of 1789. Oppressed nations, in gaining independence, have found in them moral justification for their efforts. Today the masses still invoke the same principles of equality and freedom, which, having served as weapons in the struggle that put an end to feudalism, have passed now into other hands and have become an instrument of yet wider change.

"It must not be thought that the social conflicts of today have been produced by the Declaration of 1789. Many other factors have contributed to them: the great factories and workshops where the proletariat learns, through the close contacts of common work, to be aware of its own social function and its numerical strength; the complexity and delicacy of our modern economic structure, which causes a crisis at one point to dislocate all the rest; education and



the press, both of which spread the ferment of thought into ever wider fields ; and the franchise, through which the unpropertied classes can control their governments—all these have created a lack of equilibrium in modern life, prompting men to react against the traditional system of private ownership. But the proletariat is assisted in its struggle today by the same principles that upheld the bourgeoisie of 1789 and which they asserted to be primitive, absolute and common to all men ; and the bourgeoisie can never now set them aside unless it wishes to bring the functioning of the social order to a standstill ; unless, in fear of death, it wants to commit suicide. The class war, as Faguet rightly observes, had existed even before the Revolution ; but at that time the commons had not had, at their service, 'a general ideal, a kind of dogma, that justified and consecrated the struggle, which was one of strength against strength, of attempts on the part of the weak to support one another against the strong.' Today this is so no longer. 'The Revolution by proclaiming the dogma of equality, has given the class struggle not so much a reason for existing, as a reason for proclaiming that it exists by right ; and a reason for appearing to have right on its side.'

'The same may be said of all the other great national, constitutional and legislative achievements of the nineteenth century ; they have not sprung directly from the Declaration of Rights, for they are a necessary product of the modern social order. But in the Rights of 1789 they have found their theoretic justification ; they have found a time-honoured system of ideas within which they themselves could be incorporated. If this is metaphysics, then all history is metaphysics.' (*The French Revolution*, pp. 147-148)

(3) The National Assembly set up a uniform system of administration all over the country. The old provinces, governments, intendancies, *pays d'état*, *pays d'élection*, *parlements* and *bailliages* were abolished. The country was divided afresh into 83 departments. These departments were uniform in size and population and were named after natural features such as rivers or mountains. Each department was divided into cantons and communes. The heads of the local divisions were to be elected by the people and not nominated by the executive. Provision was made for local councils which were to be elected by the people. A new system of courts was provided for the country. The judges of these courts were to be elected by the people. Attempts were also made to simplify and unify the legal system of the country but the work could not be accomplished till the time of Napoleon I as first Consul.

(4) The National Assembly also tried to tackle the problem of finance. The State treasury was practically empty and no wonder the Assembly resorted to extreme measures to meet the situation. In November 1789, the Church property in France was confiscated. That property was valued at many hundred million dollars. With Church property as security the National Assembly issued paper currency known as *Assignats*. Paper money works well so long as too much use of the printing press is not permitted. The paper currency must be kept within reasonable limits. However,



the natural temptation of printing more paper currency and thereby adding to the revenue of the State could not be checked by the National Assembly and consequently by 1791, inflation was already well under way. This process was continued in the succeeding years and consequently the whole of the paper currency had to be canceled during the Directory. It is true that the issuing of *Assignats* tackled the financial problem for the time being, but otherwise the issuing of *Assignats* was one of the sorriest chapters of the French Revolution.

According to Prof. Salvemini, "Of all the Assembly measures, the issue of the assignats was one that most contributed towards consolidating the new regime and preventing any form of counter-revolution. The assignats were, in fact, a paper currency based not on gold but on the security of Church lands. Should a counter-revolution enable the clergy to recover their possessions, the assignats would lose their guarantee; therefore their fate depended upon that of the Revolution. Whoever accepted an assignat—and everyone had to accept them, since they were legal tender—was committed to the revolutionary cause, if he did not want his money to become worthless through a return to feudal and ecclesiastical rule." (*The French Revolution*, p. 169)

(5) The National Assembly dealt with the Church in France. Church property was confiscated in November 1789. In February 1790, the monasteries and other religious communities were suppressed. In April 1790, absolute religious toleration was proclaimed. In July 1790, the *Civil Constitution of the Clergy* was enacted. The number of bishops and priests was reduced and they were made a civil body. They were to be elected by the people and paid by the State. Their association with the Pope was to be merely nominal. In December 1790, a decree was passed by which all Catholic clergymen were required to take a solemn oath of allegiance to the Civil Constitution. As was to be expected, the Pope condemned the Civil Constitution and asked the clergymen in France not to take the oath to the Civil Constitution. The result was that the clergymen in France were divided into two groups. Those who took the oath were called the *juring clergy* and those who did not take the necessary oath were called the *non-juring clergy*. Up to that time, a large number of clergymen belonging to the lower strata had sympathized with the course of the French Revolution, but after that they became opposed to it. It was only a small minority of clergymen who took the oath of allegiance to the Civil Constitution.

(6) The National Assembly framed a new constitution for France and that is why it is also known as the Constituent Assembly. This constitution was completed in 1791 and after the signatures of the king became the law of the country. It was the first written constitution of France. It was based on the principle of separation of powers which was propounded by Montesquieu and embodied in the American Constitution of 1787. The legislature, judiciary and executive were separated from one another and separate departments were set up for each one of them. The legislative authority was vested in one Chamber called the Legislative Assembly. Its



members numbering 745 were to be chosen by a system of indirect election for 2 years. The right of voting was to be exercised only by "active" citizens, i.e., those citizens who paid taxes. Only those persons were to be elected as members of the Legislative Assembly who had a certain amount of property. The prescribing of the property qualification showed that the National Assembly was dominated by the bourgeoisie or the middle-class.

Nominally, the executive authority in the State was to vest in the king whose office was to be hereditary. The king was given the power of suspensive veto by which he could postpone the execution of an Act of the legislature. However, he was deprived of all the control over local government, the clergy, the navy and the army. His ministers were not to sit in the Legislative Assembly.

The judicial system was completely revolutionised. Formerly, the judges used to buy their positions which carried with them titles and privileges. They had also the right to pass on those positions to their sons. All that was abolished. In future, all judges were to be elected. Their terms of office were to vary from 2 to 4 years. Jury system was introduced in criminal cases.

According to Prof. Hazen, "The Constitution of 1791 represented an improvement in French government ; yet it did not work well and did not last long. As a first experiment in the art of self-government it had its value, but it revealed inexperience and poor judgment in several points which prepared trouble for the future. The executive and the legislature were so sharply separated that communication between them was difficult and suspension was consequently easily fostered. The king might not select his ministers from the legislature ; he might not, in case of a difference of opinion with the legislature, dissolve the latter, as the English king could do, thus allowing the voters to decide between them. The king's veto was not a weapon strong enough to protect him from the attacks of the legislature yet it was enough to irritate the legislature, if used. The distinction between active and passive citizens was in plain and flagrant defiance of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and inevitably created a discontented class. The administrative decentralization was so complete that the efficiency of the national government was gone. France was split up into eighty-three fragments and the co-ordination of all these units, their direction towards great national ends in response to the will of the nation as a whole, was rendered extremely difficult, and in certain cases impossible."

**Estimate of its Work.** A survey of the work of the National Assembly shows that it destroyed the pillars of the *Ancien Regime*. It destroyed feudalism. It destroyed the old forms of government. It destroyed the old financial system. It destroyed the old judicial system. It made revolutionary changes in the Church of the country. However, in addition to all this destruction, attempts were made to give France a simple system of administration in which the people had a hand. All this was achieved not only by the efforts of the National Assembly but also by the efforts of all those peasants who revolted in the country-side, destroyed the villas and documents of



title of the nobles, killed the nobles and clergymen and thereby struck terror into the hearts of the privileged classes and completely demoralized them.

Critics point out that the National Assembly opened the way to mob-rule. It put forward dangerous theories. It created a division in the country on the question of religion. It made the mistake of separating the legislature from the executive. It foolishly passed a law by which the members of the National Assembly were debarred from election to the new legislature under the new constitution. "No wonder, much of its work was undone later on. However, some of it remained permanent and became the source of inspiration for the people of the Europe and the world.

According to Kropotkin, "The work done by the Constituent Assembly was undoubtedly middle-class work. But to introduce into the customs of the nation the principle of political equality, to abolish the relics of the rights of one man over the person of another, to awaken the sentiment of equality and the spirit of revolt against inequalities, was nevertheless an immense work. Only it must be remembered, as Louis Blanc has remarked, that to maintain and to kindle that fiery spirit in the Assembly, 'the wind that was blowing from the street was necessary.' 'Even rioting,' he adds, 'in those unparalleled days, produced from its tumult many wise inspirations! *Every rising was so full of thoughts!*' In other words, it was the street, the man in the street, that each time forced the Assembly to go forward with its work of reconstruction. Even a revolutionary Assembly, or one at least that forced itself upon monarchy in a revolutionary way, as the Constituent Assembly did, would have done nothing if the masses of the people had not impelled it to march forward, and if they had not crushed, by their insurrections, the anti-revolutionary resistance." (*The Great French Revolution*, p. 173).

**Flight of the King (June 1791).** Before the National Assembly finished its work on 30th September 1791, a very important event had taken place in France and that was the attempted flight of the king from the country. Louis XVI had been dragged from Versailles to Paris by the mob. He was living in the Tuileries in retirement and it was only on certain occasions that he was asked to appear by the National Assembly. The king felt that he was practically a prisoner in the hands of the Parisian mob. After the death of Mirabeau, he lost all support. The new constitution framed by the National Assembly deprived him practically of all powers. He felt that it was impossible for him to continue in that unbearable position. He is stated to have remarked: "*I would rather be king of Metz than remain King of France in such a position, but this will end soon.*" A plan was made for running away from France to Austria. The members of the royal family disguised themselves and left their residence in secret. If the royal party had been cautious, and also made a determined effort to reach the frontier as quickly as possible unmindful of the inconvenience, there was every possibility of their escape. However, the royal party was captured when it was still 20 miles away from the frontier. It was brought



back to Paris under very humiliating circumstances. The unsuccessful flight of the king had very serious consequences. It clearly showed that the king did not approve of the revolution from his heart and was also an enemy of the constitution. Men like Robespierre and Danton demanded that kingship should be abolished and a republic established in its place. However, the constitutional monarchists still had their majority in the National Assembly and consequently no action was taken against the king. The king took an oath to support the constitution and the matter rested there. It was under these circumstances that the National Assembly dissolved itself on 30th September 1791.

### Suggested Readings

- |                  |   |   |
|------------------|---|---|
| Acton            | : | <i>Lectures on the French Revolution.</i>   |
| Bourne           | : | <i>The Revolutionary Period in Europe.</i>  |
| Brinton, C.      | : | <i>A Decade of Revolution (1789-1799) New York, 1934</i>                          |
| Lowell           | : | <i>The Eve of the French Revolution.</i>  |
| MacLehose        | : | <i>From the Monarchy to the Republic.</i>   |
| Mathews          | : | <i>The French Revolution.</i>   |
| Robinson & Beard | : | <i>Readings in Modern European History.</i>                                       |
| Thompson, E.     | : | <i>Popular Sovereignty and the French Constituent Assembly (1789-1791), 1952.</i> |
| Thomson          | : | <i>Europe Since Napoleon.</i>   |





## CHAPTER IV

### THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AND NATIONAL CONVENTION

**The Legislative Assembly (1791-1792).** Elections were held under the constitution framed by the National Assembly in 1791 and the Legislative Assembly met on 1st October 1791. The Assembly consisted of 745 members, but unfortunately all of them were new to their jobs. Foolishly, the National Assembly had passed a self-denying law by which its members were debarred from being elected to the Legislative Assembly under the new constitution. This was most unfortunate and the country was to suffer on that account. Most of the members of the Legislative Assembly held extreme views and that could give an indication of the trouble ahead.

**Clubs in France.** At that time, certain political clubs came into existence and the most important of them were the *Jacobin Club* and the *Cordelier Club*. As regards the Jacobin Club, it was moderate at the outset but it grew more and more radical with the passage of time. This happened particularly after Mirabeau and Lafayette left the Club. The result was that Robespierre, a radical democrat, came to the front. Under his leadership, the radical opinion in the country was mobilised and a large number of branches were established all over the country. After some time, the Jacobin Club became a rival of the Legislative Assembly itself. The Cordelier Club was led by Danton and was radical from the very beginning. Its members were recruited from the lower strata of society and republicanism was strong from the very beginning. It is to be observed that these clubs exercised a tremendous influence on the public in the country.

**Political Groups in the Assembly.** Reference may also be made to the political groups in the Legislative Assembly. The *Constitutionalists* were the supporters of the Constitution of 1791 and consequently stood for a constitutional form of government in the country. They were prepared to accept the king with his limited powers. The Republicans were divided into two main groups the *Girondists* and the *Jacobins*. The Jacobins were also known as the Mountain on account of their raised seats in the Assembly premises. The Girondists were moderates but they stood for establishing a republican form of government. They were not practical in their approach. Their outlook was more academic than practical. They were very particular about legal forms and processes and were opposed to brute force. According to Prof. Hazen, "The Girondists have enjoyed a poetic immortality ever since imaginative histories of the Revolution issued from the pensive pen of the poet Lamartine, who portrayed them as pure and high-minded



patriots caught in the swirl of a wicked world. The description was inaccurate. They were not disinterested martyrs in the cause of good government. They were a group of politicians whose discretion was not as conspicuous as their ambition. They paid for that vaulting emotion the price which it frequently exacts. They knew how to make their tragic exit from life bravely and heroically. They did not know, what is more difficult, how to make their lives wise and profitable to the world. They were a group of eloquent young men, led by a romantic young woman. For the real head of this group that had its hour upon the stage and then was heard no more in the deafening clamour of the later Revolution was Madame Roland, their bright particular star. Theirs was a bookish outlook upon the world. They fed upon Plutarch, and boundless was their admiration for the ancient Greeks and Romans. They were republicans because those glorious figures of the earlier time had been republicans; also because they imagined that, in a republic, they would themselves find a better chance to shine and to irradiate the world. Dazzled by these prototypes they burned with the spirit of emulation." The Jacobins were Republicans of the extreme type. They were prepared to adopt all kinds of means for the establishment and safety of a republican form of government in the country. It is true that the Girondists had a majority in the Legislative Assembly at the beginning, but the influence of the Jacobins was growing every day on account of the backing of the Jacobin Club.

**Laws vetoed by King.** The Legislative Assembly passed two laws. By the first law all priests were required to act according to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. It was provided that those clergymen who did not accept the Civil Constitution by a particular date, were to be deprived of their pensions and were also to be considered as suspects. They were liable to be removed from their districts in case of any trouble. The second law dealt with those Frenchmen who had left their country and were persuading foreign powers to intervene on their behalf to crush the French Revolution. They were called the *Emigres*. The law required them to return to France by a fixed date. In the event of their failure to do so, their properties were to be confiscated and they were liable to be punished with death. Louis XVI did not approve of these laws and consequently vetoed both of them. The law against the non-juring clergymen pricked his own conscience and the king himself seemed to be in sympathy with the *Emigres*. The people of Paris were not prepared to accept such an attitude on the part of the king and consequently they attacked the residence of the king on 20th June 1792. They found the king in one room and the queen and young dauphin in another. For hours, the king was jostled, insulted and stared at. When the mob left, one of them observed thus: "We will come back again, and we will get what we want." This was a dangerous precedent.

They came back again. At midnight of 9th August 1792, the tocsin sounded from the steeples of the capital and the regular government of Paris was superseded by a violent body with Danton as the leader. The National Guards around the palace were removed or melted away. Their commander was murdered. The threat



became so serious that at about eight in the morning, the royal family left the palace and with great difficulty took refuge in the building of the Assembly. As he entered Louis XVI observed : "I have come to prevent a great crime." There was a bloody battle between Swiss guards of the palace and the mob. About 600 of them were killed and the palace was captured and looted by the mob. The royal family remained in the building of the Assembly for three days and after that they were imprisoned in one of the gloomy prison-like towers of the temple where they remained till their death.

The object of the rising was achieved. The king was suspended. A provisional government was set up with Danton as Minister of Justice. However, the real power was in the hands of the new Commune of Paris and the Jacobin Club.

**Factors leading to War.** France was drifting towards war and that was due to many causes. The revolutionaries of France were not contented with the spread of their ideas only in their own country. They seemed to be determined to propagate their ideas in other countries of Europe. Naturally, the rulers of other States were opposed to these activities of the Frenchmen and bitterness was being created. The Emigres were carrying on propaganda against France in other countries of Europe and there was every possibility of their attack on France with foreign help. France had abolished all the feudal dues and tithes. That applied to Alsace and other border provinces which once belonged to the German Empire. The Peace of Westphalia of 1648 had guaranteed certain rights and privileges to the German princes and they seem to have been hit by the action of the French Government. It is true that the French Government offered to compensate the German princes for the loss of their rights, but the princes rejected the offer and appealed to the German Diet. France also annexed Avignon which had been under the Pope from 14th century. This was considered to be a breach of international law. The French were particularly against Austria because she had not dispersed the French Emigres from the German soil. Austria was suspected of helping them. On 27th August 1791, both Austria and Prussia issued the Declaration of Pillnitz. It was declared that the cause of the French Government was the cause of the kings of Europe and both Austria and Prussia were prepared to intervene in France if the rulers of other countries joined hands with them. The threat of foreign intervention was resented by the people of France and that strengthened the hands of Girondists who were in favour of declaring war and thereby getting an opportunity to end the monarchy in France. The French Government gave an ultimatum to Austria and war was declared in April 1792.

Although the Girondists were clamouring for war and started it, they could not prosecute it successfully. These people were impractical politicians and no wonder the French were defeated on all fronts. Their attack on Belgium failed. They were defeated by the combined armies of Austria and Prussia. The Frenchmen attributed their defeats not to their own lack of preparation but to the activities of the king. It was stated that the military secrets of France were passed on to the enemies by the royal family and



consequently the French were defeated. The French king was dubbed as the cause of the French defeats. When the king was being condemned from all quarters, the Duke of Brunswick, who was the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces, issued in July 1792 a manifesto to the French people in which he declared his intention to restore in France the Bourbons to their legitimate position in the State. The French reply to the manifesto was a revolt in Paris in August 1792. The outcome of the revolt was the establishment of the dictatorship of Danton. On 10th August 1792, the king was suspended and elections were ordered for a National Convention to prepare a new constitution for the country.

The policy of Danton can be summed up in his own words thus : "*In my opinion, the way to stop the enemy is to terrify the royalists. Audacity, more audacity and always greater audacity.*" The result of his policy was the wholesale massacre of the royalists in Paris. Men, women and children, nobles and the magistrates, priests and bishops and others suspected of having sympathy with the royalist cause were murdered in cold blood. As the Allies were advancing into France, fear deepened into panic. Supreme control passed into the hands of Danton and his colleagues. On 20th September 1792, the Allies were defeated in the Battle of Valmy and their advance was checked. France was saved from the immediate danger. The victory gave self-confidence to the French troops and after that they won victory after victory. It was under these circumstances that the National Convention met on 21st September 1792.

**The National Convention (1792-95)** According to Prof. Hayes, "Perhaps no legislative body in history has been called upon to solve such knotty problems as those which confronted the National Convention at the beginning of its session." Something had to be done with the deposed king. The country had to be saved from foreign invasion. Internal insurrection had to be suppressed. A government had to be established. Social reforms had to be completed and consolidated. A new constitution had to be framed for the country. It goes to the credit of the National Convention that it accomplished all these tasks successfully.

The deposed king was put up for trial and was found unanimously guilty of treason. By a small majority, his immediate death was voted upon. While the Girondists pleaded for leniency, the Jacobins demanded his immediate execution. Ultimately, the king was guillotined on Sunday, January, 21, 1793.<sup>1</sup> His last words were:

1. Carlyle has given the following account of the execution of the king : "The Son of Sixty Kings is to die.....The drums are beating : "Taisezvous, Silence!" he cries in a terrible voice, d'une voix terrible" He mounts the Scaffold, not without delay ; he is in puce coat, breeches of gray, white stockings. He strips off the coat ; stands disclosed in a sleeve waistcoat of white flannel. The Executioners approach to bind him : he spurns, resists ; Abbe Edgeworth has to remind him how the Saviour, in whom men trust, submitted to be bound. His hands are tied, his head bare, the fatal moment is come. He advances to the edge of the Scaffold, 'his face very red', and says : 'Frenchmen, I die innocent ; it is from the Scaffold and near appearing before God that I tell you so. I pardon my enemies, I desire that France.....' A

(Continued on next page)



*"Gentlemen, I am innocent of that of which I am accused. May my blood assure the happiness of the French."*

**Foreign Policy.** The work of the National Convention may be discussed under two heads : foreign policy and internal policy. As regards foreign policy, a very difficult situation had to be handled. In December 1792, the National Convention issued the following decree : "The French nation declares that it will treat as enemies every people who, refusing liberty and equality or renouncing them, may wish to maintain, recall, or treat with a prince, and the privileged classes..." In January 1793, Louis XVI was executed on the ground that he had bribed the members of the National or Constituent Assembly and also written letters to his fellow-monarchs urging them to come to his assistance. Both on account of the French declaration of war against all the monarchs of Europe and the execution of Louis XVI, Austria, Prussia, Great Britain, Holland, Spain and Sardinia joined hands to crush the revolution in France. It was not an easy task for the French revolutionaries to meet the danger from outside. The Convention met the situation with a firm hand. Under the leadership and supervision of Carnot, a spirit of militarism was infused among Frenchmen. On January 31, 1793, Danton declared : "The limits of the republic are set by nature herself and those limits we will attain to the four corners of the horizon, to the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees and the Ocean. These must be boundaries of our republic, and no power on earth shall prevent our reaching them." In February 1793, a compulsory levy on half a million men was ordered. It was enacted in August 1793, that every Frenchman between the ages of 18 and 25 was to render military service. Carnot drafted men, silenced complaints, got extra volunteers, drilled the troops and hurried them to the frontiers of France to check the invasion. He prepared plans of campaigns, appointed trusted officers and infused in them a new spirit of fighting for the cause of the French Revolution. By the end of 1793, he had 770,000 men under arms and most of them were fanatically attached to the cause of the Revolution. Bourgeois citizens, artisans and peasants backed the action of the Government. They sang the *Marseillaise* and waved the banner of liberty, equality and fraternity.

The militarism of France was based on the principle of "*the nation in arms*". Soon the country was not only cleared of foreign troops, but the war was pressed on into the Netherlands, along the Rhine, in Savoy and across the Pyrenees. The French armies were so much successful that Carnot, who had formerly been given the title of "*Organizer of Defence*", came to be called by the name of "*Organizer of Victory*". It is impossible to do justice to the amazing companions of 1794 and 1795. All that need be said is that wher

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General on horseback, Santerre or another, prances out, with uplifted hand : Tambours ! The drumme drown the voice. "Executioners, do your duty". The Executioners, desperate lest themselves be murdered (for Santerre and his Armed Ranks will strike, if they do not) seize the hapless Louis ; six of them desperate, him singly desperate, struggling there ; and bind him to their plank. Abbe Edgeworth, stooping, bespeaks him : "Son of Saint Louis, ascend to Heaven." The Axe clanks down ; a king's life is shorn away."



the National Convention ended in 1795, the First Coalition against France had been completely smashed. Spain had to humble herself by entering into an alliance with Republican France. By the Treaty of Basle of 1795, the King of Prussia gave France a free hand on the left bank of the Rhine. William V of Holland was deposed and his territory was transformed into the Republic of Batavia which entered into an alliance with France. French troops got possession of the Austrian Netherlands and the territories of the Rhine. Only Great Britain, Austria and Sardinia remained in arms against the French Republic.

**Home Policy.** As regards the home policy of the National Convention, the latter had to face a very difficult situation. A militant spirit had been created among the people and consequently there were riots at many places, *e.g.*, Lyons, Marseilles and Bordeaux. The peasants in La Vendee revolted with a view to restoring monarchy and re-establishing the Catholic Church. However, all these revolts were crushed with a heavy hand and no dissent was tolerated.

(1) In 1793, the National Convention entrusted the supreme executive authority of France to the Committee of Public Safety. This Committee included important personalities like Robespierre, Carnot and St. Just. From 1793 to 1794, there was a virtual Reign of Terror in France. The chief agencies of the Committee of Public Safety were the Committee of General Security and the Revolutionary Tribunal. By the Law of Suspects, any person who was of noble birth or who had held office before the Revolution or had any relation with an emigre, or who could not produce assigned certificate of citizenship, was liable to be hanged. During this period the guillotine played a very important part. It is estimated that about 5,000 persons were executed in Paris alone during the Reign of Terror. Among those executed were Marie Antoinette and Madame Rolland. Although the terror started in Paris, it also spread to the countryside. Local tribunals were established everywhere to search out and condemn suspected persons. Hundreds of persons were put to death at Lyons. At Nantes, Carrier took the victims into the Loire and drowned them. It is estimated that about 15,000 persons perished in the provinces. The militant spirit took a toll of not only innocent persons, but even the perpetrators of the crimes were not spared. The Reign of Terror ended with the disposal of Danton, St. Just and Robespierre.

(2) One of the greatest achievements of the National Convention was that it preached the gospel of nationalism to the people. With a view to creating a truly nationalist army, a decree was issued in 1794 by which compulsory military service was prescribed for all able-bodied Frenchmen. The decree stated: "The young men shall go to the battle; the married men shall forge arms and transport provisions; the women shall make tents and clothing, and shall serve in the hospitals; the children shall turn linen into lint; the aged shall betake themselves to the public places in order to rouse the courage of the warriors and preach hatred of the Government and



the unity of the Republic." This was the real beginning of militarism on a large scale in Europe.

(3) The National Convention also provided that French was to be the only language for purposes of national instruction throughout the country.

(4) The work of codification of the national laws of the country was also taken in hand and much progress was made in that direction. It was provided that there was to be no imprisonment for debt. There was to be no slavery in French colonies. Women were to have their right to property. The law of primogeniture by which the eldest son got everything and the others nothing, was ended. All children were to have equal shares of the property. A new and uniform system of weights and measures, called the Metric System, was established.

(5) Certain experiments were made in the field of religion also. The National Convention showed hostility towards the traditional form of Christianity. Clergymen were considered to be suspected persons. Attempts were made to de-Christianise France. Churches were transformed into temples of reason. Several Catholic bishops and priests gave up Christianity. Under the auspices of the Paris Commune, the atheistic "religion of reason" was inaugurated in the Cathedral of Notre Dame in November 1793. The deistic cult of the Supreme Being was also introduced. However, after the fall of Robespierre in July 1794, the National Convention took up the attitude that religion was a private affair and it was not the business of the State either to establish or to maintain an official religion. The result was that religious toleration was given to all and many church buildings were restored for Christian worship in 1795.

(6) The National Convention also made changes in the calendar. The year was divided in 12 months and each month was to consist of three weeks of 10 days each. Every tenth day was declared a holiday. The five or six days left over at the end of the year, were to be observed as National Holidays. The names of the months<sup>1</sup> were changed and the year was to start from 22nd September 1792.

(7) The National Convention also made some experiments in the socialist field. The property of the emigres was confiscated. Persons of wealth, clergymen and nobles were all treated as suspects. Large landed estates were broken up and offered for sale in small parcels on easy terms so that the ordinary people may be able to own land. Thus a large number of peasant-proprietors were created. No compensation was to be given to those who were deprived of their lands. The view of Marat was that *the rich have so long sucked out the marrow of the people that they are now visited with a crushing retribution.* Attempts were made to collect money by means of forced loans with a view to keeping down the cost of

1. The names of the months from September to August were Vendémiaire, Brumaire, Frimaire, Nivose, Pluviose, Ventose, Germinal, Floreal, Prairial, Messidor, Thermidor and Fructidor. The contemporary English translation of those names was Wheezy, Sneezy, Freezy, Slippy, Drippy, Nippy, Showery, Flowery, Bowery, Wheaty, Heaty and Sweetzy.



living. "The laws of the maximum" were passed which fixed the prices of grains, other necessities of life and the rates of wages. It was also provided that everybody was to be addressed as "citizen". There was to be no gradation in society.

(8) After the fall of Robespierre in July 1794, the laws against the suspects and the laws of the maximum were repealed. The revolutionary tribunal was suppressed. By 1795, France was definitely committed to a republican form of government. The constitution which had been drawn up by the Girondists in 1791, was set aside and a new one was prepared in 1795. According to the new constitution, France was to have two chambers: a lower house consisting of 500 members and a Council of Ancients consisting of 250 members to examine and enact the laws. The executive authority in the State was entrusted to a Committee of five Directors known as the Directory. The Directors were to be elected by the legislature and they were to appoint the ministers of the State who were to supervise the enforcement of the laws.

(9) Another achievement of the National Convention was the creation of the Normal School, the Polytechnic School, the Museum of the Louvre, the National Library and the Institute de France.

**Reign of Terror (1793-94).** It seems desirable to write in detail about the Reign of Terror which began officially with the institution of the Revolutionary Tribunal on 9th March 1793, and ended with the guillotining of Robespierre on 29th July 1794. To some persons, the Reign of Terror seemed to be aimlessly bloody, disgusting and unnecessary. To others, it appeared to be altogether essential. It is stated that "*stern discipline can manufacture collective heroism.*" After the misgovernment of the Girondists, France was badly in need of stern discipline. There were thousands of Frenchmen who were disloyal and cowardly and the Reign of Terror was considered to be essential for them. In order to save France from internal troubles and the danger from foreign invaders, it was considered necessary to turn France into an armed camp. The need was urgent and consequently the measures had to be both stern and speedy.

The Reign of Terror has been described as martial law gone mad. Popular fear, mingled with fury against the counter revolutionaries, took the form of a military organisation. The exigency of the circumstances demanded that something should be done to make the Frenchmen march to the front to fight the enemies and that was made possible by the Reign of Terror which enabled Danton, Carnot and St. Just to meet the situation. Danton was neither blood-thirsty nor corrupt. He was driven by a patriotism which aimed at the salvation of France. He devoted his giant body and voice to the service of the country. Carnot was a born administrator, soldier and strategist. He was thorough in everything he did. It is pointed out that he forged Napoleon's thunderbolts and without him the terror would have been simply disgusting. He organised 13 armies and provided them with all they wanted and thus led them to victory. St. Just made his name terrible to the inefficient and the



slack. He possessed a fighting patriotism and he moved to and fro between Paris and the headquarters of the armies with a view to putting vigour into the whole show.

By a decree of 1794 compulsory military service was prescribed for all able-bodied Frenchmen. The Committee of Public Security was given police power in order to maintain law and order throughout the length and breadth of the country. The Revolutionary Tribunal was empowered to condemn any person suspected of disloyalty to the Republic. The law of Suspects enabled the government to arrest and hang any person.

It cannot be denied that the Reign of Terror succeeded in its objective. The French armies were victorious in Netherlands. They passed from defence to victory. In December 1793, they recovered Toulon and crushed La Vendee. They were in control of the Alps and the Pyrenees. The Allies were pushed back. They were forced to raise the sieges of Dunkirk, Maubeuge, Tourcoing and Fleurus. The discipline was so stern that every commander and soldier was required to do his very best. The commander of Maubeuge was told that his head should answer for the fortress. Although Houchard drove back the besiegers of Dunkirk, he was guillotined because he did not turn the *retreat* into a *route*.

The success of the French armies was partly due to the unity of command, their fanaticism for their cause and stern discipline. It was also partly due to the weakness of the Allies. There was no unity of command or plan among them. Every ally was busy in his own way. Austria, Prussia and Russia were busy in planning the partition of Poland and dividing their shares and consequently could not concentrate on the war with France. It is true that Pitt the Younger, tried to concentrate his forces in the Netherlands, but he also indulged in side-shows. The Duke of York, who was the British Commander in the Netherlands, was absolutely inefficient and that is clear from the following :—

The good old Duke of York.

He had ten thousand men.

He marched them up to the top of the hill.

Then he marched them down again.

There were two alternatives which the Allies could follow. They could smash the French armies and the fortresses on the way while advancing to Paris. The other alternative was to attack and conquer all the French fortresses and then proceed to Paris. The second alternative was actually followed by the Allies. Their belief was that the time spent in reducing one by one the "barrier fortresses" would allow anarchy to develop in Paris and if an immediate advance was made against Paris, all the Frenchmen might be combined together to defend their country. What actually happened *was that the Allies lost valuable time in capturing the barrier fortresses and France got time to prepare her armies to meet them and defeat them.*

It cannot be denied that the military machine which saved France was oiled with blood. Everything in France was controlled from the Centre. The representatives of the Committee of Public



safety were put in charge of districts and no sign of slackness was seen in any shape or form. The city of Lyons had taken up the cause of the Girondists. It took 4½ months to subdue it. When that was done, the National Convention passed the following decree: "The city of Lyons is to be destroyed. Every house which was inhabited by the rich shall be demolished. There will remain only the homes of the poor, of patriots, and buildings especially employed for industries, and those edifices dedicated to humanity and to education." The very name of the city was to be obliterated. It was in future to be known as the *Liberated City* (*Commune affranchie*). More than 3,500 persons were arrested and nearly half of them were executed. The person in charge of the executions remarked thus: "*What a sight worthy of Liberty, what a delicious moment!*"

The district of Vendee had revolted against the Republic. The people had not approved of the laws against the priests. They had refused to fight in the Republican armies. The Government was perfectly justified in putting down the rebellion but while doing so, it perpetrated atrocities which were not warranted by the circumstances. Carrier who had been deputed by the National Convention set up a record for barbarity. He considered the method of the Revolutionary Tribunal as slow and ordered the prisoners to be shot in squads. He got the prisoners bound down, put in the boats and the latter sunk in the river Loire. Even the Committee of Public Safety was shocked and asked for an explanation. The reply of Carrier was: "Is it my fault that the boats did not reach the destination?" The number of dead bodies in the river was so large that water got poisoned. Carrier was removed from his post but no action was taken against him.

Prisons were crowded and constantly men and women were brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal. Acquittals were rare and guillotine was the universal penalty. In October 1793, Marie Antoinette was executed. A large number of the Girondists were executed. On 6th November, Philippe, Duke of Orleans, who had championed the cause of the Revolution, voted for the king's death and given his palace to the agitators, was put to death. On 10th November, Madame Roland was executed. When she mounted the scaffold, she exclaimed: "*Liberty! what crimes are committed in thy name!*" On 12th November, Bailly, first President of the National Assembly, met his death. Generals like Custine and Biron were guillotined, charged either with treason or slackness in the pursuit of the enemy.

By the spring of 1794, it was felt that there was no justification for continuing the Reign of Terror because the Allies had already been beaten back. There was general desire to end the horror of tribunals, guillotines, drownings and fusillades. Danton expressed his desire in April 1794 and he had to pay with his life. Robespierre was determined to continue his dictatorship. His ambition was to play the part of Rousseau's dictator. He wanted to interfere with the private beliefs and morals of the people. He wanted to purge France of all that was hostile to his idea of virtue.



He guillotined the leading members of the Commune for their atheistic ideas. It is pointed out that heads would have continued to fall like slates if an end had not been put to the life of Robespierre. The latter tried to usurp all the powers into his own hands. Fouché worked behind the scenes upon the fear of the National Convention and thereby helped them to have the courage to oppose Robespierre. Robespierre was publicly accused of subverting liberty. He was outlawed and his arrest was ordered. He put up resistance at the Hotel of Ville. He tried to set the Commune against the National Convention. However, all his efforts failed. He was captured and guillotined on 28th July 1794. With his death, the Reign of Terror ended.

According to Gottschalk and Lach, "Under the Terror the Revolution had assumed somewhat the character of a cult. Patriotism was officially exalted and the government tried to make patriotic celebrations resemble religious rites, the painter David lending his art to enhance their pageantry. The republican, whatever his social standing, were sans-culottes (the long, loose trouser of the working man), a shirt open at the neck, a red 'liberty cap,' and wooden shoes (leather being badly needed by the army). Women affected the simple, loose, flowing robes of classical times. Wigs, breeches, and buckles became dangerous aristocratic anachronisms. The stately minute of the old days was eschewed in favour of simple and lively folk dances like the 'camagnole'. Theatre and press were strictly controlled, confined to pro-republican propaganda. Mirabau, Voltaire, Marat, and Rousseau were made into 'revolutionary saints' by being translated to the Pantheon with elaborate pomp." (*Europe and the Modern World.*, Vol. I pp. 669-70)

According to Grant and Temperley. "The fall of Robespierre might perhaps have been simply one incident among many in the Reign of Terror; it might have led up to the rule of some fiercer and less scrupulous terrorist; but, as a matter of historic fact, from the moment of the fall of Robespierre, the Reign of Terror began rapidly to pass away. The reasons for this are many. The situation was essentially unstable. The rule of the guillotine could not have been made permanent in eighteenth century France, and public opinion in Paris was turning clearly and violently against it; but there are two reasons more important than any others which rendered the disappearance of the Reign of Terror at this moment inevitable. The first is that the foreign danger was now rapidly disappearing. After the battle of Fleurus, France was herself an aggressive power, and that the assault upon her frontiers, north and east and south, had proved an entire failure. There was rising up in the country a feeling of military confidence and pride that made the Revolutionary Tribunal and the constant batches of victims for the guillotine seem both criminal and absurd. The Reign of Terror was primarily a military measure, and as the military danger passed away the Reign of Terror passed away with it. And then, though less important, whatever else the fall of Robespierre meant, it meant the victory of the Convention. There had been a direct conflict between the forces of the Convention and the forces



of the Commune, between the body that represented France and the body that represented Paris. It was the Convention, it was France that had won. For the first time in the history of the Revolution an attempt to crush by popular force the elected representatives of France had ended in failure and defeat. The Convention felt itself far more confident than before, and it took measures to secure the power that it had won with such difficulty."

It cannot be denied that to some extent the Reign of Terror was a necessity. Perhaps there was no other way to deal with the traitors and cowards. However, the Reign of Terror involved a lot of unnecessary bloodshed, some of which could have been avoided if Robespierre had listened to the advice of Danton and stopped the carnage.

According to Thomson, "The Reign of Terror became possible because of the overthrow of all familiar established forms of government and the double menace of counter-revolution at home and invasion from abroad. That it went so far and lasted so long was due to other causes; above all, to the power of *enrages* and *sansculottes*, the *bras-nus* and the *canaille*—in short of proletarian violence and of criminal extremism exploiting the excitement and savagery of the urban mob. The Terror was directed not just against recalcitrant nobility and clergy or treacherous bourgeoisie, but even more against the mass of ordinary French men and women who were unfortunate enough to fall victim to the twists and turns of party strife. Many were denounced because the chief anxiety was to save yourself by condemning other. The Terror was not an instrument of class war, and 70 per cent of its victims belonged to the peasantry and labouring classes, mostly in rebellion against the State. The Revolutionary Tribunal of Paris condemned to death 2,639 people; revolutionary courts condemned in all about 17,100. The rest of the Terror's 40,000 victims mostly died in summary mass executions in places such as Vendee and Lyons where there was open rebellion against the Convention. Atrocious though it was, by the test of atrocities committed by more modern dictatorships, the Terror was mild and relatively discriminating." (*Europe Since Napoleon*, p. 21)

#### Suggested Readings

Acton	: <i>Lecture on the French Revolution</i>
Bourne	: <i>The Revolutionary Period in Europe.</i>
Carlyle	: <i>The French Revolution.</i>
Clapham, J. H.	: <i>The Causes of the War of 1792.</i>
Fyffe	: <i>History of Modern Europe.</i>
Gardiner, B.M.	: <i>The French Revolution.</i>
Greer, D.	: <i>The Incidence of the Terror, 1935.</i>
Mathews	: <i>The French Revolution.</i>
Stephens	: <i>The French Revolution.</i>
Thomson	: <i>Europe Since Napoleon.</i>



## CHAPTER V

### THE GIRONDISTS AND THE JACOBINS

**The Girondists.** It has already been pointed out that the two parties which were prominent in the Legislative Assembly in 1791 were the Girondists and the Jacobins. The Girondists had the majority and the Jacobins were in a minority. The Girondists were so called from the district of Gironde from which many of their leaders came. On the whole, they were men of higher intellectual calibre, education and refinement. They were honest and decent. Their intentions were pure. They were not unscrupulous in their methods. They were moderates. They had a sense of restraint and loved order. They were not prepared to compromise with the past and hoped to establish a Utopia of their own in France. They stood for a Republican form of government. Their view was that if a war was declared there was every possibility of monarchy being discredited and a republic set up in the country. It was partly on account of their zeal that France declared war against Austria in April 1792. As they were impractical idealists, France did not do well in the war. The French armies were defeated everywhere. Instead of setting their house in order and fighting the enemies, attempts were made to put the responsibility of failures at the door of the king. The net result of this condemnation was that his residence was attacked, his Swiss Guards were murdered and he himself had to take shelter in the Legislative Assembly premises. The mob of Paris was supreme. It was under these circumstances that the National Convention met in September 1792.

As soon as the National Convention opened, a republic was proclaimed in France and a struggle for supremacy between the Girondists and Jacobins started. To begin with, the Girondists were stronger and they seemed to be determined to use their power to suppress and punish the leaders of the Paris Commune. They succeeded in dissolving the Commune. However, in other respects the Girondists were not successful. Their proposal for the formation of a guard for the National Convention was not accepted. Their demand for the punishment of those who were responsible for the September massacres was rejected. Their attacks on Robespierre, Marat and others created mutual bitterness. Their monopoly of power was threatened by the Jacobins. In October 1792, Pache, the Minister of War, left the Girondists and joined the ranks of the Jacobins. The War Office became the meeting place of the Jacobins and Pache also put his wealth and influence at the disposal of the Jacobins.

The Girondists were also weakened by the trial and execution of the king in January 1793. While the Jacobins had demanded the execution of the king, the Girondists were prepared to com-



promise with him if only he was prepared to give up the exercise of his discretionary power and act as a constitutional head. The resolution for the execution of the king was carried through by a process of wholesale intimidation.

From the beginning of 1793, the Girondists began to lose ground. Roland, who was a very active member of the Girondist party, resigned his office in January 1793. Garat was put in charge of the Ministry of the Interior. He was a man of moderate views and good intentions but was absolutely unfit for his job. He lacked both vigour and decision. He did not safeguard the interests of his party because although he got information regarding the preparations of the Jacobins to overthrow the Girondists, he did not inform his own party and also did not take any action himself. Foolishly, he did not attach any importance to them.

When Pache joined the Jacobin party, he was removed from the War Office but he was elected the Mayor of Paris and thus the Jacobins secured control over the Commune of Paris. At that time, the Girondists' proposals for a new constitution were published. Those proposals were unpractical in their nature and pleased none. The Jacobins got an opportunity to attack the Girondists on the ground that the latter wanted to give more powers to the provinces and thereby weaken the influence of Paris and break the unity of the republic. The Girondists declared a kind of war on the Paris Commune. They condemned the disorders which had been created by the mobs of Paris. They foolishly boasted that the provinces were loyal to them while the Paris Commune was not. They threatened to punish all those who intimidated them but actually took no steps to achieve that objective. Danton tried to bring about a reconciliation but he was condemned by them. He was the only man who had influence and ability to save them. Danton remarked thus : "You know not how to forgive !"

The financial position of the government began to deteriorate and it had to resort to fresh issue of Assignats. As a result of inflation, the value of Assignats fell and prices of commodities went up. The people were hard hit and for all these the Girondists were condemned.

Some of the Girondists protested against the money grants spent in providing cheap bread for Paris. This added to the unpopularity of their party in Paris and a demand for their punishment and removal. On 10th March 1793, it was planned to get rid of the Girondists by force. The Jacobin leaders did not approve of it and consequently the attempt failed.

While the Girondists were wavering and steadily losing ground, the Jacobins were preparing for battle with them. They had behind them all the authority of the Paris Commune, the prestige of the Jacobin leaders and the backing of Jacobin Clubs all over the country. They also possessed military power. The National Guard was also separately organised. While their opponents were preparing for a battle royal, the Girondists did nothing to save themselves. They could not depend on the Paris Commune whom they had alienated by their speeches and action. It was they who had



demanding that Paris be reduced to her eighty-third share of influence in the country. It was they who had said that Paris be reduced to ashes so that posterity might ask on which side of the Seine she stood. *The Girondists* could not depend upon the National Guard to defend them as it was under the control of the Jacobins. They had no organization of their own which could take up arms on their behalf. They were not considered to be their leaders either by the middle class or by the aristocracy. They had eloquence and parliamentary battalions but that could not save them from the physical forces of the Jacobins.

In April 1793, the Girondists attacked Marat who was responsible for the September massacres of 1792. However, he was acquitted by the Revolutionary Tribunal. *The Girondists condemned the plots in the various parts of Paris*, but in spite of their condemnation, those plots continued. Instead of compromising, they decided to appeal to the country against Paris. They proposed to shift the National Convention from Paris to Versailles. They talked of dissolving the Paris Commune. In May 1793, they carried a motion appointing an extraordinary commission to enquire into the conspiracies against the National Convention. The Commission ordered the arrest of Herbert, who was the leader of the plotters. This precipitated matters. The Jacobins and the Paris Commune decided to take action against the Girondists. On 31st May 1793<sup>1</sup>, the Commission was cancelled, but on 2nd June 1793, the National Convention was intimidated to order the arrest of 22 leaders of the Girondist party. They were arrested and hanged. While they were being hanged they went on chanting the Marseillaise until death.

1. According to Kropotkin, "May 31 is one of the great dates of the Revolution, and quite as full of significance as July 14 and October 5, 1789, June 21, 1791, and August 10, 1792—but, perhaps, the most tragic of them all. On this day the people of Paris rose for the third time, making its last effort to impress upon the Revolution a really popular character; and to bring this about, it had to stand up—not against the King and the Court, but against the child of the Revolution itself—the National Convention—in order to eliminate from it the leaders of the Girondin Party.

"June 21, 1791, the day of the King's arrest at Warenes, had brought one epoch to a close; the fall of the Girondins on May 31, 1793, was the close of another epoch. At the same time it became a symbol for all revolutions to come. Henceforth, for a long time to come, no revolution will be possible unless it culminates in its May 31. Either there will be in the revolution a day when the peoleterians will separate themselves from the middle-class revolutionists, and will advance them to a point where the others will not be able to follow them without ceasing to be middle class; or this separation will not take place, and then there will be no revolution.

"Even to this day we feel the tragedy of the situation which presented itself to the Republicans of that time. On the eve of May 31, it was no longer a question of a perjured, treacherous king to be set aside; it was against their comrades in the fight that the revolutionists had to proceed, because it had become evident that unless this was done, the reaction would have got the upper hand already in June 1793, while the chief work of the Revolution—the destruction of the feudal system and of the right divine of royalty—had not yet been accomplished. The dilemma was this: either to proscribe the Girondin republican, who had up till then fought so bravely against despotism, but were now saying to the people: 'Thus far, but no farther'; or else to rouse the people for the purpose of eliminating them and passing over their dead bodies to try and accomplish the great work which the Revolution had begun". (*The Great French Revolution*, pp. 391-92)



stilled their voices. Madame Roland uttered the following words : "*Liberty ! what crimes are committed in thy name !*" The tragic end of the Girondist leaders created a stir in the country. Lyons, Marseilles, Toulon and Bordeaux declared against the French Government in Paris. Many departments of France prepared themselves to raise the standard of revolt. The Allies were marching on France from many directions. The English fleet was blockading the French ports. Some of the Girondists escaped from Paris and began to organize resistance in the North. However, the Jacobins handled the situation with a firm hand. The revolts were crushed and the Allies were beaten back. The country was saved both from internal troubles and foreign danger.

The Girondists fell, but it cannot be denied that their ideals will always command sympathy and their eloquent hopes and their courage will always win respect. But they will always be considered as incompetent statesmen.

**The Jacobins.**<sup>1</sup> As compared with the Girondists, the Jacobins were men of rougher stamp, occasionally ill-educated, coarse and unscrupulous. In some cases, they were cruel. In many cases, they were corrupt. However, they were practical and alert politicians who were prepared to run great risks. They were merciless to their enemies, but were prepared to suffer themselves if they were defeated.

According to the Jacobins, all powers and rights resided in the people and the law and government must give way before them. It was the business of the people to watch their rulers, supervise their conduct zealously and always remind them that they were only their agents. It was the duty of the government to obey the people, no matter what its commands were. Popular movements were the highest expression of the law. Even if there was violence and murder, they were still the action of the sovereign. Those who obstructed the will of the people were traitors and those who punished them were guilty of crimes.

The result of such a philosophy was that every man began to assert himself as if he were a part of the sovereign. He began to dictate to the government. Centrifugal tendencies began to take root in the country. Even small municipalities began to assert their independence and refused to listen to any higher authority. It is stated that the priest of a little town established his own dictatorship at the place, issued a complete code for the government, imposed taxes, imprisoned his opponents, confiscated property and exercised all the powers of a sovereign. If the people were sovereign, it followed that any proportion of them were also sovereign. Such a philosophy was bound to result in lawlessness.

The labouring classes also began to assert themselves. They refused to pay rents, tithes, taxes and money claims. The peasants acted likewise. They refused to pay the new taxes imposed on them. They tried to help themselves by taking illegal possession of the

1. According to Napoleon, "The Jacobins are lunatics and they have no commonsense."



property of the State. Trees were cut from the public lands. Even Church property was not spared. Army associations were formed to check the collection of taxes. Customs houses were attacked and clerks were turned out.

It is clear from above that the Jacobins' philosophy resulted in anarchy in the country. There were riots, murders and acts of pillage everywhere. There was a kind of civil war in the country. Law and order broke down. Anyone could kill anyone with impunity. Mob leaders became the law-givers. The opponents were shown no mercy and were killed everywhere. Wherever law is paralysed, the most violent are the most powerful. It was in this atmosphere that the Jacobin party came to the front and took full advantage of the existing state of affairs to drive out the Girondists from power.

Reference may be made to the party organisation of the Jacobins. It is pointed out that the Jacobin party was the first modern example of what organisation could accomplish in politics. The number of genuine Jacobins was never very large. Probably, when the Jacobins were at the height of their power, their number in Paris did not exceed ten or eleven thousands. Their total number in the country was estimated at three or four lakhs. Jacobin leaders belonged mostly to the middle class. There were lawyers, professional men, clerks, journalists, etc. The important leaders of the Jacobins were Danton, Robespierre, St. Just, Desmoulins, Freron, Robert, Chaumette, Marat, Collot, Gregoire etc. There were philosophers, visionaries, priests, actors, etc.

The Jacobin party had its headquarters in Paris. However, it had a large number of branches all over the country. By the end of 1790, it had more than 120 clubs all over the country. By the end of 1791, their number was 400. By June 1792, the number rose to 1,200. In August 1792, there were 26,000 Jacobin clubs in France. It was through these clubs that the Jacobins were able to dominate the politics of France. These clubs became the centres of revolution. Their members had faith, enthusiasm, recklessness and ambition.

The Jacobins were able to add to their strength by capturing the Paris Commune. By the doing so they came to have control over the National Guard. The resources of the capital also came into their hands. The Jacobins controlled the Paris Commune, the Paris Commune controlled the politics of Paris and the politics of Paris controlled France.

By their superior resources, by their better organisation, by their fanaticism for their acts and their unscrupulousness, the Jacobins were able to oust the Girondists. After that, they established the Reign of Terror in the country. However, when the object of the terror was achieved and the foreign invaders were driven out of the country and dissent was suppressed, differences arose among the Jacobin leaders. To begin with, the extreme section of the Mountain, called the Herbertists, was got rid of. After that came the turn of followers of Danton. He and his followers were disposed of by Robespierre. On 28th July, 1794, Robespierre him-



self and his friend St. Just were guillotined. After the ending of the Reign of Terror peace was restored within the country by stages. The Paris Commune was dissolved. The Revolutionary Tribunal was ended. Restrictions were imposed on the powers of the Committee of Public Safety and the Jacobin clubs were also closed. It was under these circumstances that the Jacobins disappeared from the scene after doing a lot of destruction but at the same time saving the country from the foreign invaders and establishing her prestige.

According to Kropotkin, "Most historians, paying a tribute to their authoritarian training, represent the Jacobin Club as the initiator and the head of all the revolutionary movements in Paris and the provinces, and for two generations every one believed this. But now we know that such was not the case. The initiative of June 20 and August 10 did not come from Jacobins. On the contrary, for a whole year they were opposed, even the most revolutionary of them, to appealing again to the people. Only when they saw themselves outflanked by the popular movement, they decided, and again only a section of them, to follow it.

"But with what timidity! They wished to see the people out in the street, combating the royalists; but they dared not wish for the consequences. What if the people were not satisfied with overthrowing the royal power? If popular wrath should turn against the rich, the powerful, the cunning ones, who saw in the Revolution nothing but a means of enriching themselves? If the people should sweep away the Legislative Assembly, after the Tuileries? If the Commune of Paris, the extremists, the "anarchists"—those whom Robespierre himself freely loaded with his invectives—those republicans who preached 'the equality of conditions'—what if they should get the upper hand?

"This is why, in all the conferences which took place before June 20, we see so much hesitation on the part of the prominent revolutionists. This is why the Jacobins were so reluctant to approve the necessity of another popular rising. It was only in July, when the people, setting aside the constitutional laws, proclaimed the 'permanence' of the sections, ordered the general armament, and forced the Assembly to declare 'the country in danger'—it was only then that the Robespierres, the Dantons and, at the very last moment, the Girondists decided to follow the people's lead and declared themselves more or less at one with the insurrection." (*The Great French Revolution*, pp. 257-58).

#### Suggested Readings

- Brinton, C. : *The Jacobins, 1930.*  
 Goodwin, A. : *The French Revolution.*



## CHAPTER VI

### GREAT PERSONALITIES OF THE REVOLUTION

**Mirabeau.** It is desirable to refer to the important personalities of the French Revolution before the rise of Napoleon, and the first in the list is the name of Mirabeau.



Mirabeau

The son of a cruel father, he died at the age of 42 after many ups and downs in his life. He was a man of "instincts and insights". He had "a brain and heart of fire". He was eccentric, violent, ambitious, unscrupulous and cynical. He was ugly, but it is stated that his "very ugliness was a power." He fought duels. His father sent him to prison. He was full of vices and suffered from diseases. However, he was a practical, clear-headed and far sighted statesman. He was not a theorist. He was the greatest man of the French Revolution. He has been called the "adventurer of genius in a dissolving society". It was he who shook old France to its

basis and as if with a single hand held it toppling there, still unfallen. It is stated that when he died in 1791, the funeral procession was three leagues long and the representatives of the king and the rose of Jacobin Club followed his procession. There was mourning for three days in Paris. That gives an idea of his personality.

Mirabeau had travelled a lot in his youth and thereby acquired a lot of experience. Carlyle refers to this fact in these words : "In these strange wayfarings, what has he not seen and tried ? From drill sergeants to Prime Minister, to foreign and domestic booksellers, all manners of men he has seen." Mirabeau visited England and was impressed by the working of the parliamentary system of that country by which the king and responsible ministers worked in co-operation.

Although Mirabeau belonged to the nobility, he was elected to the Third Estate when elections for the Estates-General were held in 1789. His great personality enabled him to come to the front very soon. When the question arose as to whether the three



Estates were to meet separately or together, Mirabeau led the Third Estate and demanded that all the three Estates must meet at one place. When the members of the Third Estate met in the Tennis Court to take the oath, it was Mirabeau who declared that he and his followers would not disperse unless and until their demand was accepted. It was under these circumstances that Louis XVI had to give way and agree to the transformation of the Estates-General into the National Assembly. Mirabeau was the leader of the National Assembly and its president.

Mirabeau was a moderate and he did not agree with the extreme views of the Jacobins and consequently left the Jacobin party. He wanted to follow the English parliamentary form of government in France. With that object in view, he wanted the king to become a constitutional head and he asked the National Assembly to co-operate with the king. His scheme failed because both parties refused to play their respective roles. Mirabeau's view regarding the constitutional framework for France may be explained in these words : "Let the king accept the advice of the Assembly, which was most anxious to co-operate with him, and let the leader of the Assembly, Mirabeau, himself, become the Prime Minister. Then Louis XVI, Mirabeau, and the National Assembly would reproduce on the French side of the Channel, the admirable partnership of George III, Pitt and the House of Commons."

It is to be observed that the National Assembly refused to accept the proposal of Mirabeau because it suspected him. The Jacobins condemned him as "the traitor". The Assembly did not approve of Mirabeau working hand in glove with the king. It refused to play into the hands of reactionary relations and friends of Louis XVI. No wonder, it passed a decree that its members were not to be the members of the king's ministry. In this way, the National Assembly summarily rejected the constitutional scheme of Mirabeau. If this was the attitude of the National Assembly, Mirabeau did not get any better treatment at the hands of the king. Although outwardly the king welcomed his proposals and gave him a lot of money, he did not support him sincerely. He was not prepared to play the role which Mirabeau wanted him to. He hated the very idea of a constitutional head. Mirabeau advised the king to remove the court to Rouen and appeal to the people against the mob-rule of Paris. The king refused to do so, partly because he was afraid of a civil war and partly because of his own habitual lethargy. The queen also did not like the proposal and preferred to get the help of Austria rather than move out of Paris. Both the king and queen did not trust Mirabeau from their inner hearts.<sup>1</sup>

1. This is what Prof. Salvemini says : "Mirabeau whose private life and political past were far from reassuring—who pretended, in secret, to serve the Court, but in public, despite occasional support for monarchical ideas never disavowed revolutionary violence—was not a man to be understood by the two hopeless prisoners in the Tuileries. In their eyes he was merely an unscrupulous intriguer in whom it would be unwise to trust and who would as readily betray them as he was now betraying the revolutionaries ; just as, renegade noble that he was, he had been a traitor to his King in joining the revolution."  
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They never forgot that it was Mirabeau who was responsible for all the opposition at the beginning. The result was that they did not give their wholehearted co-operation to Mirabeau and were always willing to discredit him in the eyes of the public by showing that he had been accepting their money. They forgot that Mirabeau was the only person who was sincerely working for the cause of monarchy and he alone had the strength to save it. By not giving him their effective support, they were destroying their own cause.

Professor Holland Rose points out that the compromise formula of Mirabeau could not succeed in the atmosphere prevailing in the country. The National Assembly was jealous and the king himself was lethargic. Compromise was possible only when all other alternatives had been tried and failed. To quote him; "Not till political experiments had been tried and failed was a compromise between authority and democracy likely to succeed." Mirabeau was so much upset over the non-cooperation of the king and the Assembly that he is stated to have remarked: "*It is clear that we are perishing royalty, authority, the whole nation. The Assembly is killing itself and us with it.*" He died on 2nd April, 1791, broken-hearted but he made the following prophecy: "*I carry in my heart the death-dirge of the monarchy, the deal remains of it will now be the spoil of the factions.*" New France lost a pilot. It is pointed out that "with him perished the greatest man of the revolutionary epoch and the last hope of the French monarchy." Had he lived, France might have avoided the terrible destruction which it faced after his death. He was the only man who could have brought about a compromise between "the wild asses" of the National Assembly and "the royal cattle" of the court. According to Madame de Campan, "*Mirabeau thought himself an Atlas*". No wonder, after his death there was no other person to shoulder his responsibilities and lead both the people and the king. The regret of Mirabeau was: "I am overwhelmed by the thought that all I have done has been to help on a huge destruction." Had he not died at the age of 42, he could have avoided the anarchy in the country.

When Mirabeau became a member of the Estates-General, he was heavily in debt. He accepted a large sum of money from the king to pay his debts. He got a monthly salary of £240. If Mirabeau had kept all that a secret, he might have been able to carry the National Assembly with him. However, his childish love of display revealed the secret and consequently the National Assembly lost all

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Moreover, he had deprived himself of all moral authority by accepting a monthly allowance of 6,000 livres from the King, who was also paying his debts and had promised him a million livres at the closing down of the Assembly. It was all very fine for Mirabeau to tell himself that payment by the Court was not bribery since, having renounced none of his ideas, he was leading the King to adopt them; or to say, 'A man like me can accept a hundred thousand crowns, but cannot be bought for such a sum.' In the eyes of those who paid, he was selling himself; and the transaction lowered the value of all his advice and transformed him into a political turncoat whose pockets the King and Queen were ready to fill simply for fear of having him as an adversary." (*The French Revolution*, p. 185)



faith in him. Events might have taken a different turn if Mirabeau had used more restraint in life.

According to Prof. Salvemini, "What would have become of Mirabeau—confronted, as he was, by suspicion and accusations, the shameful truth of which none knew better than himself—if his exasperation, his frenzied and consuming work, and the brutish pleasures in which he tried to drown his agony and discouragement had not struck him down in the prime of the stormy life: if he had lived, for instance, till the flight of the royal family from Paris had revealed the gulf between his ideas and the King's? Induced by the immorality of his private life to abandon the high road of politics, he had lost his way in the devious paths of intrigue; what, then, would have been his position, between the Court, which had pretended to use him without understanding him, and the revolutionaries who had followed him unaware of his real purpose? The brief and violent malady that carried him off on the morning of April 2nd, 1791, ended all the conflicts and dangers in which step by step he had become involved. He disappeared in the tragic last throes of a world that would not let itself be saved, after a life compounded of brilliance and baseness, glory and dishonour." (*The French Revolution*, p. 187).

**Marat (1742-1793).** If Marat had not taken interest in politics, he might have been known in history as a scientist and a man of letters. He was a physician and he was so skilful in his profession that he had received an honorary degree from St. Andrews University in Scotland. For a time, he was in the service of the Count of Artois.

However, his attention was diverted to politics after summoning of the Estates-General in 1789. There was a feeling in France that Frenchmen should copy the constitutional pattern of Great Britain. This was opposed by Marat whose knowledge of Great Britain convinced him that Great Britain was ruled not by the people but an aristocratic oligarchy. He himself stood for a real reform in which the people of France would



Marat

have a say and would also be benefited. From 1789 to 1792, he edited a newspaper called *Ami Du Peuple* or *the Friend of the People*. In that newspaper, he attacked the court, the clergy, the nobles and even the National Assembly. He was attached to no party and he sacrificed almost everything for his mission. No



poverty, misery or persecution could keep him quiet. He was forced to hide in cellars and sewers and he contracted a loathsome skin disease.

Marat loved the people and the people loved him. For the cause of the people, he was prepared to make any sacrifices. He was ready for bloodshed if that could help the cause of the people. He was responsible for the revolt of May 31, 1793 and the expulsion of the Girondist members from the Assembly and their ultimate execution. He was the man who was feared and hated by the authorities but loved and venerated by the masses of the capital. He was assassinated in July 1793 by Charlotte Corday, a young woman who was fanatically attached to the Girondist faction.

In the death of Marat, people lost their most devoted friend. It is true that Girondins represented him as a blood-thirsty madman who did not even know what he wanted. However, it cannot be denied that when in 1790 and 1791 all the heroism of the people was not able to break the royal power, Marat came to the conclusion that a few thousand aristocratic heads should be sacrificed to make the Revolution a success. Whatever he did was done only with a view to bring about the victory of the Revolution. It is pointed out that with his love of the people to guide him, Marat was the only revolutionary leader who had a real understanding of events and power of grasping them as a whole, in their intricate bearings on one another. He foresaw what was to come, far better than any of his contemporaries.

**Danton (1759-94).** Danton was the son of a farmer. He studied law and became a lawyer. Before the outbreak of the French Revolution, he acquired reputation as a brilliant young lawyer and a man of liberal tastes. He was fond of books and happy in his domestic life. He possessed a powerful physique and a stentorian voice. He was a skilful debator and a convincing orator. Unlike Mirabeau, he himself remained calm and self-possessed while his audiences were carried away by the enthusiasm. Like Mirabeau, he was interested in the welfare of the class below him. What the nobleman Mirabeau was to the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois Danton was to the Parisian proletariat.



Danton

Danton came to the front in the early days of the French Revolution through the favour of Mirabeau. He showed his worth within a very short time. In co-operation with Marat and Desmoulins, Danton founded the Cordelier Club in 1790 and he directed the activities of that club in 1791 and 1792 against the royal family.



He was an influential member of the Paris Commune and was largely responsible for the swing of the pendulum in the favour of Republicanism. It is true that Danton was rough and courageous but he was not blood-thirsty. He was a practical statesman who was prepared to adjust his action according to the need of the situation.

When the Allies surrounded France on all sides in 1792 and the Duke of Brunswick issued a proclamation asking the people of France to surrender and threatening them with dire consequences if they injured in any way the royal family, there was a revolt in Paris and Danton became the leader. The royal palace was attacked, its guards were murdered and kingship itself was suspended. It was under the dictatorship of Danton that it was decided to strike terror into the hearts of internal and external enemies. On that occasion, Danton summed up his policy in these words: "*In my opinion, the way to stop the enemy is to terrify royalists. Audacity, more audacity and always greater audacity.*" The result of that policy was that thousands of men, women and children were put to death. Even magistrates, priests and bishops who were suspected to have royalist sympathies were murdered in cold blood. Danton infused a new life and spirit into the French armies. It is these armies that were able to push back the Allies from the French borders and regain their lost possessions. He co-operated with Robespierre during the Reign of Terror. However, he felt in the beginning of 1794 that there was no necessity for the continuation of the Reign of Terror and consequently advised a policy of moderation. That was not liked by persons like Robespierre and St. Just and consequently he and his friend Desmoulins were guillotined. And "with his fall, France lost a statesman who could possibly have dominated the course of events."

Like a true statesman Danton tried to remove the differences between the Jacobins and the Girondists with a view to keeping all the Republicans working together for the welfare of France. However, he failed to do so on account of the attitude of the Girondists and Danton was very unhappy over his failure. The only result of that was that the Girondists were liquidated.

According to Grant and Temperley, "The figure of Danton is a somewhat strange one in history of the Revolution. He was often regarded as one of the most blood-stained of the Jacobins. He had advocated in the crisis of August 1792, 'Audacity, Audacity, and always Audacity.' Yet the more his career is scrutinised the more clearly do we see that, though he was capable of violent action when occasion seemed to call for it, his constant effort was to prevent the Revolution from falling into the abyss of anarchy and bloodshed which we know awaited it. He desired to return in many ways to ancient methods; he advocated, at a time when it was dangerous to do so, mercy, authority, and respect for government. Jacobin though he was, it was his aim at first to co-operate with the Girondist party, and he made overtures to them for that end."

According to Flenley, Danton and Robespierre were "men so different in every way that it was impossible they should work together, save to destroy an enemy or in a crisis. Though both were



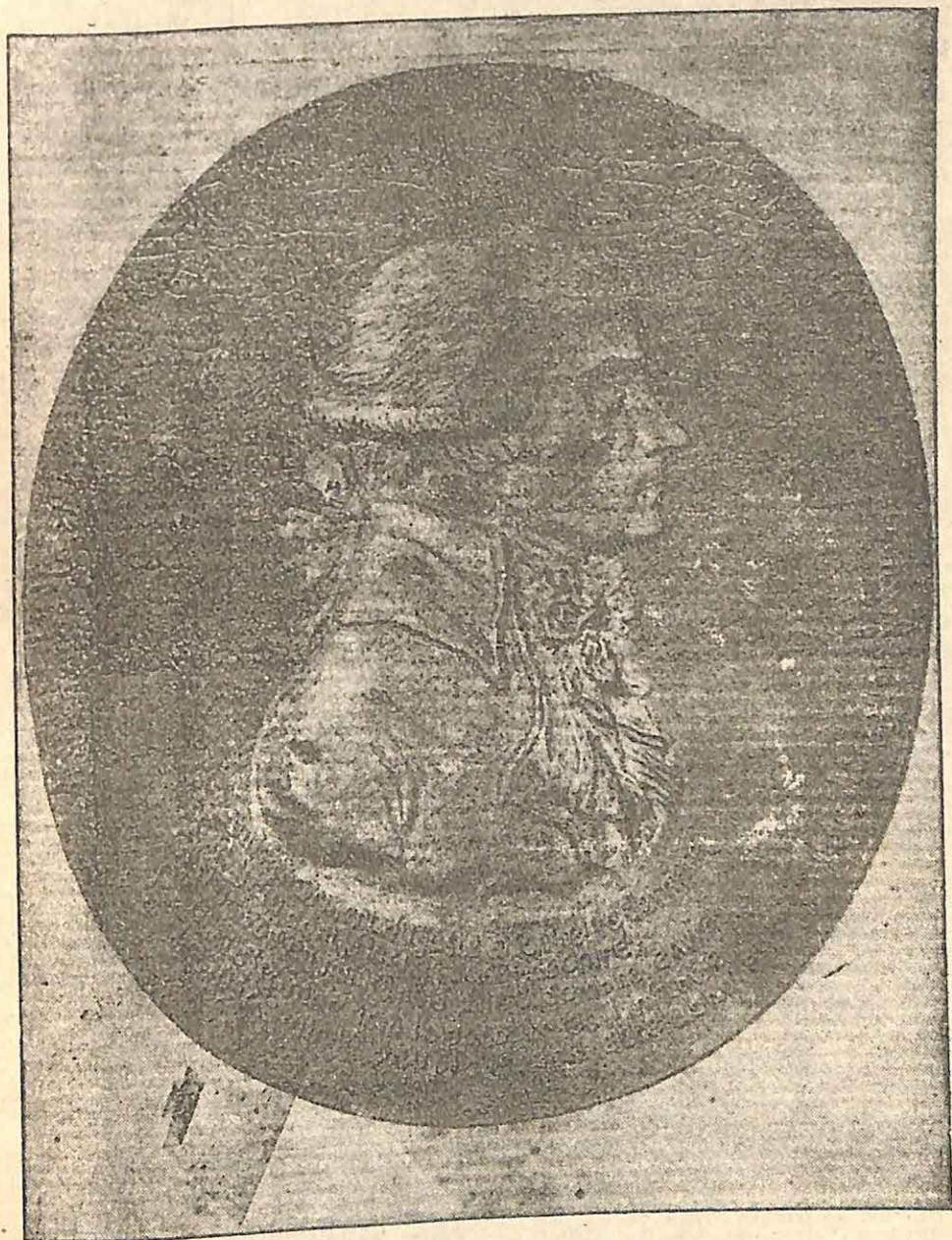
men of the middle-class, both lawyers, republicans, Jacobins, regicides, there all resemblance ended between the big, generous, careless, jovial Danton, with the voice of thunder, and the small, precise, jealous, severe Robespierre, whose speeches might move the head, but scarcely the heart. Danton had more in common with Mirabeau, or with Gambetta of a later date, with the wide sympathy and the overwhelming oratory of the former, and the fiery patriotism of the latter. Like Mirabeau, too, he had his faults : he has been accused of corruption, and he perhaps gave his friendship too easily. Further, his career was stained by the violence of August and September 1792. Despite his great influence, during 1793 he seemed to lose interest in politics save in the great question of national defence. Now, he wished to assuage party passions : "I have no use for hatred," he said. His wife died and he married again ; and withdrew to the quiet of his native town of Arcis-sur-Aube, to reappear only at intervals. This was not safe, for Robespierre was jealous of power, and seeds of suspicion grew into great trees overnight in that poisoned air. '*Better be guillotined than guillotine*', was all the answer the changed Danton would vouchsafe. He was attacked, arrested, and roused, too late, to defend himself so vehemently before the tribunal that the very walls of the court seemed to quake with the blast of his thunder. The trial had to be stopped, a fresh conspiracy was invented to secure a sentence, and at sunset on 5th April 1794, the greatest of the Jacobins, together with a dozen others, made his last journey through the streets he knew so well."

**Robespierre (1753-94).** Robespierre was born in a middle class family and was a classmate of Desmoulins in the law school of the University of Paris. He practised with some success in his native town of Arras. Although he was appointed a criminal judge, he resigned his post because he could not put up with the idea of inflicting the penalty of death on the accused. He acquired a reputation as a writer and speaker. Robespierre was never a demagogue in the current sense of the word. He was essentially a man of culture. He was both sincere and truthful. He was a keen student of Rousseau and liked to translate his philosophy into action. While doing so, he was unmindful of the sufferings of the people. Although he worked hard for the good of the proletariat, he did not adopt their taste. It is stated that to the last day of his life, he continued to use the knee breeches and silk stockings of the old society and wore his hair powdered.

He was elected to the Third Estate in 1789. He took his place among the extreme radicals whom Mirabeau contemptuously called "The Thirty Voices." As the number of the followers in the National Assembly was small and as Mirabeau dominated the scene, Robespierre could not make much headway in the National Assembly. Under the circumstances, he decided to win over the support of the people of Paris. He was already a member of the Jacobin Club and he became its leader after the withdrawal of its moderate members. After that, he used the Jacobin Club as an instrument for promoting social democracy and he himself became the oracle whom everybody listened.



He co-operated with Danton during the period of the Reign of Terror and when the power of Danton began to decline, he became



Robespierre

supreme. He was the leader of the Jacobins and had a lot of influence over the National Convention, the Paris Commune and the Committee of Public Safety. He put an end to the worship of Reason and substituted in its place the worship of the Supreme Being and himself became its high priest. A festival was held to



inaugurate the new faith. There was a procession of the numbers of the National Convention under the leadership of Robespierre and a large number of images were burnt in the garden of the Tuileries. The celebrations ended with a number of speeches. The new faith was not in harmony with the wishes of the people of France and consequently ended with the death of Robespierre.

On 10th June 1794, a law was passed by which the procedure of the Revolutionary Tribunal was changed and made more quick. The people of France were asked to denounce the traitors of the country and even the members of the National Convention were not to be exempted from arrest. No strict procedure was to be followed by the Revolutionary Tribunal and consequently 1,376 persons were put to death between 10th June and 27th July in Paris alone. In this way, Robespierre gave a direct challenge to his opponents. He was himself determined to become the dictator of France. He was supported in his actions by St. Just.

On 26th July 1794, Robespierre made a speech in the National Convention in which he defended his own action and condemned the attitude of his opponents. He did not name his opponents but merely referred to them in vague terms. It is pointed out that if on that day Robespierre had submitted to the National Convention a list of the persons whom he wanted to be arrested, the National Convention would have agreed to that. However, he lost on account of the vagueness of his attack. The vagueness created feelings of uneasiness among the members of the National Convention and everyone of them found himself in danger of his life. It was under these circumstances that the members of the National Convention took up courage to disapprove of his speech. They were also encouraged in their action by Fouché who was working behind the scenes. Robespierre was not prepared for this rebuff. He was so indignant that he went to the Jacobin Club and repeated the same speech which was applauded from all quarters. Thus encouraged he decided to strike again. On 27th July 1794, he went to the National Convention and tried to address its members. His opponents created so much of noise that he was unable to address. There was a lot of confusion, passion and violence. Ultimately, it was moved and carried that Robespierre, St. Just and his immediate followers should be arrested. They were arrested and handed over to the officers of the Convention to be taken to prison. However, the prisons of Paris were controlled by the Paris Commune which was under the control of Robespierre and his friends. The result was that Robespierre and his followers were released by the Paris Commune and they were brought to the town-hall. When the National Convention came to know that its enemies were at large, it decided to use violence and passed a decree declaring Robespierre an outlaw. On 27th July 1794, military preparations were made on both sides. The Hotel de Ville where Robespierre and his friends were taking shelter was besieged and after some time its defences were broken. When Robespierre was captured, he was found with a shattered jaw and it is probable that he might have inflicted that wound himself. He was lying on a table in that condition. As he had already been



declared an outlaw, there was no necessity of any trial and consequently on 28th July 1794, he was guillotined.

It is to be observed that although Robespierre was not the author of the Reign of Terror, he was undoubtedly its most active promoter. He resorted to the Reign of Terror not for its own sake but for the sake of achieving his ideas. His great ambition was to establish the Reign of Virtue and his feeling was that that could be done only by a Reign of Terror.<sup>1</sup> In his pursuit of the Utopia, he was "the anaemic embodiment" of the ideals of Rousseau.

According to Grant and Temperley, "Robespierre was without question an extremely popular figure in Paris, supported by a large number of admiring and devoted friends. It was the tragedy of his life and the cause of his failure that the attempts which he made for the reconstitution and regeneration of France had to be made in an atmosphere of war and of violence. Their failure was probably in any case certain; it was under the circumstances rapid and almost immediate and fatal to himself. He had, as we shall see, a short hour of triumph, and then immediately came his overthrow. His good qualities must not blind us to his obvious defects; he was a man essentially timid and like many timid men easily induced to adopt measures of cruelty. He was vain, and his vanity was increased by the admiration of his friends. Thus it comes to pass that the period during which this prophet of humanity and disciple of Rousseau dominated France is also the period when the Reign of Terror was seen at its worst and most destructive."

According to Thomson, "Of all the great French revolutionary personalities, Robespierre remains somehow the most memorable and the most symbolic; more than Mirabeau, who was a better orator and a greater statesman; more than Lafayette, whose statescraft failed to measure up to his inflated reputation; more even than Danton, an infinitely more attractive figure and the generous inspiration of national resistance to invasion and reaction. It is strange that so tumultuous and heroic an event as the French Revolution should remain personified in the slight, bespectacled, and unglamorous figure of this fastidious little provincial attorney. Is it that he in some sense represented the precise mixture of social and ideological impulses which triumphed in the Revolution? Socially, he was the *archetype* of the provincial lawyer who predominated in the revolutionary assemblies, the feline party intriguer and critic, fluent in the idealistic phrases that so constantly rang through those inexperienced parliamentary bodies. He was the little man of humble origin made great by the upheaval of revolution. In purpose and principle he stood for all that Jacobinism stands for in modern history: a doctrinaire idealism, exalting the principle of the sovereignty of the people, the liberty, equality, and fraternity of all men, the national republic 'one and indivisible'. In his own exper-

1. To quote Robespierre, "The mainspring of government in times of peace is virtue; in times of revolution it is virtue and intimidation—virtue, without which intimidation is disastrous, and intimidation, without which virtue is impotent."



ience and career, he personified the Jacobin revolutionary impulses." (*Europe Since Napoleon*, p. 18).

According to Kropotkin, "Robespierre has been often mentioned as a dictator; his enemies in the Convention called him 'the tyrant,' and it is true that as the Revolution drew to a close Robespierre acquired so much influence that he came to be regarded both in France and abroad as the most important person in the Republic.

"It would, however, be incorrect to represent Robespierre as a dictator, though certainly many of his admirers desired a dictatorship for him. We know, indeed, that Cambon exercised considerable authority within his special domain, the Committee of Finance, and that Carnot wielded extensive powers in matters concerning the war, despite the ill-will borne him by Robespierre and St. Just. But the Committee of Public Safety was too jealous of its controlling power not to have opposed a dictatorship, and, besides, some of its members detested Robespierre. Moreover, even if there were in the Convention a certain number who were not actually averse to Robespierre's preponderating influence, these would have been nonetheless unwilling to submit to the dictatorship of a Montagnard so rigorous as he in his principles. Nevertheless, Robespierre's power was really immense. Nearly every one of his enemies as well as his admirers felt that the disappearance of his party from the political arena would mean, as indeed it proved, the triumph of reaction.

"How then is the power of Robespierre and his group to be explained? First of all, Robespierre had been incorruptible in the midst of a host of men who readily yielded to the seductions of riches and power, and this is a very important trait in time of revolution. While the majority of the middle-class men about him shared in the spoils of the national estates when they were put up for sale by the Revolution, and took part in the stock-jobbery; while thousands of Jacobins secured posts under Government for themselves, Robespierre remained an upright judge, steadfastly reminding them of the higher principles of republicanism and threatening those keenest after spoil with the guillotine.

"In all he said and did during those five troubled years of revolution, we feel even now, and his contemporaries must have felt it still more that he was one of the very few politicians of that time who never wavered in their revolutionary faith nor in their love for the democratic republic. In this respect Robespierre was a real force, and if the communists had been able to oppose him with another force equal to his own in strength of will and intelligence, they would undoubtedly have succeeded in leaving a far deeper impress of their ideas on the Great Revolution.

"These qualities, however, which, even his enemies acknowledge in Robespierre, would not suffice alone to explain the immense power he possessed towards the end of the Revolution. The fact is, his fanaticism, which sprang from the purity of his intentions, kept him incorruptible in the midst of a widespread corruption. At the same time, he was striving to establish his authority over men's minds, and to accomplish this he was ready, if necessary, to pass over the



dead bodies of his opponents. In the work of establishing his authority he was powerfully seconded by the growing middle classes as soon as they recognised in him the 'happy mean'—equally removed from the extremists and the moderates—the man who offered them the best guarantee against the 'excesses' of the people.

"The bourgeoisie felt that here was a man who by the respect he inspired in the people, the moderate scope of his aims and his itch for power, was just the right man to establish a strong government, and thus put an end to the revolutionary period. So long, therefore, as the middle classes had anything to fear from the advanced parties, so long did they refrain from interfering with Robespierre's work of establishing the authority of the Committee of Public Welfare and of his group in the Convention. But when Robespierre had helped them to crush those parties, they crushed him in his turn, in order that middle-class Girondins should be restored to power in the Convention, after which the Thermidorean reaction was developed to its fullest extent." (*The Great French Revolution*, pp. 550—52).

**St. Just.** St. Just was a friend and collaborator of Robespierre and was also guillotined along with him on the same day. He played a very important part during the Reign of Terror. If Carnot is called the organiser of victory, the contribution of St. Just was second to none. He was the person who inspired the people of France with the fanaticism to die for the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. He moved from the headquarters to the borders of the country and encouraged the troops to fight valiantly for the cause of their country. He encouraged the patriots and terrified the traitors and the cowards. He was partly responsible for transforming France into a nation in arms.

**Carnot (1753-1823).** Carnot was one of the most important personalities during the period of the National Convention. It was under his determined leadership that the National Convention inaugurated a system of militarism which was unique in the history of the world. In February 1793, a compulsory levy of half a million men was decreed. In August 1793, it was decreed that every Frenchman between the ages of 18 and 25 was to be liable to military service. Carnot worked day and night to make these laws effective. He drafted men, silenced complaints, secured volunteers, drilled the troops and sent them to the frontiers. He prepared plans of campaigns and not only appointed trusted officers to take the command but also infused energy and faith in them. It is stated that as a result of his efforts, France had about 770,000 men under arms by the end of 1793. Most of those troops were fanatics for their cause and were prepared to lay down their lives for the sake of their country. Even the bourgeoisie supported his military measures. Artisans and peasants joined the army in large numbers and went to the front displaying the banners of liberty, equality and fraternity and singing the Marseillaise.

Carnot carried out a large number of reforms in the army. He created the division as a military unit. He improved the machinery of supply and thereby made his troops more mobile than



those of the enemies. He sent the members of the Government as "deputies on mission" with a view to watching the activities of the generals and soldiers. If there was a complaint against any person, he was liable to be guillotined without any explanation.

The militarism of Carnot was based on the revolutionary principle of "*the nation in arms*." The soldiers were to work not as mercenaries but as missionaries for their cause. No wonder, the invaders were driven out from the soil of France and the war was pressed into the Netherlands, along the Rhine, in Savoy and across the Pyrenees. Carnot was so much successful in his work that his popular title of "Organiser of Defence" was changed into that of "Organiser of Victory".

### Suggested Readings

Beesly	: <i>Life of Danton.</i>
Beilloc, H.	: <i>Life of Robespierre.</i>
Belloc	: <i>Danton : A Study.</i>
Bradly, E.D.	: <i>A Short History of the French Revolution.</i>
Carlyle, Thomas	: <i>The French Revolution.</i>
Chevallier, J.J.	: <i>Mirabeau, 1947.</i>
Madelin, L.	: <i>Danton.</i>
Mme. Roland	: <i>Memoirs.</i>
Stern, A.	: <i>Mirabeau.</i>
Thompson, J.M.	: <i>Leaders of the French Revolution, 1932.</i>
Thompson, J.M.	: <i>Robespierre, 1935.</i>
Welch, O.J.G.	: <i>Mirabeau, 1951.</i>



## CHAPTER VII

### THE DIRECTORY (1795-99)

The Constitution of 1795 framed by the National Convention vested the executive authority in France in a committee of five Directors known as the Directory. The Directory was in power in France for four years (1795-99) when it was overthrown by General Napoleon. The Directors were men of mediocre talents and did not hesitate to practise bribery and corruption. They failed to rise to the occasion and could not tackle the problems facing the country.

The first Directors were Carnot, the organiser of victory, Letourneur, an engineer, Larevelliere Lepeaux, a Girondist, Rewbell, a Jacobin and Barras. Barra hailed from the South. In 1789, he was elected to the Third Estate. In course of time, he became a good Jacobin. He took courage to attack Robespierre. He saved the National Convention by employing Napoleon Bonaparte in 1795. Consequently, he was made one of the five Directors. He was a clever politician, a cynic, entirely unscrupulous, immoral who "loved the throne for its velvet," and was always in debt. He had an imposing appearance and fine manners. He was the leader of the Parisian society.

**Plots and Intrigues.** The period of the Directory was one of plots and intrigues in the country. The royalists and the reactionaries were elected to the legislature in large numbers and they did not hesitate to use fair or foul means to sabotage the government. They were kept in check only by the use of force by the government.

Reference may be made to the Babeuf Plot of 1796. A political club called the *Society of the Pantheon* was started in October 1795. It attracted a large number of former Jacobins and held meetings by torchlight. It published a newspaper known as the *Tribun* which was edited by Babeuf who was a young, fanatical agitator. The Directory took action against the society in February 1796 when General Bonaparte personally closed the meeting place and dissolved the society. However, the members hit back by setting up a Secret Directory of six members and started making preparations for a revolt. Their object was to revive the Jacobin Constitution of 1793 which had been approved but not enforced. They also aimed at restoring the revolutionary movement to its original purity of idealism and sincerity of purpose. They proposed to proclaim a "*Republic of Equals*" in which the gulf between the rich and the poor was to be avoided. The programme was to penetrate the units of the army, police and administration by means of revolutionary agents. Thorough preparations were made for the revolt. Arms and ammunition were collected. It was decided that citizens from



each district of Paris should march behind banners to support the mutineers of the army. After capturing power, the Secret Directory was to exercise power till fully democratic institutions started working in the country. However, the police had their agents in the movement from the very beginning. The result was that on the eve of the revolt, all the leaders were arrested and the people were dispersed by the use of force. The conspirators were tried in 1797 by a special court. The trial lasted for 3 months and on that occasion Babeuf condemned the administration of the Directory in the strongest possible terms. Babeuf was executed. He won the admiration of all by his sincerity of purpose. It is pointed out that modern communism owes a lot to the ideals of Babeuf.

**Finances of France.** The finances of France began to deteriorate during the regime of the Directory. There was corruption all around. There was enormous waste in public expenditure. A lot of money was required to support an army of a million men. The population of Paris had to be fed at the cost of the nation. The position of Assignats issued by the National Assembly was already not satisfactory. It was made worse by a policy of further inflation. There was so great a use of the printing press that the value of the Assignats fell. The condition became so hopeless that as many as 300 livres in Assignats were required to get one livre in cash. In 1797, the Government was forced to declare partial bankruptcy. Payment of interest on the national debt was suspended and ultimately the Assignats had to be repudiated altogether. Obviously, such a state of affairs could not be expected to bring any credit to the Government and so the Directory was condemned by the people who were really in great distress on account of the failure of the Directory to tackle the financial problem.

There was no harmony between the Directors and the two legislative chambers. One-third of the Assemblies and one out of the five Directors retired every year. The Directory was not in sympathy with either the Assemblies or the constituencies.

The religious problem demanded attention. The Constitutional Church set up by the Revolution had almost disappeared. A new religious movement called "*Theophilanthropy*" had no real following. The Roman Catholic Church was still strong and popular with the people.

There were more than three hundred thousand *emigres*. Their property had been confiscated. Many persons were declared *emigres* so that their property might be captured. No wonder, their relatives protested against those acts of injustice and that created unrest.

In March 1797, elections took place to fill the place of one-third members of the Assemblies. The results showed great gains for the Moderates and anti-Jacobin party. The Directors were not prepared to yield. They appealed to Hoche but he declined. They asked Napoleon to do the needful. He sent his officer, Angereau, to carry out his instructions. The show of force was enough. Carnot was deposed from the Directory. A number of Deputies were



arrested, including Pichegrus. After that, the results of 154 electors were cancelled.

**Foreign Policy.** When the Directory assumed office, France was still at war with Austria, Sardinia and Great Britain. The general plan of the campaign was to advance one French army across the Rhine through Germany and from there into the Austrian dominion and to send another army across the Alps through Northern Italy to Vienna. As regards the army of the Rhine, such great Generals as Moreau, Jourdan and Pichegrus were to be in charge. As regards the army to be sent to Italy, Napoleon Bonaparte was appointed the commander. While the French troops sent to the Rhine did not accomplish much, Napoleon worked wonders. With lightning speed and great personal bravery, Napoleon was able to cross the Alps. Within a year, he was able to dispose of five Austrian armies and he occupied every fort in Northern Italy. The Sardinians were defeated and forced to give Nice and Savoy to France. Austria made peace with Napoleon by signing the *Treaty of Campo Formio in 1797*. By that treaty, France got from Austria the Austrian Netherlands or Belgium and the Ionian Islands. Austria was given the republic of Venice and she agreed not to interfere in other parts of Italy. It was agreed that a conference was to meet to rearrange the map of the Holy Roman Empire with a view to compensating those German princes whose lands on the left of the Rhine had been appropriated by France. One of the immediate effects of the victory of Napoleon in Italy was the dissolution of the first Coalition. Both Austria and Sardinia left the Coalition and Great Britain was left alone. Another effect of the victory was the sudden rise of Napoleon to fame. He became the talk of the people of France and while the people applauded him, the Government feared him but outwardly flattered him.

In a proclamation issued to the people of France, the Directory boasted: "You will learn with pleasure that several millions of people have been restored to freedom and that the French nation is the benefactor of humanity. The peace of the continent will soon be set on an indestructible base. It remains only now to punish the perfidy of London. There the ills of Europe have sprung; there they must be ended."

In 1797, Napoleon was appointed the General of the Army of England which was formed in France to invade England. In the beginning of 1798, he inspected the coastline and came to the conclusion that it was impossible to cross the English Channel so long as France had not a strong navy. However, he decided to attack the British Empire on some other point. He found the Mediterranean open to him and consequently he managed to take a French army to Egypt in 1798. His intention was to side-track the attention of the British navy in the Mediterranean and, after getting an opportunity, to attack England by crossing the English Channel. He also hoped to proceed from Egypt to India and thereby put an end to the British Empire in India with the help of the Marathas and Sultan Tipu. There was also the possibility of his attacking the Ottoman Empire from Egypt and smashing the



same. Unfortunately for Napoleon, all his schemes fell through. Admiral Nelson pursued him to Egypt and defeated him in the naval Battle of the Nile (1798). The people of Egypt also revolted against him. His army was small and he felt himself isolated. However, Napoleon managed to escape from Egypt and reached France. From the place of landing all the way up to Paris, he was applauded by the crowds. The people compared the achievements of Napoleon with those of the Directory and condemned the latter.

**Overthrow of the Directory.** On his arrival in Paris, Napoleon appeared in the role of the modest and studious civilian. At one time, he read a paper before the Institute on Egyptian Archaeology and at another he moved about in the streets of Paris as an ordinary citizen. His object was to advertise himself not as a gambler in empires but a person eager for knowledge and well-versed in the arts of peace. For many weeks, Napoleon contented himself with merely studying minutely the political currents in the country, especially Paris. While doing so, he did not commit himself to any group.

After a lot of deliberation, he decided to enter into a conspiracy with Abbe Sieyes to overthrow the Directory. The two conspirators were poles asunder in their ideas. Napoleon Bonaparte was a man of action and believed in the autocracy of the sword and Abbe Sieyes was a philosopher who believed in a policy of checks and balances. However, both of them were agreed so far as the question of the overthrow of the Directory was concerned. It was certainly a difficult task because republicanism was a strong political force in the country. It was the creed of Generals like Jourdan and Moreau and of two of the five Directors. A great majority of the members of the legislature also believed in republicanism. Any revolution which aimed at setting aside the republican form of government, had very little chance of success. It is true that the odds were heavy but Napoleon was determined to carry out his own scheme. The plan was duly executed on 9th and 10th November, 1799. The Council of Ancients passed a decree on 9th November to transfer the legislature to St. Cloud on the pretext of a conspiracy and Napoleon rode to the Tuileries at the head of a brilliant cavalcade and took oath to preserve the republic. Afterwards he spoke the following words to a Secretary of the Directory who came to meet him in the gardens: "*What have you done with this France which I left so brilliant? I left you peace, I find war. I left you victories, I find defeats. I left you the millions of Italy, I find losses of spoliation and miseries.*" These words of Napoleon resounded throughout the length and breadth of the country.

On 10th November, the legislators met in the palace of St. Cloud. They found themselves trapped in the midst of a hostile army. When Napoleon appeared in the Lower House, there was a storm of passion against him and he was carried fainting from the hall. However, his life was saved by Lucien, his brother, who was presiding over the session of the Lower House. The soldiers surrounded the legislature and the members fled. A small committee of both



Chambers decreed a provisional government consisting of Bonaparte, Sieyes and Ducos. The constitution which was framed a month later placed the supreme powers in the hands of Bonaparte as First Consul. Thus, the Directory was overthrown by Napoleon by ruse and violence. To quote him: "*It is the epoch of my life in which I have shown impossible ability.*"

According to Thomson, "The *Coup* succeeded because neither assemblies nor Directory had any popular esteem left, and the population as a whole—even in Paris—accepted the accomplished fact with little resistance." (*Europe Since Napoleon*, p. 28).

#### Suggested Readings

- Thomson, D. : *The Babeuf Plot: The Making of a Republican Legend*, 1947.
- Thomson : *Europe Since Napoleon*.



## CHAPTER VIII

### THE COALITIONS

Although at the outset, the attitude of the British Government and the people of England was sympathetic towards the French Revolution, there was a violent change later on account of the excesses of the revolutionaries. That was particularly so after the execution of Louis XVI and his queen Marie Antoinette. Great Britain organised as many as four Coalitions to defeat France and succeeded in that object in the long run.

**The First Coalition (1793-97).** The origin of the First Coalition lay in the failure of the policy of neutrality followed by the British Premier, Pitt, the Younger, towards France. When France declared war upon England, Pitt entered into treaties of alliance with Prussia, Austria, Russia, Spain, Holland and Sardinia. Thus, the First Coalition came into existence. Pitt's object was to combine the whole of Europe against the common enemy which dared to challenge all the established governments of Europe. His plan was to subsidize the Allies liberally so that they might bear the brunt of the struggle on the Continent while the English navy was to maintain its supremacy over the seas and conquer the French colonies. From the very beginning, the Allies agreed to indemnify themselves at the expense of France. The war was to be a war of conquest and plunder as well as of self-defence.

To begin with, the Allies were victorious on all fronts and the French were badly defeated. In 1793, the military outlook for France was extremely gloomy. France was threatened on all sides and there took place insurrections in many parts of France.

To meet the emergency, National Convention resorted to extreme measures. The Committee of Public Safety with unlimited powers was set up. A sort of Reign of Terror was established in the country. It is true that in certain cases there was unnecessary bloodshed but the net result of the Reign of Terror was that the counter-revolution was crushed. Under the leadership of Carnot, Danton and St. Just, the whole of the French nation rose up in arms and the fighting was done with so much ferocity, fanaticism and tenacity that the Allies were beaten back. The French were able to get back Belgium and Holland. Prussia and Spain left the Coalition by the Treaty of Basle in 1795. It appeared that the European Powers were interested more in the partition of Poland than in the prosecution of war. Such was the state of affairs when Napoleon Bonaparte was sent to Italy during the regime of the Directory. He crossed the Alps and defeated the Austrians in a series of engagements. He forced the King of Sardinia to leave the Coalition and also compelled



Naples and the Papal States to submit. His success had two important effects : Spain entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with France. The fleet came into the hands of the French. The result was that Great Britain was forced to evacuate the Mediterranean and the French became its masters. Pitt made offers of peace but those were rejected by the Directory. The year 1797 was very critical for England. Three fleets threatened England with an invasion and Austria was about to give up the struggle. England was isolated and there was a lot of dissatisfaction and unrest. However the situation was saved by two naval victories won by England. In the battle of Cape St. Vincent, the Spanish fleet was defeated. The Dutch fleet was defeated at Comperdown.

When Austria was defeated by Napoleon in a series of battles and the very safety of Vienna was in danger, Austria signed the Treaty of Campo Formio in 1797. By that treaty, Austria gave the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) to France. She also accepted the French claims to the left bank of the Rhine. The Austrian provinces in North Italy were formed into the Cis-Alpine Republic dependent on France. About the same time, Portugal also made peace with France and the First Coalition was practically at an end. France was left without an enemy on the Continent and England was left without an ally in Europe. England was left to face France single-handed and the Directory started making preparations for an invasion of England. Napoleon was put in charge of that invasion but at the beginning of 1798 he came to the conclusion that it was out of the question to cross the English Channel and consequently the scheme of invading England was given up. It was, however, decided to attack the British Empire on some other point and with that idea Napoleon proceeded to Egypt in 1798.

**Causes of failure of First Coalition.** It is interesting to discuss the circumstances responsible for the failure of the First Coalition. It appears strange that a bankrupt France which was distracted by internal divisions, should come out successful against a Coalition of more than half the Powers of Europe. It was nothing short of a marvel of history. However, the causes of the failure of the Coalition are not far to seek. The Coalition Powers did not work harmoniously. They had their differences and each power insisted on working independently. Even their objects were different. The main object of the British Government was to expel the French from the Netherlands and make that province secure for Austria. But the object of Austria was to recover the Netherlands and then to exchange it with Bavaria. The British Government was not prepared to agree to such an exchange. Moreover, both Russia and Prussia were more interested in the partition of Poland than in helping Austria in her struggle against France. No wonder, the want of unity of purpose was fatal to the unity of effort. Instead of a joint advance on Paris, every Allied Power wanted to establish its control over the frontier fortresses of France. The British Government wanted to have Dunkirk, and with that object besieged it. The Austrians wanted Alsace and Lorraine as their share, but the Prussians remained



on the Rhine with their eyes fixed on Poland. On account of their selfish aims, the Allies failed to realise the danger from France and the nature of the struggle. To them it appeared that the France was in the throes of a revolution and consequently it was easy to defeat her. They failed to realise the fact that they were not fighting against the Bourbon monarchy but against a nation in arms which was inspired by fanatical ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity. No wonder, they failed to rise above their selfishness and mutual jealousies.

Moreover, the Allied Powers were themselves busy in carrying out another revolution in Poland. Poland was partitioned for the second time in 1793 and Russia and Prussia got their shares. In 1795, the rest of Poland was divided by Russia, Prussia and Austria and after that Poland ceased to exist. During all this period, there was going on rivalry among the Powers for the partition of Poland. Each Power was trying to get more than the others. Hence the Allied armies were paralysed and defeated on all fronts.

The military genius of Carnot marshalled the resources of the country. The Reign of Terror crushed all dissent. The cowards were made brave and the traitors were frightened. The result was that the whole of the French nation fought vigorously and defeated the Allies. The French commanders were told that they must win victories or they would be put to death.

The British Commander in the Netherlands was the Duke of York who was absolutely a worthless man and no good results could be expected from such a fellow. His strategy has been described in the following words :—

The good old Duke of York,

He had ten thousand men.

He marched them up to the top of the hill,

Then he marched them down again.

**The Second Coalition (1793—1801).** The Second Coalition was the direct result of the Battle of the Nile (1798) in which Napoleon was defeated by Nelson. The European Powers were upset by the aggressive policy of the Directory and when they got the news that Napoleon was shut up in Egypt, they decided to act. The Second Coalition was formed in 1798 and included England, Russia, Austria, Turkey and Naples. Its object was to crush the Revolutionary Government at Paris and to confine France to her old boundaries. Prussia remained aloof. The war began with the refusal of Austria to turn out Russian soldiers from her territory on the demand of France.

To begin with, the situation seemed to be favourable to the Allies. The Austrian Archduke Charles defeated a French army and drove it across the Rhine. A combined Austro-Russian army routed the French in two great battles. In the Mediterranean, the Island of Minorca was captured and Malta was blockaded. However, the year 1799 ended very badly for the Allies. The French were able to regain their position. The English were defeated and compelled



to evacuate Holland. France was saved from the ignominy of defeat and foreign occupation.

Napoleon Bonaparte returned from Egypt. He was welcomed by the French with great enthusiasm. He was able to overthrow the Directory and himself became the First Consul in 1799.

The arrival of Napoleon Bonaparte on the scene was a source of great anxiety to the Allies. Russia left the Coalition. Czar Paul was angry with both England and Austria. While he aimed at the restoration of the old order in Europe by crushing France, Austria was more interested in the acquisition of Piedmont. The conduct of Austria annoyed the Czar. He was annoyed with the British Government because the latter supported the Austrian policy. Moreover, he developed a great admiration for Bonaparte and consequently withdrew from the Coalition.

Bonaparte addressed a letter to the King of England expressing his desire for peace. His object was to add to his popularity by an offer of peace because the French were tired of war. The British Government gave a very haughty answer and suggested that the only security of peace was the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty in France. The tone of the letter added to the bitterness of the French people against England and the purpose of Napoleon was amply served. Napoleon sent one army under Moreau against the Austrians and himself proceeded against Austria with another army. Moreau won a splendid victory at Hohenlinden and Napoleon himself defeated the Austrians at the Battle of Marengo. There were also other French victories and Austria was forced to sign the *Treaty of Luneville* in 1801. This treaty confirmed the terms of the *Treaty of Campo Formio* of 1797. England was left all alone after 1801 and as both England and France were tired of war, a peace was made in 1802. However, the peace of Amiens turned out to be merely a truce. War began between the two countries in 1803.

**The Third Coalition (1805).** The Third Coalition was formed by Pitt, the Younger, in 1805 and it included Prussia, Austria, Sweden and England. Napoleon was violating the terms of the *Treaty of Luneville* and was also interfering in the internal affairs of the neighbouring States, e.g., Switzerland. There was a lot of resentment in Europe against Napoleon on account of his kidnapping and execution of the Duke of Eughien. This incident led to the rupture of relations between France and Russia. Prussia refused to join the Coalition as Napoleon put before her the temptation of Hanover which belonged to England.

The object of the Third Coalition was the expulsion of the French from North Germany, the independence of Holland and Switzerland and the restoration of Piedmont to the King of Sardinia. As usual, England undertook to pay liberal subsidies to the Allies. It was also agreed that after the close of the war, a Congress of European Powers was to define the law of the nation and establish an European Federation. However, the Third Coalition did not aim at changing the form of government in France.

Napoleon was also thinking in terms of attacking England and was making vigorous preparations for the same. A fine army



known as "the Army of England" was mobilized for the invasion of England and three fleets were also collected for the same purpose. The English Channel was protected by Nelson and Cornwallis. The successful blockade of Brest by Cornwallis hampered Napoleon's plan. Efforts were made to attack England by avoiding a fight with Nelson. In spite of that, the Battle of Trafalgar took place in 1805 and the French were defeated completely. This victory not only saved England but secured for the British navy undisputed supremacy on the sea.

Although Napoleon was defeated on sea, he took full advantage of his superiority on land. The Austrian general was surrounded and made to surrender at Ulm. He also inflicted a crushing defeat upon the combined armies of Russia and Austria at Austerlitz in December 1805. The result was that Austria left the Coalition and she was forced to sign the Treaty of Pressburg by which she gave back Venetia to the French kingdom of Italy and Tyrol to Bavaria. The Electors of the two States of the Holy Roman Empire were made kings independent of Austria as a reward of their alliance with France. Russia counted upon the help of Prussia but on account of the shifty diplomacy of the King of Prussia, the Czar also left the Coalition. Prussia entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with France and got Hanover as her reward. Thus, the Third Coalition failed. Its author also died on hearing the news of the defeat of Austerlitz.

**The Fourth Coalition (1813).** The Fourth Coalition was formed in 1813 after the unsuccessful invasion of Russia by Napoleon in 1812 and his disastrous retreat. The important members of the Coalition were Russia, Prussia and England. Later on, Austria also joined. It was financed by Great Britain. Although the Allied armies were defeated at Dresden, they won many other victories. Napoleon was defeated in the Battle of Leipzig in 1813. With the passage of time, the position of Napoleon went on weakening and the Allies became stronger and stronger. The result was that in 1814, he was completely defeated and forced to abdicate. Although he returned in 1815 to France, he was again defeated in the Battle of Waterloo. Thus, the Fourth Coalition was successful in the ultimate overthrow of Napoleon and the restoration of the Bourbons in France.

#### Suggested Readings

Kessinger, H. A. : *A World Restored : Metternich, Castlereagh and the Problems of Peace, 1812-1822.*

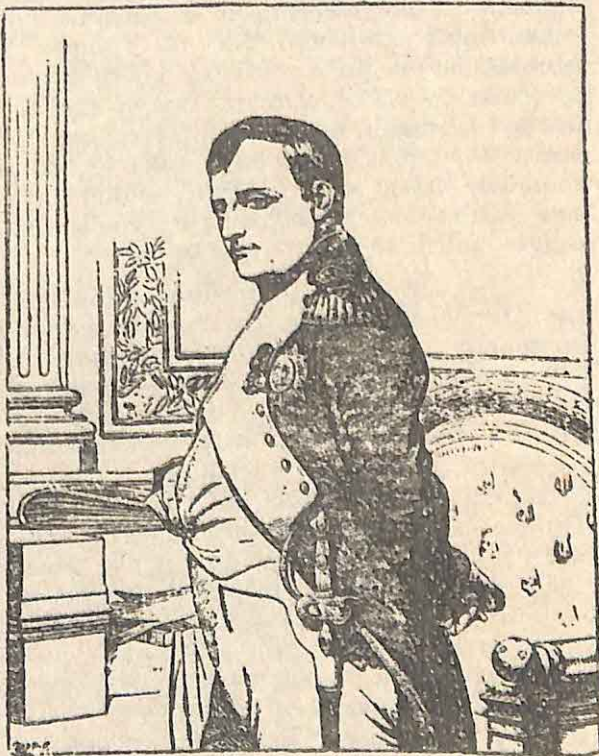


## CHAPTER IX

### NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (1769-1821)

Napoleon was one of the greatest generals the world has produced. He dominated his age and even after his death, his name has gone down in history not only of France or Europe but also of the whole world. He was a man of enormous energy, self-confidence, fearlessness and resourcefulness. He was a fatalist in the sense that he believed from his very childhood that some hidden power was guiding him to victory and glory. He had the capacity to inspire confidence in all those who followed him. He loved his soldiers who reciprocated the same. He had a wonderful memory and it is stated that he remembered the names of the regiments and soldiers by heart.

Napoleon is stated to have remarked : "*I was born when my country was dying.* Thirty thousand Frenchmen disgorged upon our shores, drowning the throne of liberty in a sea of blood—such was the hateful spectacle that offended my infant eyes." France purchased from Genoa the island of Corsica<sup>1</sup>, in 1769 and Napoleon was born on 15th August in that island at Ajaccio in that year. He got his military training in France and joined the army at the age of 17 as an artillery officer. He was hardly 20 when the French Revolution broke out in 1789. He distinguished himself in December 1793 when by a skilful direction of his artillery, he was able to recapture Toulon and he was promoted to the rank of Brigadier General.



Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821)

1. Rousseau wrote thus in 1762 : "I have some presentiment that this small island (Corsica) will one day astonish Europe." It was a lucky hit.



On 5th October 1795, he put down the royalist insurrection of Vendemiaire against the National Convention. The result was that he was given the command of the Interior. He married Josephine on 9th March 1796.

When France was faced with a big crisis on account of the First Coalition, Napoleon was appointed to the command of the army of Italy and it is in Italy that he laid the foundation of an imperishable military fame.

Napoleon's campaign of Italy lasted from April 1796 to April 1797. It has been summarised in these words : "*He came, he saw, he conquered.*" Napoleon had to fight against heavy odds. He had to face the armies of Austria and Sardinia. His soldiers were not only small in number but were also very poorly equipped. No wonder, Napoleon decided to fight his enemies separately and not to allow them to be united. He penetrated between the Austrians and Sardinians and defeated the former and drove them eastwards. After that, he turned towards the Sardinians and defeated them. It was in this way that he opened the way to Turin, the capital of Sardinia. The Government of Sardinia sued for peace and agreed to hand over Savoy and Nice to France. Napoleon described his achievements in these words to his soldiers : "In fifteen days, you have won six victories, taken twenty-one stands of colours, fifty-five pieces of cannon, and several fortresses, and conquered the richest part of Piedmont. You have taken 1,500 prisoners and killed or wounded 10,000 men.....But, soldiers, you have done nothing, since there remains something for you to do. You have still battles to fight, towns to take, rivers to cross."

After the defeat of Sardinia, Napoleon directed his attention towards the Austrians. He crossed the Po river and the Austrian Commander named Beaulieu, withdrew beyond the Adda river. There was no way for Napoleon to defeat the Austrian Commander except by crossing the river by the bridge of Lodi. This bridge was 350 feet long and it was practically impossible to cross it on account of the heavy fire from the Austrians. Napoleon ordered his grenadiers to move forward. Before they could cover half the distance, they were mowed down by the Austrian fire and they began to recoil. Napoleon and other generals rushed to the head of the columns. They risked their lives and inspired their men. The result was that they were able to capture the Austrian batteries. Napoleon wrote thus to the Directory : "*Of all the actions in which the soldiers under my command have been engaged, none has equalled the tremendous passage of the bridge of Lodi.*" Napoleon came to be called by his soldiers "*The Little Corporal*".

As the Austrians had retreated to the fort of Mantua, Napoleon laid siege to the same. Between June 1796 and January 1797, four attempts were made by the Austrians to send help to the Austrian soldiers besieged in Mantua. However, all those attempts were foiled by Napoleon. The latter continued to follow the policy of attacking his enemies piecemeal before they could unite. He always acted upon the policy of attacking while the enemy was divided.



He accomplished all this by means of forced marches. It was rightly observed by his soldiers that "*it is our legs that win his battles.*" He shot his troops back and forth like a shuttle. By his quick movements, he made up for his numerical weaknesses. Even his enemies were also responsible for his success as they did not put all their troops in one battlefield. At Arcola, the battle continued for three days. Here also victory depended upon the control of a bridge. It was the bridge that separated the Austrian divisions. If they could keep the bridge under their control, the Austrian armies could fight together against Napoleon. However, that was not to be. Napoleon seized a flag and rushed upon the bridge, accompanied by his staff. The Austrians opened fire on them. Many French officers were shot down by the Austrians. However, they refused to desert their general and dragged him with them by his arms and clothes. Napoleon fell into a morass and began to sink. The cry of "*Forward to save the General!*" was raised. The result was that the French struck with all their force and drove back the Austrians and rescued their hero. The army of Napoleon was successful and the Austrians retreated. The *battle of Arcola* was fought from 15th November to 17th November 1796.

Two months afterwards, another Austrian army tried to come to the help of Mantua and another desperate battle was fought at Rivoli. On 13-14th January 1797, Napoleon inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Austrians. Two weeks after that defeat, Mantua surrendered. Napoleon marched up to the Alps and the Austrians were driven back. On 7th April 1797, he reached Leoben which is about 100 miles from Vienna. It was at this stage that Austria sued for peace. Napoleon had achieved a lot. He had fought 18 big battles and 65 small ones. No wonder, he declared thus in a bulletin to the army: "You have, besides that, sent 30,000,000 francs from the public treasury to Paris. You have enriched the Museum of Paris with 300 masterpieces of ancient and modern Italy which it has taken thirty ages to produce. You have conquered the most beautiful country of Europe. The French colours float for the first time upon the borders of the Adriatic."

It is to be observed that throughout his Italian campaign Napoleon Bonaparte acted as if he were the head of France. Sometimes he followed the advice of the Directory, but very often he ignored the same. During his stay in Italy, Napoleon Bonaparte busied himself not only with military affairs but also with political affairs. He acted as the creator and destroyer of States. Italy at that time was not a united country and the existence of many States enabled Napoleon Bonaparte to do what he pleased. Napoleon Bonaparte changed the Republic of Genoa into the Ligurian Republic and gave it a constitution similar to that of France. The Duke of Parma and Duke of Modena were forced to submit and make heavy payments. Even the Pope was made to submit. Some of the States were taken from him and the rest were left with him on the condition that he paid a lot of money to the conqueror.

Napoleon Bonaparte conquered the Republic of Venice which was one of the oldest and proudest States in Europe. He held it,



as a pawn in the game of diplomacy. On the overthrow of the Republic of Venice by Napoleon Bonaparte, Wordsworth wrote thus :

“Once did she hold the gorgeous East in fee ;  
And was the safeguard of the West ; the worth  
Of Venice did not fall below her birth,  
Venice the Eldest Child of Liberty.”

Napoleon Bonaparte had made the preliminary peace of Leoben in April 1797. He made the final peace of Campo Formio on 17th October 1797. During all this period, Napoleon Bonaparte lived a splendid life. He received ambassadors, artists and men of letters. He was surrounded by young officers who were enamoured of him and were prepared to do anything for him. There were also Josephine, his brothers, sisters and mother. Napoleon Bonaparte himself began to put on airs. This is what he said about himself : “What I have done so far is nothing. I am but at the beginning of the career I am to run. Do you imagine that I have triumphed in Italy in order to advance the lawyers of the Directory ?.....Let the Directory attempt to deprive me of my command and they will see who is the master. The nation must have a head who is rendered illustrious by glory.” By the Treaty of Campo Formio, Austria gave to France the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium), recognised the French possession of the Ionian Islands and extension of the French territory up to the Rhine. Austria also recognised the Cis-Alpina Republic and the Ligurian Republic which were created by Napoleon in Italy. The importance of the Treaty of Campo Formio cannot be over-emphasized. It gave to France her natural frontiers which Louis XIV had failed to secure in spite of his best efforts. The Ionian Islands were to serve as a stepping stone for Egypt. It gave a death blow to the First Coalition. France was left without an enemy and England without an ally in Europe. England had to struggle single-handed against France.

According to Prof. Markham, “It was a brilliant peace for France and for Napoleon, but it laid the seeds of future war. Owing to the prestige of Napoleon’s victories and the internal weaknesses of the Directory, the French peace aims had been diverted from the ‘natural frontiers’—the Rhine, the Pyrenees and the Alps—to Italian annexations, which meant further expansion and war.” (*Napoleon and the Awakening of Europe*, p. 33).

Napoleon Bonaparte not only conquered Italy but also plundered her. The object of the Italian campaign was not only to defeat the enemy but also to get something more than what it had cost the French treasury. No wonder, Napoleon Bonaparte demanded and got a lot of money from the princes whom he defeated in Italy. The Pope had to pay 20 million francs, the Republic of Genoa 15 and the Duke of Modena 10. He also got a lot of money from Milan. It was in this way that Napoleon was able to send a lot of money to France after meeting the expenses of the army.



Italy had not only to pay in cash but also in other forms. Italy was deprived of her works of art. The agents of Napoleon Bonaparte ransacked the art galleries in Italy and whatever was considered to be good was taken away to France. The names of some of the important art treasures taken away by Napoleon Bonaparte from Italy were, "The Transfiguration" by Raphael, "The Christ" by Titian, the Apollo Belvedere, the Nine Muses, the Laocoon, the Venus de Medici. During his career, Napoleon Bonaparte enriched the Museum of the Louvre with more than 150 paintings by Raphael, Rembrandt, Titian, Van Dyck, Rubens, etc. After the fall of Napoleon, many of these art treasures had to be restored to their former owners.

After his first Italian campaign, the name of Napoleon became a household word in France and his popularity knew no bounds. He rose head and shoulders above all his rivals and he was in the forefront of public affairs in France. The Directory decided to fight against England and Napoleon was appointed the General of the army which was meant for the invasion of England. In the early part of 1798, Napoleon surveyed the coastline and came to the definite conclusion that it was impossible to cross the English Channel on account of the British naval supremacy. However, he felt that as the British Empire was spread in various parts of the world, a blow could be given to her by attacking some other part of the British Empire. It was under these circumstances that Napoleon decided to attack Egypt. His plan was that after conquering Egypt, he would be able to turn out the English from India with the help of the Marathas and Sultan Tipu. There was every possibility of his conquering Turkey which was on the decline and unfit to stand his attack. There was also the possibility of side-tracking the British fleet into the Mediterranean and attacking England while the British navy was in the Mediterranean.

Napoleon left Toulon and sailed for Egypt in May 1798. He was able to reach Egypt by avoiding the British fleet. He conquered Malta on the way. He won the *Battle of Pyramids* which made him the master of the Nile basin. However, he was defeated by Admiral Nelson in the *Battle of the Nile* (1798). The French fleet was completely destroyed and Napoleon was cut off from France. He invaded Syria but failed to capture Acre. He somehow managed to reach France in 1799.

It has already been pointed out that the Directors had not managed the affairs of France successfully and there was a lot of resentment against them. Napoleon took advantage of the situation and with the help of Sieyes he was able to overthrow the Directory on 9th November 1799. This is known as the *Coup d'etat* of VIIIth Brumaire.

**Napoleon as First Consul (1799 1804).** After the overthrow of the Directory a new constitution was framed for France in 1799. Under that constitution the executive power was put in the hands of three Consuls who were to be elected by the Senate



for 10 years. One of the three Consuls was to be the First Consul. The First Consul was given practically absolute powers. He alone could promulgate laws and appoint and dismiss all civil and military officials in every part of the country. Bonaparte was appointed the First Consul and he immediately consolidated his position by dismissing his colleagues Sieyes and Ducos and appointed in their place two other Consuls who were not strong enough to oppose him. The Council of State was given the power to draft laws, draw up public ordinances, interpret statutes and act as a court of appeal. The Tribunal was to consist of 100 members and was given the power to pass or reject but not alter the laws submitted to it by the Government. The Legislative Body of 300 members was "a dumb assembly" which accepted or rejected, without any power of discussion the laws expounded to it by the members of the Tribunal or the Council of State. The Senate consisted of 80 members who were appointed for life and were irremovable. It appointed the Consuls the Tribunal and the Legislative Body. It was given the power to cancel any law considered contrary to the principles of the constitution. Theoretically universal suffrage was established in the country but in actual practice, "popular suffrage was rendered completely ineffective." The electors of each Commune selected a tenth of their number to form communal lists" of voters. The latter elected one-tenth of their number to form a "departmental list". The latter elected one-tenth of their number to form a "national list". The local officials were selected from appropriate local lists and the Senate nominated members of the Tribunal and the Legislative Body from the "National List". The Prefects who were the heads of the departments and the Mayors who were the heads of the Communes, were to be appointed by the First Consul. It is clear from this that the Constitution of December 1799 was a mere sham. The appearance of a popular Government was maintained merely to deceive the people and all legislative power was concentrated in the hands of the First Consul. A system of highly centralised despotism, both absolute and bureaucratic, was set up in the country. It is stated that when the Constitution was proclaimed, a woman turned to her neighbour and said "I have not heard a word. What is in the Constitution?" "There is Bonaparte" was the the reply.

It was in 1802 that Napoleon was appointed the First Consul for life with the right to nominate his successor. On a proposal of the Tribunal, which was accepted by the Senate, Napoleon became Emperor in 1804. A plebiscite ratified the proposal by a majority of more than three and a half million votes. The Pope came to Paris to invest Napoleon with the sword and sceptre of the Empire on 2nd December 1804. However, when the Pope was going to crown him, Napoleon took the crown from his hands and crowned himself!

**Work of Napoleon as First Consul.** The fame of Napoleon rests primarily on his military achievements, but as First Consul he carried out a large number of reforms which have made his name immortal. It is rightly pointed out : "*If the conquests of Napoleon were ephemeral, his civilian work in France was built upon granite.*"



(1) Napoleon Bonaparte centralised the whole of the system of local government in France. In 1800, he made the entire local government subordinate to himself. The powers of the elective bodies of the departments and arrondissements were to be wielded by prefects and sub-prefects who were appointed by Napoleon and were also responsible to him. The local councils were allowed to continue but they were required to sit only for a fortnight in the year to deal with the assessment of taxes. They were to act merely as *advisory* bodies to the prefects and the sub-prefects. The Mayors of small Communes were to be appointed by the prefects while those of big Communes having a population of more than 100,000 were to be appointed directly by the Central Government. The new system of local government assured the prompt, uniform, and unquestioning execution of the law and decrees of the Central Government.

Napoleon developed the Secretariat of the State. He turned this into the Ministry of State under Marat which became a central registry. It enabled Napoleon to supervise the various ministries without allowing them any collective responsibility. A centralised administration was set up for the assessment and collection of taxes. Collectors of taxes were required to make a deposit in advance of a proportion of the estimated yield of the taxes. These reforms were the work of Gaudin, a financial bureaucrat of the *Ancien Regime*. By 1800, the tax returns were up-to-date.

According to Herold, "The utter fearlessness with which the young and inexperienced general addressed himself to problems seemingly beyond a single man's scope characterizes the heroic element in Napoleon's mind. There is something of a Hercules in it. Consider, for instance, how the thirty-year old First Consul, within a few weeks after taking power, established a civil administration which proved to be the one and only stable political institution France has had in the past century and a half. There are those who see in Napoleon merely the military strong man, the dictator just as Hercules is esteemed for his muscle rather than his brain. Yet exceptional mental powers are needed to devise a scheme as simple and bold as Hercules' method of cleaning out the Augean stables: a graduate of an agricultural college would never have thought of it. Alexander's handling of the Gordian knot may seem crude; Aristotle never taught him such a trick but perhaps he learned it from Diogenes, the 'great simplifying cynic.'" (*The Mind of Napoleon*, p. xviii)

(2) Napoleon tried to improve the financial condition of the country. By a careful collection of taxes, he was able to add to the revenues of the State. By rigid economy, by the severe punishment of corrupt officials and by the practice of forcing other States to support the French armies, Napoleon was able to reduce his expenditure. In 1800, he established the Bank of France which was one of the soundest financial institutions of the world.

(3) Napoleon carried out many reforms in the field of education. Primary and elementary schools were to be maintained by every



Commune under the general supervision of the prefects or sub-prefects. Secondly, grammar schools were to be provided for special training in French, Latin and elementary science. Whether supported by the Government or run by private enterprise, they were all put under the control of the Central Government. Lycees or high schools were opened in all important towns and instruction was given in them in the higher branches of learning by teachers appointed by the State. Special schools such as technical schools, civil service schools and military schools were brought under State regulation. The University of France was established to maintain uniformity throughout the educational system. Its chief officials were appointed by the First Consul. No one was allowed to open a new school or teach in public unless he was licensed by the University. A Normal School was established at Paris for the purpose of training the teachers. All the schools were required to take as the basis of their teaching the ethical principles of Christianity, loyalty to the head of the State and obedience to the statutes of the University. The following extract from the catechism which was used by the State for children, makes clear what kind of education was given to the youth of the country :

*"Question.* What are the duties of Christians towards those who govern them and what in particular are our duties towards Napoleon I, our Emperor ?

*"Answer.* Christians owe to the princes who govern them ; and we in particular owe to Napoleon I, our Emperor, love respect, obedience, fidelity, military service, and the taxes levied for the preservation and defence of the Empire and of his throne. We also owe him fervent prayers for his safety and for the spiritual and temporal prosperity of the State.

*"Question.* Why are we bound in all these duties towards our Emperors ?

*"Answer.* First because God, who creates Empires and appor-tions them according to his will, has by accumulating his gifts upon him, set him up as our sovereign, and made him the agent of his power, and his image on earth. So to honour and serve our Emperor is to honour and serve God himself. Secondly, because our Saviour Jesus Christ taught us both by example and precept what we owe to our sovereign : for he was born under obedience to Caesar Augustus, he paid the prescribed taxes, and in the same breath as he said 'Render to God what belongs to God,' he said, 'Render to Caesar what belongs to Caesar.'

*"Question.* Are there special reasons why we should be more devoted (*plus fortement nous attacher*) to Napoleon I, our Emperor ?

*"Answer.* Yes, there are ; for it is he whom God raised up in difficult circumstances to re-establish the public worship of the holy religion of our ancestors, and to be its protector.



It is he who restored and preserved public order by his profound and active wisdom ; he defends the State by the strength of his arm ; he has become the Lord's Anointed by the consecration he received from the Sovereign Pontiff, the head of the Universal Church.

*"Question.* What ought one to think of those who are lacking in their duty towards our Emperor ?

*"Answer.* According to the Apostle Saint Paul they would be resisting the order established by God himself, and rendering themselves worthy of eternal damnation.

*"Question.* Do our obligations towards our Emperor apply equally towards his legitimate successors in the order established by the Imperial constitutions ?

*"Answer.* Yes, undoubtedly ; for we read in Holy Scripture that God, by a supreme disposition of his will, and by His Providence, bestows his empires not only upon particular individuals, but also on families."

Napoleon expressed his views on the education of girls in these words : What are the girls brought up at Ecouen going to be taught ? You must begin with religion in all its strictness. Don't allow any compromise on this point. Religion is an all-important matter in a public school for girls. It is the mother's surest safeguard, and the husband's. What we ask of education is not that girls should think, but that they should believe... In the *lycees* I only prescribed the necessary minimum. At Ecouen things must be entirely different. Nearly all the exact knowledge taught there must be that of the Gospel. I want the place to produce, not women of charm, but women of virtue : they must be attractive because they have high principles and warm heart, not because they are witty or amusing... Everyday the pupils must have regular prayers, hear mass, and learn the catechism.

"In addition the girls must be taught writing, arithmetic, and elementary French, so that they may know how to spell ; and they ought to learn a little history and geography ; but care must be taken not to let them see any Latin, or other, foreign languages. The elder girls can be taught a little botany, and be taken through an easy course of physics or natural history. But that too has certain embarrassments. The teaching of physics must be limited to what is necessary to prevent gross ignorance and silly superstition, and must confine itself to facts, and not indulge in reasoning which directly or indirectly touches on first causes...

"But the main thing is to keep them all occupied, for three-quarters of the year, working with their hands. They must learn to make stockings, shirts and embroidery, and to do all kinds of women's work... I should like every girl who leaves Ecouen, and finds herself at the head of a small household, to know how to make her own frocks, mend her husband's things, make clothes for her babies, provide her little family with such occasional delicacies as can be afforded by a provincial housekeeper, nurse her husband



and children when they are ill, and know in these matters, because she has been taught it beforehand, what invalids have learnt by experience...

"Dancing is necessary for the health of the pupils ; but it must be a cheerful sort of dancing, not the kind they indulge in at the opera. They may have music, too, but only singing...

"With the exception of the headmaster, all men must be excluded from the school. No man must ever enter within its walls, under any pretext whatsoever. Even the gardening must be done by women. My intention is that in this respect the establishment should be as strictly ruled as a convent. The headmistress herself must not be allowed to receive men, except in the parlour ; and if it is impossible to exclude a girl's relations in cases of serious illness, at least they must only be admitted by special permission of the Grand Chancellor of the Legion of Honour..... I need hardly say that the only women employed in the school must be elderly spinsters, or widows without children ; that they must be entirely under the control of the headmistress ; and that they must never receive men, or go outside the walls of the school. It would no doubt be equally superfluous to remark that nothing is worse than the idea of letting young girls appear on the stage, or stimulating rivalry among them by allowing them to take places in form. Competition should be banned : we don't want to rouse their passions, or to give play to the vanity which is one of the liveliest instincts of their sex."

Again, "I do not think we need bother about the education of young girls ; they cannot be better brought up than by their mothers. Marriage is their only destination."

The Institute de France had been established in 1795. Napoleon supported it and appreciated its work in physical sciences, fine arts, mathematics and literature. However, he discouraged the study of moral and political sciences. By a decree of January 1803, Napoleon suppressed the department dealing with those subjects.

(4) Napoleon also carried out a large number of public works in the country, although he did not spend much money on them. That was due to the fact that he was able to employ the prisoners of war for that work. He enormously improved the means of communication and trade within the country. The splendid highways of France are the achievements of Napoleon. In 1811, Napoleon could count 220 broad military roads which he had constructed. Thirty of these roads radiated from Paris to the borders of France. Two trans-Alpine roads brought Paris in touch with Turin, Milan, Rome and Naples. A large number of bridges were constructed. The former network of canals and waterways was perfected, Marshes were drained. Dikes were strengthened. The important sea-ports were enlarged and fortified for commercial and naval purposes. This was particularly so with regard to Toulon and Cherbourg.

(5) **The Concordat (1802).** The question of the Church settlement was a difficult one. It was a fashion with the intelli-



gentsia to dismiss religion as a foolish lie and see in the Church an organ of oppression, privileges and obscurantism. The priests were considered to be the prey of a decaying superstition, the allies of the foreigners and enemies of the country. That was the reason why the Church property was confiscated by the National Assembly and the Civil Constitution was provided in the country. However, honest and scrupulous Catholics refused to take the oath and consequently there was a lot of persecution. In spite of that, the schism in the Church persisted. The non-juring clergy had their followers in the fields and woods and the juring clergy enjoyed the barren splendour of empty cathedrals. It became difficult for the Government to pay the salaries of the clergymen. The Catholic Church was disestablished and State became neutral in matters of religion.

This was the state of affairs when Napoleon became the First Consul. His own view was that religion was not a decaying power in the world. He found that all the Catholics had faith in saints and miracles. He felt that spiritual forces controlled the lives of the peasants and soldiers and so he decided to influence and control these spiritual forces. Religion was not to be dismissed like a discarded theory in chemistry. It was the mystery of the social order. Napoleon himself tells us that he was influenced by the sound of the church bells of Ruel and he came to the following conclusion: "The people must have a religion and that religion must be in the hands of the Government. *Peoples will say that I am a Papist. I am nothing. I was a Mohammedan in Egypt, I shall be a Catholic here for the good of the people.* I do not believe in religions...but the idea of a God." Again, "Fifty emigre bishops in English pay are the present leaders of the French clergy. Their influence must be destroyed, and for this I must have the authority of the Pope." Napoleon regarded himself as the successor of Charlemagne and he wished to restrict the Pope strictly to religious affairs. Negotiations were conducted with Pope at Paris and ultimately in August 1802, the Concordat was concluded. This governed the relations of the Church and the State in France for 103 years.

According to the Concordat, the Pope recognised the constitutional clergy, the reduced establishment of the Church and the revolutionary land settlement. The Catholic Church was established as the official Church of the country. It was guaranteed its right of public worship. The bishops were to have absolute power over the clergy who took an oath of obedience to the Government and received from it a fixed salary. All bishops were required to resign their seats and those who refused were to be deposed by the Pope. France was divided into 50 bishoprics and 10 archbishoprics and Bonaparte was to nominate men to fill them. Those nominees were to be installed by the Pope. By the Organic Articles, a uniform Catholic liturgy was established and the sanction of the Government was required for the admission of Papal bulls or legates. Civil marriage was to precede the religious rites.

In defence of the policy of the Concordat, Napoleon maintained



that "society is impossible without inequality, inequality intolerable without a code of morality, and a code of morality unacceptable without religion." Again, "in religion, I do not see the mystery of the Incarnation, but the mystery of the social order." Men who do not believe in God—one does not govern them one, shoots them." "The people need a religion; this religion must be in the hands of the Government."

According to Markham, "The reports of his prefects and his police confirmed his impression that, whatever the attitude of the bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia, the peasants were still obstinately attached to their churches and their priests. Even in intellectual circles, religious scepticism was no longer the undisputed, fashionable doctrine. The religious revival, allied with the literary romantic movement and a counter-revolutionary political theory, which was to reach its zenith in the period of the Restoration, was already challenging the atheism of the Enlightenment. Bonald, Chateaubriand and Fontanes were the leaders of an intellectual movement which traced the anarchy of the Revolution to the decline of religious faith and authority. The *'emigre'* nobility were already abandoning scepticism and returning to religious orthodoxy.

"A Concordat with the Pope would drive a wedge between royalism and catholicism, finally pacify La Vendee and reassure the buyers of Church lands. A settlement based on the schismatic, constitutional Church, or on protestantism, would bring none of these advantages. Only a comprehensive agreement with the Pope would suffice. As Napoleon pointed out: "Fifty *'emigre'* bishops in English pay are the present leaders of the French clergy. Their influence must be destroyed and for this I must have the authority of the Pope." Napoleon also had in mind the advantage of a Concordat in extending French influence in the Catholic populations of Italy, Belgium and the Rhine provinces."

General Delmas commented thus on the Concordat: "A fine monkish trick. The only thing missing was the 10,000 men who gave their lives to suppress all that."

According to Fisher, "The principle of establishment, then as now, had many enemies but it is difficult to contest the value of an arrangement which soothed the fears of the peasantry, healed the schism in the French Church, and, save for an inconsiderable body of non jurors, reconciled the Catholic conscience to the Government of the day." However, it is pointed out that the fact that an appeal was possible to the Pope by the clergy against the tyrannical bishops, and by the bishops against the Government, led in France to the decay of Gallican liberties and the rise of ultra-montanism in France.

It is to be observed that in spite of the Concordat, serious differences arose between Napoleon and the Pope. The Pope did not like the restriction of his powers to purely religious affairs and the dependence of the clergymen of France. He also resented the extension to Italy of the Code Napoleon which authorised divorce. He refused the request of Napoleon to divorce Jerome from Paterson and allow him to marry into some royal family of Europe. The



continental policy of Napoleon was not compatible with the territorial sovereignty of the Pope. Napoleon refused to return to the Papacy the Legations of Bologna and Ferrara which he had added to the kingdom of Italy. He confiscated Ponte, Corvo and Benevento which belonged to the Papacy. He seized Ancona in 1805 and refused to restore it to the Papacy. The Pope showed a distinct leaning towards the Third Coalition in 1805 and protested against the appointment of Joseph Bonaparte in 1806 as the King of Naples. He refused to obey the demand of Napoleon in 1806 that he should expel from the Papal States all the enemies of France and close the Papal ports against English trade. In October 1806, he refused to institute Napoleon's nominees in Venetian bishoprics. In 1807, the French occupied and incorporated into the kingdom of Italy certain Italian territories. In 1808, Rome was occupied and the Papal States became practically French territory. In May 1809, Napoleon revoked "the donation of Charlemagne, our august predecessor" and formally added Rome to the French Empire. In June 1809, the Pope excommunicated Napoleon and in July 1809, the former was arrested in Rome and put in a prison.

The Pope refused to institute French bishops and Napoleon appointed in November 1809 an Ecclesiastical Commission for France. However, the Commission refused to act according to the wishes of Napoleon and, therefore, it was suppressed in January 1810. In February 1810, the Senate decreed that all future Popes at their enthronement and all clergymen within the French Empire must accept the Gallican Articles. Many clergymen were deported to Corsica as they refused to accept the decree. In August 1811, the National Council ordered that seats should remain empty for not more than 12 months. If the Pope failed to institute the bishops within 6 months, the Metropolitan was authorised to do so. The approval of the Pope was declared necessary for the validity of the order and the Pope refused to do so. In June 1812, the Pope was brought to Fontainebleau and in January 1813, he made a *new Concordat* with Napoleon which authorised the Metropolitan to confirm the bishops whom Napoleon had appointed. The Pope practically abdicated his temporal sovereignty by agreeing to take up his residence at Avignon and receiving an annual revenue of two million francs. However, later on, the Pope protested against this agreement which he declared he had signed as a prisoner and "in error". When in 1814, Napoleon found his position weak, he handed over the Pope to the Austrians who released him. In 1814, the Pope was restored to his former position.

It is clear from above that the steady opposition of the Pope regained for him the Papal States and he managed to maintain his authority over the clergymen in France. Napoleon's quarrel with the Pope cost him the support of many Catholics in France and enabled his enemies to declare him the enemy of religion.

(6) **The Codes (1804-10).** The most durable part of the work of Napoleon was the legal codes. These codes were drawn up by committees appointed by Napoleon and he himself attended many of their meetings. He helped those committees in their work



by his "hard commonsense" and "legislative vision". It is wrong to say that Napoleon himself was reasonable for the preparation of those codes, but it cannot be denied that he was responsible for their consolidation and popularisation. In spite of their faults, the codes were concise, simple and just. They consolidated the work of the Revolution which had established a secular State based upon a class of peasant-proprietors, a civil law emancipated from religious vices, a system of land tenure devised to secure the maximum of equality, and a law of persons which proclaimed that men had equal rights. The provision of a uniform system of laws, quick in procedure and execution, was a great boon to France.

With regard to the work of the lawyers in the preparation of the Codes, Napoleon observed thus: "I first thought that it would be possible to reduce laws to simple geometrical demonstration, so that whoever could read and tie two ideas together would be capable of pronouncing on them; but I almost immediately convinced myself that this was an absurd idea...I often perceived that oversimplicity in legislation was the enemy of precision. It is impossible to make laws extremely simple without cutting the knot oftener than you untie it."

In August 1800, Napoleon appointed a committee of four lawyers to draw up a *Civil Code* which was done. According to it, the authority of the father over his family was strengthened and the family was placed "absolutely at the disposal of its head". The father was entitled to imprison his children and his assent was necessary for their marriage. He was to receive the income of their property up to their 18th birthday. A wife was to be under the control of her husband and she could not acquire or sell property without his consent. Contrary to the policy of the Roman Catholic Church, the principle of divorce was admitted. Divorce was allowed by mutual consent and for adultery, cruelty and grave criminal offences. Interest was fixed by law. A man could dispose of by will not more than half of his property.

The *Code of Civil Procedure* was also prepared under the orders of Napoleon. It maintained the principle that conciliation must be attempted before recourse is had to law courts. However, the procedure laid down by the Code proved to be slow and costly and subsequently had to be amended. Criminal and penal codes were also enacted. Capital punishment, imprisonment or deportation for life, branding and confiscation of goods were provided. Maximum and minimum penalties were also fixed for various crimes. Itinerant judges and assize courts were established. Jury system was maintained as a means of judgment but not of accusation. Accused persons had to be tried in public. They were entitled to get the assistance of counsel. They were allowed to examine witnesses in their own defence. No provision was made for the release of persons by a Writ of Habeas Corpus. The *Code of Criminal Procedure* was issued in 1808 and the *Penal Code* in 1810. Both of them showed signs of the stern despotism which Napoleon had established to prevent political offences.



The *Commercial Code* dealt with general commerce, maritime, commerce, bankruptcy and commercial matters. This was a very unsatisfactory code.

According to Fisher, "Critics have assailed the Civil Code as a rapid and superficial structure, as pocket note-book indicating some general legal principles, but far from exhausting the casuistry of life or precluding the growth of jungle of case-law. The task to which modern Germans devoted fifteen years of exhausting efforts, Napoleon dared to accomplish in four months. His temerity has been censured. Yet, however, imperfect this Civil Code may be, it is better than no code at all; and had the work not been done when and as it was, France might be codeless to this day. A single law is better than 200 customs, equality is better than privilege. In the compass of a little volume which may be read and understood by every man and woman in the country, the Civil Code depicts the outlines of a civilized and democratic society, adjusting the great bodies of revolutionary enactment to the old and inveterate traditions of the races." Again, "Feminists and socialists will, therefore, find little to applaud in the legal work of Napoleon; nor would he have courted their commendation. The Civil Code belongs to the category not of socialist but of liberal documents, and its importance in the history of civilization lies in the fact that it registers and perpetuates the vast social improvements introduced into Europe by the French Revolution." Again, "The codes preserve the essential conquests of the revolutionary spirit—civil equality, religious toleration, the emancipation of land, public trial, the jury of judgment." To Italy and Germany, "they were the earliest message, as well as the most mature embodiment of the new spirit. In a clear and compact shape, they presented to Europe the main rules which should govern a civilised society."

The Code of Napoleon was adopted not only in France but was also introduced in every country conquered by the armies of Napoleon. It is true that many harsh punishments were retained and the position of women was made distinctly inferior to that of men, but, on the whole, the French Codes remained the most convenient and enlightened set of laws in the world. Napoleon was, therefore, hailed as Second Justinian.

The institution of the Legion of Honour was the personal act of Napoleon. The orders and decorations of monarchy had been abolished by the National Convention and occasionally 'civic crowns' were awarded to individuals by decrees. In 1802, Napoleon put forward a comprehensive scheme for a Legion of Honour. There were to be 16 'cohorts'. Different ranks such as grand officer, commander and chevalier, were to be granted varying scales of life-pension. The members of the Legion were selected by the Grand Council presided over by Napoleon. When critics described these decorations as 'toys', Napoleon replied: "You are pleased to call them 'toys'; well it is with toys that mankind is governed."

(7) **Art.** In spite of his many preoccupations, Napoleon



found time for the patronage of art. State palaces were not only restored but also enlarged. The city of Paris was beautified. Broad avenues were planned. Paris began to lay claim as the pleasure city of Europe. Its population almost doubled during the era of Napoleon.

(8) **Colonial Empire.** Napoleon decided to found a new Colonial Empire for France and for that object made elaborate preparations. However, all his efforts failed on account of the British naval supremacy. Finding his position weak, Napoleon sold Louisiana to the U.S.A. in 1803.

It is to be observed that Napoleon Bonaparte crushed dissent in the country with a heavy hand. Conspirators were hanged or banished. So great was the censorship of the press that the defeat of Trafalgar in 1805 was not mentioned by any French newspaper till the overthrow of Napoleon.

According to Prof. Markham, "The work of the Consulate was in the main, to achieve the reforms already projected during the Revolution. In the Council of State, which, under the chairmanship of Napoleon, hammered out the legislation of the Consulate, and in his ministers and prefects, Napoleon had able collaborators and experts. Napoleon's contribution was to get things done; for the first time since 1789 (with the possible exception of the great Committee of Public Safety of 1793-4), France felt the impulse of a powerful, unified will. As Napoleon said of the ex-revolutionaries whom he recruited for his government: "There were good workmen among them; the trouble was that they all wanted to be architects. And the success of the Consulate was in direct proportion to Napoleon's success in making his government both civilian and national rather than military. Napoleon insisted that 'it is not as a general that I am governing France: it is because the nation believes that I possess the civil qualities of a ruler.' He attracted to his government the ablest men, regardless of their past. Former servants of the monarchy, like Gaudin and Portalis, rubbed shoulders with ex-revolutionaries like Merlin de Douai, Treilhard and Thibaudau. Among the outstanding prefects were Jean Bon St. Andre, former regicide and member of the Committee of Public Safety, and Mounier, leader of the royalist right in the early days of the States-General of 1789." (*Napoleon and the Awakening of Europe*, pp. 54-5)

**Foreign Policy.** Reference may be made to the foreign policy of the First Consul. His immediate task was to meet the danger of the Second Coalition which had been formed in the absence of Napoleon in Egypt. By cleverness, Napoleon was able to win over the Czar and thereby he secured his withdrawal from the Second Coalition. Thus, only Austria, and England were left in the field. As regards Austria, Napoleon sent Moreau to attack the Austrians from Germany and he himself proceeded towards Italy to attack the Austrians. He crossed the great Bernard Pass and appeared before the Austrians who were defeated in the Battle of



Marengo<sup>1</sup> in 1800. Moreau also won decisive victory over the Austrians at Hohenlinden and thus the resistance of Austria was broken. War was ended by the *Peace of Luneville* (1800) which confirmed the provisions of the *Theory of Campo Formio* of 1797, and slightly increased French gains.

England<sup>2</sup> alone was left in the field. It was difficult to attack her as France had no strong navy and England had no army on the continent. Likewise,

France had no fleets on the sea which could be defeated by the English. However, by cleverness, Napoleon was able to create against England the *Armed Neutrality* consisting of Russia, Prussia, Sweden and Denmark. Its object was to prevent England from searching neutral ships for French goods. Great Britain hit hard. Admiral Nelson bombarded Copenhagen and captured the Danish fleet so that it might not fall into the hands of Napoleon. Luckily, Czar Paul of Russia was assassinated and the armed neutrality was broken. The English were also successful in Egypt and the



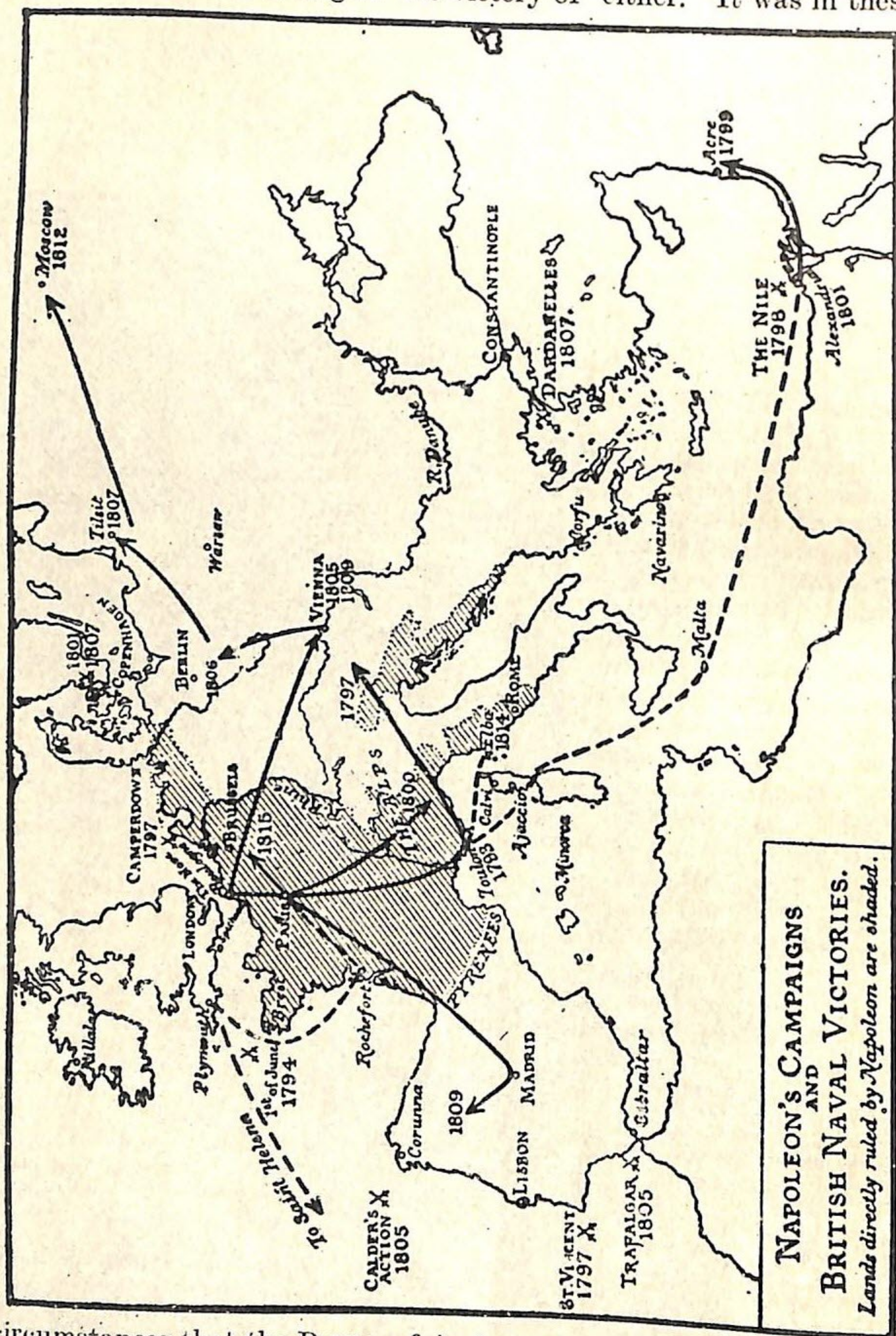
Lord Nelson

1. About the Battle of Marengo, Thompson observes thus : "The Marengo campaign has been so overlaid with legends that the historian is almost afraid to credit Bonaparte with his most fortunate victory. It is not true (as Bourrienne says) that he put a pin in the map, three months beforehand, to mark the place where he would defeat the Austrians. It is not true that he led his troops on a prancing steed (as David painted him), over the St. Bernard; his mule was several days behind the advance-guard of Berthier's army. It is not true that he slept by the roadside at Albaredo, whilst the troops stole silently by for fear of waking their general...The tactical aim of the campaign of Marengo had been to relieve Genoa and to drive the Austrians out of Lombardy. Its strategical aim had been to compel the Emperor to make peace." (*Napoleon Bonaparte : His Rise and Fall*, pp. 162-64)

2. According to Thompson, "Bonaparte saw four advantages in invasion. First considered in isolation, it was the quickest and most effective way to complete victory. A revolution in Ireland, backed by a French expeditionary force—still better, a revolution in England itself, caused by a surprise landing and a swift march on London, might end the war in a week. Secondly, if for any reason, the invasion failed, the panic caused by the attempt might still force the British government to ask for terms. Thirdly, the continued menace of an invading force only twenty miles from Dover would perpetuate a war of nerves, and this would double the effectiveness of the blockade. Fourthly, the threat of invasion would probably draw off the 'blockading' squadrons in the Mediterranean and the Bay of Biscay." (*Napoleon Bonaparte : His Rise and Fall*, p. 229)



French were forced to evacuate Egypt. Both parties were tired of war which was not ending in the victory of either. It was in these



circumstances that the Peace of Amiens was made in 1802 between England and France. England promised to restore all conquests from France and her allies except Ceylon and Trinidad. She also promised to evacuate the island of Malta. France promised to evacuate Naples and the Papal States. It is rightly pointed out that neither party was proud of the peace although both of them welcomed it as



it gave them breathing time. The Peace of Amiens turned out to be merely a truce and war again broke out between the two countries in 1803. Napoleon has had time to consolidate his position at home. He annexed Piedmont. He intervened in the affairs of Switzerland by sending his troops and becoming a mediator. He virtually incorporated Holland into France. He sent a mission to India to stir up the Indian princes against Great Britain. Another mission was sent to Egypt to create the trouble for the English. All these factors were responsible for the renewal of war between the two countries.

According to Markham, "a great deal of ink has flowed on the question of the rupture of the Peace of Amiens. Technically, the English Government was in the wrong and broke the terms of the treaty by refusing to evacuate Malta. From the first, they regarded the Peace as a '*breathing space*' and an '*experimental peace*'. Some French historians, notably Sorel, have sought to justify Napoleon by arguing that England was never really prepared to leave France in possession of Belgium; on that assumption, he can be represented as waging a series of defensive wars against England, since he was bound by his position as 'heir of the Revolution' to maintain the natural frontiers. But it is clear that, both in 1797 and in 1801, England was prepared to recognise the French possession of the natural frontiers, provided that French expansion went no further. What was impossible for any English government to accept was a complete destruction of the balance of power in Europe and a French hegemony of the continent; just as later but similar threats had to be resisted from the Germany of William II and Hitler. A power which dominated the Continent could organise the shipbuilding resources of Europe, challenge England's sea-power and so threaten her very existence."

Napoleon captured Hanover which belonged to England. Throughout 1803-04, preparations were made for the invasion of England. Fisher points out that three things were essential for a successful invasion of England and those were a strong army, an adequate number of ships to transport the troops and a strong navy to protect them. Napoleon was able to raise an army sufficient for the purpose. He could not gather, in spite of his best efforts, an adequate number of ships to transport the troops. As regards a strong navy to protect the troops and the transport ships, he completely failed. No wonder Napoleon was defeated in the naval Battle of Trafalgar in 1805. Lord Nelson lost his life but Great Britain established her supremacy over the English Channel. The battle was so decisive that Napoleon could not dare to attempt an invasion of England.

Regarding Napoleon's projected invasion of England, Prof. Markham observes thus: "It has often been said that Napoleon's preparations for the invasion of England between 1803 and 1805 were a blind to enable him to assemble and train the Grand Army, which was really intended for the overthrow of the Continental powers. Napoleon himself was the first to produce this explanation, to cover up the failure of the invasion. He is reported to have said



in the Council of State as early as January 1805 that the Boulogne camp was a ruse to deceive the continental powers. But it is impossible to read his correspondence for this period, with its constant and almost frenzied attention to the problem of invasion in all its details, without being convinced that he really meant to invade, at any rate, in 1805. One may doubt whether he would ever have attempted a crossing of the Channel in barges unescorted by warships. The assembling of the barge-flotilla had been begun before the Peace of Amiens, and it was then regarded by Napoleon as a means of menacing England, rather than as a feasible means of invasion. The flotilla was immensely expanded in 1803-04, and at its peak the project envisaged 2,000 boats of all kinds, to transport barely 1,00,000 men and their equipment. There is little doubt that once landed, they could have captured London, as there were barely 10,00,000 regular troops in the whole of Britain, and the militia forces raised by Pitt would have had little military value against Napoleon's veterans. But it is possible that Napoleon never intended the flotilla to cross by itself, and that he maintained it as a potential threat, pending the time when his naval forces could make a serious attempt to secure command of the Channel for an escorted crossing."

**Napoleon as Emperor (1804-14).** In 1802, Napoleon managed to transform the Consulate for 10 years to one for life, with the right to name his successor. In 1804, the Senate approved of a new Constitution which declared him Emperor of the French, this change being demanded by the interests of the French people." Napoleon himself observed thus: "*I found the crown of France lying on the ground and I picked it up with my sword.*" He remained Emperor up to 1814 when he was forced to abdicate after the battle of Leipzig and retired to the island of Elba. After his return from Elba, he remained the Emperor of France for one hundred days and was again defeated in the Battle of Waterloo in 1815. After that, he retired to Paris but was forced to surrender himself to the British. He was sent to the island of St. Helena where he died in 1822 after seven years of exile. His will was: "My wish is to be buried on the banks of the Seine in the midst of the French people whom I have loved so well."

Napoleon recognised the gravity of the situation created by the formation of the Third Coalition in 1805 and he decided to meet the same. Not waiting for the Russians, the Austrians sent an army of 80,000 men under General Mack up the Danube into Bavaria. Mack took up his position at Ulm hoping that Napoleon would come through the passes of the Black Forest which were the most direct and usual way for a French army invading Southern Germany. It is true that Napoleon sent some troops to the Black Forest in order to confirm the expectation of Mack that the French army was attacking from that direction, but he also transferred his Grand Army from Boulogne and the shores of the English Channel across Germany from north to south, a distance of 500 miles, in 23 days of forced marches. Napoleon threw himself into the rear of the army of Mack and thereby cut off his line of communication.



Napoleon proceeded towards Ulm and when Mack found himself overpowered, he surrendered at Ulm on October 20, 1805. After the victory, he wrote thus to Josephine : "*I have accomplished what I set out to do. I have destroyed the Austrian army by means of marches alone.*" Napoleon captured 60,000 prisoners of war, 120 guns and more than 30 generals. He himself lost only 1,500 men.

After the surrender of Ulm, Napoleon won the resounding victory of Austerlitz on December 2, 1805 which was the first anniversary of his coronation as Emperor. We are told that there was terrific fighting. The bravery of soldiers on both sides was boundless. However, Napoleon was superior to his opponents in generalship. The result was that the Allies were defeated and they ran away in different directions. They lost nearly all of their artillery and also a large number of their men. After the victory, Napoleon addressed his troops in these words : "Soldiers, I am satisfied with you. In the battle of Austerlitz, you have justified all my expectations by your intrepidity ; you have adorned your eagles with immortal glory." The battle of Austerlitz was so very decisive that it broke the Third Coalition. On hearing the news of the battle of Austerlitz, Pitt the Younger, is stated to have remarked thus : "*Roll up the map of Europe ; it will not be wanted these ten year.*"

The Russians did not make peace and withdrew in great disorder. However, the Austrians concluded the humiliating *Treaty of Pressburg*. By this treaty, Austria ceded Venetia to the kingdom of Italy whose king was Napoleon himself. Austria and Dalmatia were given to Napoleon himself. Only the port of Trieste was left in the hands of Austria. Not Austria but France was in future to be the chief Adriatic power. Bavaria and Baden had sided with Napoleon in the war against Austria and consequently Austria was forced to give to each of them some of her valuable possessions in South Germany. Shut out of the Adriatic and shut out of Italy, Austria lost three million subjects. Austria became practically a land-locked country. She was also compelled to submit to other changes that Napoleon had made or was about to make in many countries.

In the early months of 1806, Napoleon created four kings. "In grateful recompense for the attachment they have shown the Emperor", Napoleon raised the duchys of Bavaria and Wurtemberg to the rank of kingdoms. As the King of Naples had sided with his enemies, Napoleon removed the Bourbon King of Naples and put his own brother Joseph on the throne of Naples. Napoleon forced the Batavian Republic of Holland to become a monarchy and accept his own brother Louis Napoleon as its king. Napoleon also abolished the Holy Roman Empire in 1806 and established in its place the Confederation of the Rhine.

In 1806 Prussia was defeated in the *Battles of Jena and Auerstapt* and Napoleon entered Berlin in triumph. It was from here that the Berlin decree which inaugurated the Continental System was issued in 1806. In 1807, Prussia was defeated in the *Battle of Friedland* and the Czar was made to sign the *Treaty of*



*Tilsit.* By that treaty, the Czar agreed to exclude British goods from Russia. An alliance was entered into between Russia and France to divide Europe between the two countries. Czar Alexander is stated to have remarked to Napoleon : "*What is Europe ? Where is it if it is not you and I ?*"

**Germany.** After the defeat of Austria and Prussia, the whole of Germany lay in the hands of Napoleon. He had no respect for the Holy Roman Empire. He called its Diet "a miserable monkey house". Many schemes were prepared and ultimately the Confederation of the Rhine was set up in July 1806. The general aim of the Confederation was to break up the German lands into three main bodies. Prussia was to rule in the north and Austria in the south and east. In the west was to be set up the new State of the Confederation of the Rhine which was to be independent of both Austria and Prussia but under French protection. The sixteen States forming the Confederation were to be independent and sovereign. A Diet was to sit at Frankfurt and the common interests of the Confederation were to be considered there. However, the Diet never met and the Constitution remained a dead letter. Napoleon was declared to be protector of the Confederation. He was given the right of determining the contingents which each member was to furnish in case of war. The members were declared to be necessary allies in any war that involved either of the parties. On 6th August 1806, Emperor Francis gave up his title and the Holy Roman Empire came to an end.

After the defeat of Prussia in 1806, the nationalists got an opportunity to gain control of the Government. Frederick William was forced to appoint Hardenberg and Stein as his Ministers in 1807. In September 1807, Hardenberg observed thus : "The French Revolution of which the present wars are only a continuation, has given France, in the midst of stormy and bloody scenes an unexpected power. The force of the new principles is such that the State which refuses to accept them will be condemned to submit or perish—democratic principles in a monarchical government—this seems to me the formula appropriate to the spirit of the times."

This policy led to the reform of the ministerial system, abolition of serfdom and feudal tenures, municipal autonomy and the reform of the army. The edict of liberation stated thus : "After St. Martin's Day, 1810, there are only free citizens in Prussia." The serfs were freed from forced labour and the feudal jurisdiction of their lords. They were not liable to degrading corporal punishments in the army. The lands which they had cultivated for others, became their property and they were given the right to sell them. Stein acted upon the principle of free trade. The legal barriers between towns of Prussia and the rest of the country were broken down.

Military reforms were carried out by three persons *viz.*, Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, and Clausewitz. Scharnhorst recognised the new army with a religious fervour. Gneisenau was an idealist and he found in the military work the satisfaction of his highest aspirations. Clausewitz was a great theorist of military tactics.



He adapted most of what Napoleon had invented to German conditions. He is considered to be the father of those ideas in tactics and strategy which carried Prussia to victory in 1814, 1866 and 1870. As a result of these military reforms, the Prussian army became national. Foreigners were excluded from it. The system of privileges was destroyed. Officers were chosen on the basis of ability and not status. All citizens were called up for military service. The army was no longer a school of vice. It became a school of honour. The term of service of soldiers was reduced so that a large number of persons could be trained and kept in the reserve.

The University of Berlin was founded and a large number of outstanding persons were attracted towards it. It became a centre of inspiration to the Germans. Fichte and Schleiermacher appealed to the patriotic sense of the people. A similar work was done by the poetry of Arndt. The *Tugendbund* or League of Virtue was started in 1808 at Königsberg and it strengthened the feelings of patriotism and idealism. F.L. Jahn started the *Gymnastic Society* which stirred and quickened German opinion.

Excited by the news of the Spanish insurrection, Stein in August 1808 pressed for a German rising. Napoleon intercepted one of Stein's letters and demanded his dismissal. The king submitted and Stein was dismissed in November 1808. Stein joined the service of the Czar and continued to work against Napoleon.

It is pointed out that on account of the resistance of the Junker aristocrats, the plans of Stein remained largely on paper. On hearing the news of Stein's dismissal, General Von Yorck, observed: "So one of these mad men has been eliminated; the rest of this brood of vipers will perish of their own poison." The only effective reform was that of the Prussian army which helped her to produce by 1814 a well-trained army to fight against Napoleon.

**The Continental System.** England was the very soul of every coalition that was made against France. Napoleon tried hard to bring England to knees but failed in the battle of Trafalgar in 1805. England, being a nation of shopkeepers, could be attacked through her trade and since Napoleon had defeated Austria in the Battle of Austerlitz (December 1805), Prussia in the Battle of Jena (1806) and Russia in the Battle of Friedland (1807), he felt that he was in a position to attack England at a point where she was most vulnerable. Such an advice had been given to Napoleon in 1805 by Montgaillard in a memorial presented by him to the French Emperor. That memorial is claimed to be the basis of the Continental System. To quote Montgaillard, "*It is through her commerce that England must be attacked; to leave her of her gains in Europe, Asia and America is to leave her of her arms, to render conflicts and wars eternal. To destroy British commerce is to strike England to the heart.*"

Thompson puts the ideas of Napoleon in these words: "First he argued, France is a self-sufficient country, living upon its own produce, and that of its overseas possessions, as a cottager



supposed to be aggravated by the recent expansion of cheap manufactures beyond the country's needs. In such a situation the closing of foreign markets might well produce commercial bankruptcy, unemployment, and political unrest enough to force the government to sue for peace." (*Napoleon Bonaparte: His Rise and Fall*, pp. 224-25)

Napoleon was convinced in his mind that it was impossible for him to attack England by crossing the English Channel. To quote him, it was "*earlier to send troops from Paris to Delhi than from Boulogne to Folkestone*." The British Navy was a great hurdle for him. British prosperity depended primarily upon trade and if that could be destroyed, Great Britain could be brought to her knees. The plan he hit upon was a dangerous gamble, but Napoleon was prepared to risk it as he was determined to humble England. The plan adopted by him is known as the Continental System which involved the economic blockade of England.

The plan was announced by Napoleon in 1806 in the famous Berlin Decree. It declared: "The British islands are henceforth blockaded. All commerce with them is prohibited; letters and packages with an English address will be confiscated as also every store of English goods on the Continent within the border of France and her allies; every piece of English goods, all English vessels, and those laden with staples from English colonies will be excluded from all European harbours, including those of neutral States." The Continental System was strengthened and extended by the Decrees of Warsaw (1807), Milan (1807) and Fontainebleau (1810). The Milan Decree provided that even neutral vessels sailing from any British port or from country occupied by British troops, might be seized by French warships or privateers. The Decree of 1810 went so far as to order the confiscation or public burning of all British-manufactured goods found in the French Empire. The British Government also hit back by Orders in Council of 1807. According to these Orders-in-Council, all vessels trading with France or her allies were liable to be captured. In certain cases, neutral vessels were to touch at a British port before proceeding to any part of Europe.

The British Government had to face a lot of difficulty at the hands of neutral States. As Denmark refused to submit, a British expedition bombarded Copenhagen in 1807 and either captured or destroyed the Danish Fleet. This made Denmark an ally of Napoleon. The relations between the U.S.A. and Great Britain were also embittered on account of the insistence of British Government to search American ships bound for the European continent. In 1812, there was actually a war between the two countries. On the whole, the British Government had less trouble with the neutrals than Napoleon had.

The application of the Continental System by Napoleon was a physical impossibility. His Empire was a very wide one and the lack of a strong navy made it impossible for him to stop the coming of British vessels to the shores of Europe. All that he could do was to force the European States to refuse to trade with England.



lives upon the produce of his field and of his garden ; it does not derive its wealth from outside sources, except in the form of forced contributions from countries it has recently conquered. But Britain is a manufacturing and trading country, producing a surplus of goods which it carries and sells overseas, mainly on the continent of Europe, and like other traders, it 'makes money' in the form of cash paid for those goods, and for their carriage. If it can be prevented from carrying on this trade, its supply of cash will dry up; it will go bankrupt; and it will be unable to pay for the continuance of the war, either by itself or its allies.

“Secondly, England must accumulate each (in the form of gold) to pay interest on the enormous national debt it is incurring, and to back the inflated paper currency with which it is financing its daily affairs. This debt in fact amounted in 1802 to £507 million, only £80 million less than it was on the outbreak of war in 1914, and



the interest payable on it averaged £18 million a year. The gold reserves at the Bank of England had sunk almost as low as £1 million in 1797, and might be reduced to danger-point again, if, instead of exporting goods for cash, England could be prevented from exporting or forced to pay out cash for goods imported.

“Thirdly (Bonaparte argued), France since the Revolution, had assimilated its social classes and united its government upon the basis of agriculture, citizenship, and a First Consul who knew what the country wanted, and controlled all the means of achieving it. But in Britain political power was still disputed between the monarchy, the aristocracy, and the farmers and shopkeepers; the country was torn by the rival interests of the landlords and the city of London and still liable to commercial bankruptcy labour troubles, and dangerous fluctuations of food prices—all the symptoms which had preceded the revolution of 1789; and these difficulties were



However, that also was impossible. Europe was dependent upon England and could not live without her and no wonder the people of Europe were prepared to defy Napoleon rather than submit to the Continental System. It has rightly been pointed out that Great Britain could get on very well without silks and other luxuries produced in France, substituting for them woollen and cotton goods, but English warships made almost impossible the importation into Europe not only of all colonial necessities but also of the raw materials necessary for indispensable manufactures. By the system of licences alone it was possible to maintain the French army. Cloth and leather for Napoleon's soldiers were brought from England in defiance of the Continental System. On one occasion, 50,000 overcoats for the French army were purchased from England. Great Britain held the monopoly of coffee, tea and sugar without which the Germans of the Rhine Confederation could not live. Napoleon could not dare to cut off these things entirely even from the French and the Italians. It is pointed out that increasing quantities of British goods made their way into the continent, through Spain and Portugal, up the Danube, under cover of special permits. Devices of all kinds were adopted for smuggling. There was a great increase in the number of funerals until it was found that the hearses were filled with sugar. The enhanced prices of sugar, tobacco, coffee, cotton and other commodities added to the sufferings of the people of Europe without in any way harming the people of England. The only real danger for England was the starvation of her population, but that was avoided because Napoleon allowed the export of French wheat through special permits.

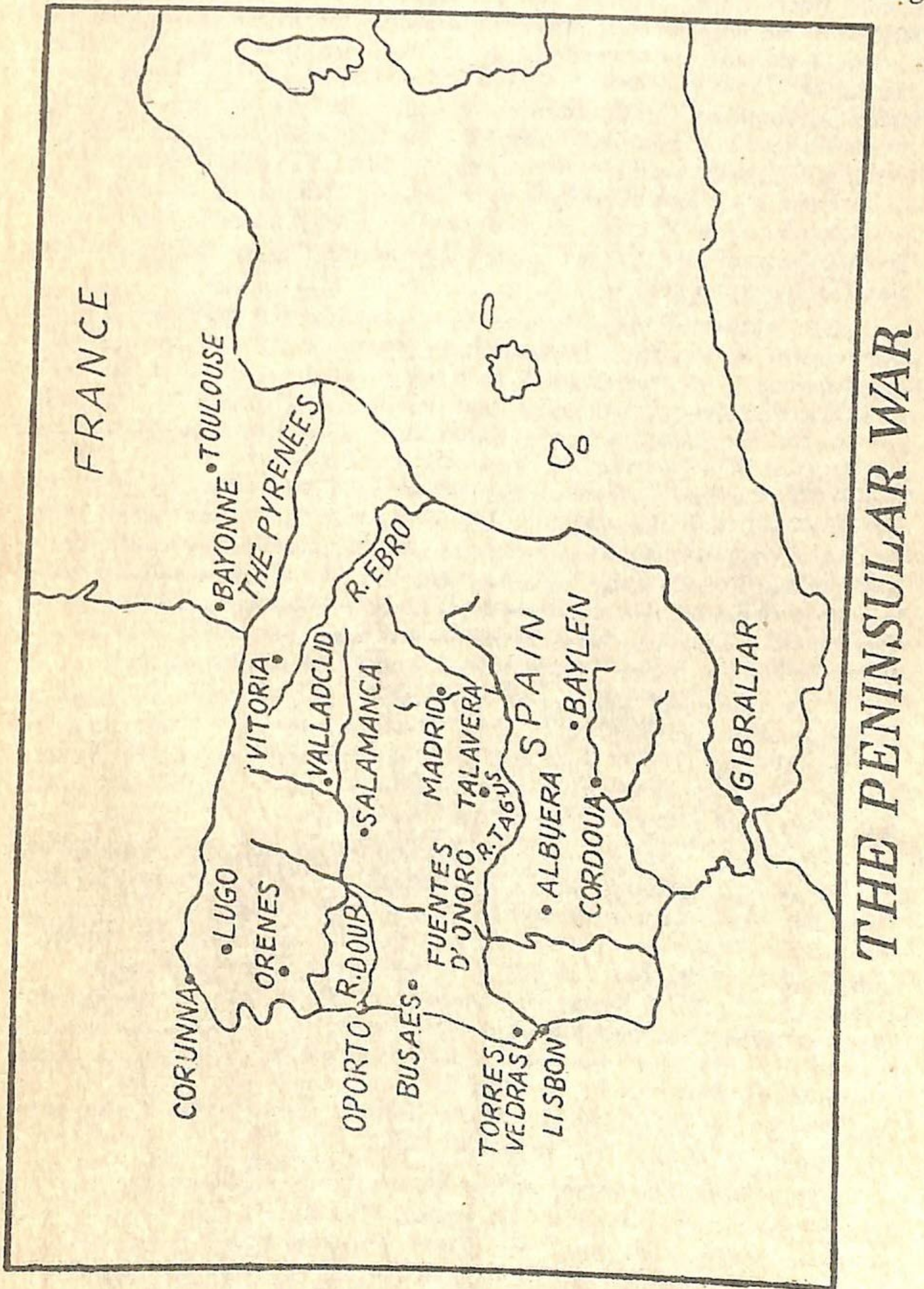
Although Napoleon had to face many difficulties he persisted in his policy of economic boycott of Great Britain. By the Treaty of Tilsit (1807), Napoleon got a promise from the Czar of Russia that he would exclude British goods from his dominions. The King of Prussia also gave a similar promise. Napoleon himself undertook to enforce the Decrees within the French Empire, the Kingdom of Italy, the Confederation of the Rhine and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. His brother Joseph carried out his will in Naples, Jerome in Westphalia, Elise in Tuscany and Louis in Holland. The outcome of the war with Sweden in 1808 was the completion of the closure of all Scandinavian ports to the British ships. It was Napoleon's determination to enforce the Decrees in the Papal States that compelled him to turn out the Pope from Rome and annex the Papal States in 1809. In 1810, Louis Bonaparte gave clear signs of his intention to side with the Dutch people against Napoleon as he found that the enforcement of the Continental System was suicidal to the people of Holland. He was deposed and Holland was annexed to French Empire.

It was with the object of enforcing the Continental System that Napoleon was forced to interfere in Portugal and Spain. He demanded of Portugal that she should stop all trade with Britain and seize all British subjects and their property in Portugal. Prince John, the Regent, hesitated for some time and finally refused. The result was that French armies made their way through Spain into



Portugal. Napoleon's efforts to capture the royal family failed. The British came to the help of Portugal and the Peninsular War started.

The people of Spain did not approve of the passage of French troops through their country to Portugal. They blamed their king



for his weakness and there were riots. On the pretext of mediating between the rival factions in the Bourbon Court, Napoleon lured the



However, that also was impossible. Europe was dependent upon England and could not live without her and no wonder the people of Europe were prepared to defy Napoleon rather than submit to the Continental System. It has rightly been pointed out that Great Britain could get on very well without silks and other luxuries produced in France, substituting for them woollen and cotton goods, but English warships made almost impossible the importation into Europe not only of all colonial necessities but also of the raw materials necessary for indispensable manufactures. By the system of licences alone it was possible to maintain the French army. Cloth and leather for Napoleon's soldiers were brought from England in defiance of the Continental System. On one occasion, 50,000 overcoats for the French army were purchased from England. Great Britain held the monopoly of coffee, tea and sugar without which the Germans of the Rhine Confederation could not live. Napoleon could not dare to cut off these things entirely even from the French and the Italians. It is pointed out that increasing quantities of British goods made their way into the continent, through Spain and Portugal, up the Danube, under cover of special permits. Devices of all kinds were adopted for smuggling. There was a great increase in the number of funerals until it was found that the hearses were filled with sugar. The enhanced prices of sugar, tobacco, coffee, cotton and other commodities added to the sufferings of the people of Europe without in any way harming the people of England. The only real danger for England was the starvation of her population, but that was avoided because Napoleon allowed the export of French wheat through special permits.

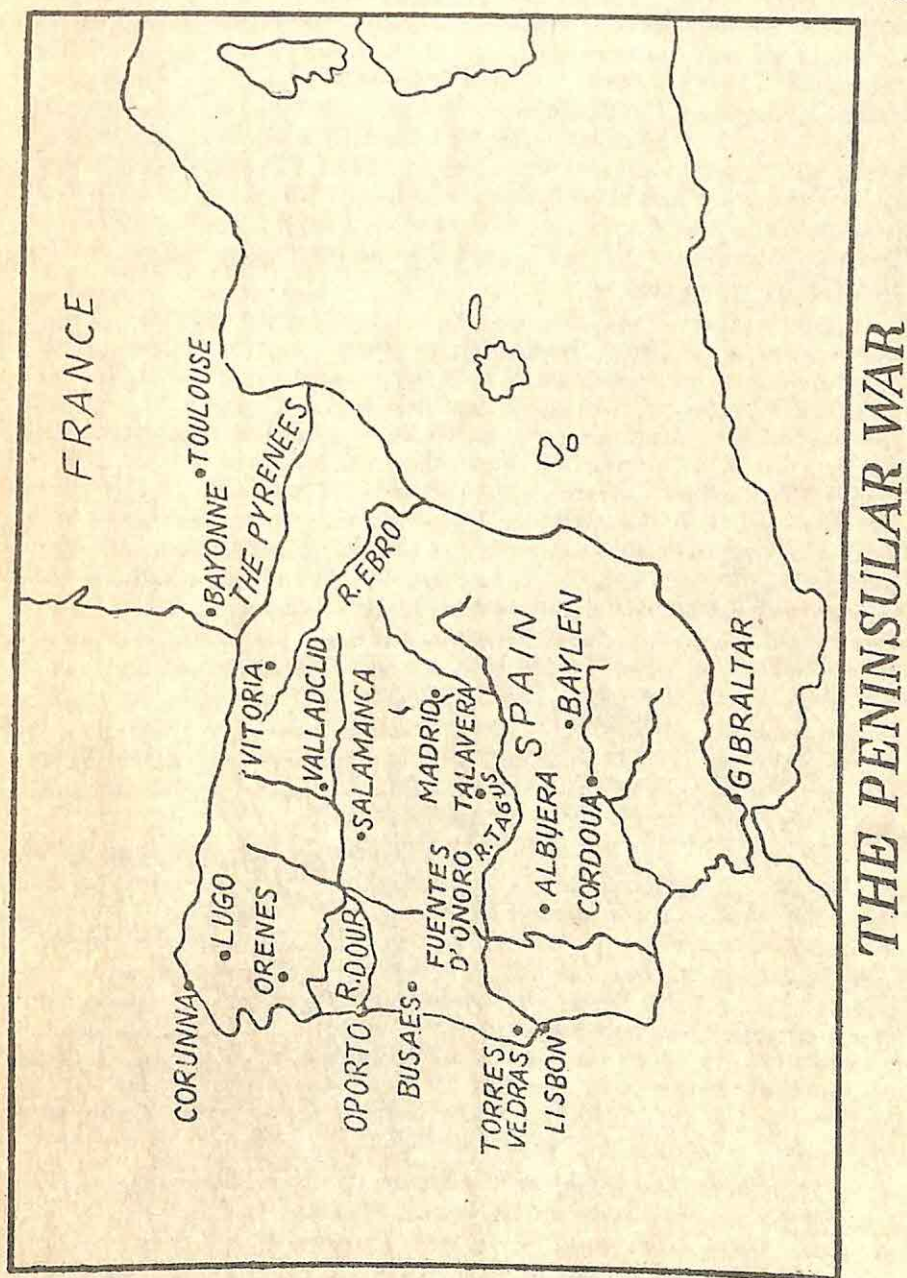
Although Napoleon had to face many difficulties he persisted in his policy of economic boycott of Great Britain. By the Treaty of Tilsit (1807), Napoleon got a promise from the Czar of Russia that he would exclude British goods from his dominions. The King of Prussia also gave a similar promise. Napoleon himself undertook to enforce the Decrees within the French Empire, the Kingdom of Italy, the Confederation of the Rhine and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. His brother Joseph carried out his will in Naples, Jerome in Westphalia, Elise in Tuscany and Louis in Holland. The outcome of the war with Sweden in 1808 was the completion of the closure of all Scandinavian ports to the British ships. It was Napoleon's determination to enforce the Decrees in the Papal States that compelled him to turn out the Pope from Rome and annex the Papal States in 1809. In 1810, Louis Bonaparte gave clear signs of his intention to side with the Dutch people against Napoleon as he found that the enforcement of the Continental System was suicidal to the people of Holland. He was deposed and Holland was annexed to French Empire.

It was with the object of enforcing the Continental System that Napoleon was forced to interfere in Portugal and Spain. He demanded of Portugal that she should stop all trade with Britain and seize all British subjects and their property in Portugal. Prince John, the Regent, hesitated for some time and finally refused. The result was that French armies made their way through Spain into



Portugal. Napoleon's efforts to capture the royal family failed. The British came to the help of Portugal and the Peninsular War started.

The people of Spain did not approve of the passage of French troops through their country to Portugal. They blamed their king



for his weakness and there were riots. On the pretext of mediating between the rival factions in the Bourbon Court, Napoleon lured the



king and his son to a place on the French frontier and by threats and cajolery persuaded the king and his son to resign all claims to the Spanish throne. In 1808 Joseph Bonaparte was proclaimed the King of Spain. Napoleon's intervention in Portugal and Spain roused forthwith a lot of opposition from the people of both the countries. Both the Portuguese and the Spaniards were helped by Great Britain. An English expedition was sent to Portugal under Sir Arthur Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington) who defeated the French at Vimiero in 1808. Shortly after the French agreed to evacuate Portugal by the Convention of Cintra, Napoleon himself took the command and captured Madrid. Sir John Moore, the British Commander, advanced into Spain and so drew off a large portion of the French army and thereby saved Lisbon. Napoleon sent Marshal Soult to chase the English to the north of Spain and "drive the English leopard into the sea". Sir John was killed at Corunna but his army escaped (1809).

Sir Arthur Wellesley was once again given the command in Portugal in 1809. He advanced into Spain and won the *Battle of Talavera*, but was forced to retire to Lisbon. Marshal Massena took the offensive with the object of driving the English leopard into the sea but Sir Arthur's tactics foiled him. The English Commander constructed lines of trenches across the Peninsula on which Lisbon stood. These lines, known as the *Lines of Torres Vedras*, were so well fortified that Massena found it impossible to attack them. Sir Arthur devastated the country around the Torres Vedras and consequently the French army began to starve. Sir Arthur was in a very strong position behind the lines with Lisbon as his base and Lisbon was supplied from the sea. Massena was forced to retire with heavy losses in 1811 and the French did not enter Portugal again.

The tactics of Wellington exhausted the French who had a long line of communications. The Spaniards also carried on guerilla warfare during all this time and attacked the French troops at all places. As Napoleon was busy with Austria and Russia, he could not relieve the French troops in the Peninsula.

In 1812, Wellington felt strong enough to advance into Spain. He began by storming the two fortresses which commanded the two main roads from Portugal to Spain. He advanced as far as Salamanca where he won a brilliant victory and entered Madrid. Joseph Bonaparte fled. After this victory, Wellington retired to Portugal. In 1813, he started again from Portugal for Spain and drove out the French before him. In the Battle of Vittoria, Joseph lost all his artillery and stores. Wellington's campaign of 1814 began in the South of France but by that time the Battle of the Nations was going on and Napoleon himself was overthrown in 1814 and made to retire to the Island of Elba.

Regarding the effects of the Peninsular war, Thompson observes thus: "Napoleon's Spanish enterprise, Madame de Stael wrote, 'was his first step towards ruin; for there he was faced with national resistance, the only kind that he could not deal with by diplomacy or bribes'. He realized well enough the danger of village and mountain warfare, but he never understood that a war might be a crusade



(*la puissance de l'ame*). He relied on cold steel of which there was little in Spain before the arrival of the English armies. He never reckoned with the one power that no arms could overcome—the enthusiasm of a whole people. This much is true : the fire that was kindled in Spain spread to the Tyrol, where it was with difficulty put out only to blaze up again symbolically, three years later, in the burning of Moscow.” (*Napoleon Bonaparte : His Rise and Fall*, p. 247).

In 1812, Lord Liverpool became the Prime Minister of England and Lord Castlereagh became the Foreign Secretary. Castlereagh arranged the Fourth Coalition consisting of Britain, Russia and Prussia and later on Austria. The War of Liberation started. Napoleon was defeated in the Battle of the Nations at Leipzig in 1813.

In 1814, Wellington defeated the French at Toulouse. The Russians, Germans and the Austrians advanced into France. When Napoleon found himself helpless, he abdicated in 1814. Although he came back to France from the Island of Elba, the Allies were determined to finish him. That led to the Battle of Waterloo (1815) in which Napoleon's army was completely routed. In this battle, the Duke of Wellington played the most important part.

Napoleon's invasion of Russia in 1812 proved to be fatal for him. Czar Alexander had come to the conclusion that it was impossible for him to act according to the wishes of Napoleon because they conflicted with the interests of his subjects. He refused to abide by the provisions of the Continental System. Napoleon who had staked his all on the Continental System, undertook the Russian campaign in the spirit of a welcome adventure. To quote him, “*Moscow is the half-way house to India.*” He prepared a huge army of more than six lakhs and started the invasion. The Russians followed a policy of retreat and destroyed practically everything on the way. Even the city of Moscow was set on fire by them. Circumstances forced Napoleon to retreat from Moscow and his retreat was one of the most horrible episodes in history. About half a million lives were lost in Russia. The myth of Napoleon's invincibility was exploded. Napoleon's failure to enforce the Continental System in Russia finished the system itself.

About his Moscow campaign, Napoleon stated : “Perhaps I made a mistake in going to Moscow, perhaps I should not have stayed there long ; but there is only a step from the sublime to the ridiculous, and it is up to posterity to judge.”

According to Thompson, “The year 1812 was a crisis in Napoleon's life ; but the change came after Moscow, not before. Chaptal, who knew him as well as anyone, says that ‘after his return from Moscow those who saw most of him noticed a great change in his physical and moral constitution....I confess that after this unhappy period I did not find the same consistency in his ideas or the same strength in his character ; one noticed only in consequent leaps of imagination. There was not the old taste and faculty for hard work. As I had often said, ‘out of the hundred nerve-centres (*fibres*)



that composed his brain, more than half were no longer sound'." (*Napoleon Bonaparte : His Rise and Fall*, p. 340)

Regarding the effects of the Continental System on England, Thompson observes thus : "From 1803 to 1810 the embargo that Napoleon enforced in the French and Dutch ports, at the mouths of the Ems and Elbe, and, after 1806, in the German Baltic ports, did not seriously hamper British trade. The total exports of home-produced goods were valued at £41 million in 1805, £44 million in 1806, £40½ million in 1807, £40¾ million in 1808, £50½ million in 1809, and nearly £50 million in 1810. The value of 'colonial' goods re-exported from England during the same years was, in 1805, £10 million, in 1806 nearly £10 million, in 1807 exactly £10 million, in 1808 £9 million, in 1809 £15¾ million and in 1810 £12¾ million. If then, England lived on her export trade, Napoleon's attempt to destroy it was remarkably unsuccessful. It might be said that this was because, during the years in which the continental ports were increasingly shut against her ships, she was able to develop new markets overseas. To a great extent this was so and it was a point which Bonaparte had overlooked in his calculations. Nevertheless the figures, when analysed, show that the proportion of our exports to Europe remained at a consistently high level. In 1805, 37·8 per cent of British-made goods went to Europe, in 1806, 30·9 per cent, in 1807, 25·5 per cent, in 1808, 25·7 per cent, in 1809, 35·4 per cent, and in 1810, 42 per cent, whilst of foreign and colonial goods re-exported from England 78·7 per cent went to Europe in 1805, 72·9 per cent in 1806, 80 per cent in 1807, 71·1 per cent in 1808, 83·1 per cent in 1809 and 76·9 per cent in 1810. In its main endeavour, therefore, the Continental Blockade was, up to 1810, a complete failure." (*Napoleon Bonaparte : His Rise and Fall*, pp. 235-36)

According to Markham, "Napoleon had not only roused the people of Europe against the Empire by this Continental System, he also lost the confidence of the French middle class, the main beneficiaries of the Revolution and the class which had put him into power. The prolonged economic depression which hit France in 1810-11 was ascribed by them to the Continental System; and from this period dates their indifference to the fate of the regime and the dynasty which was strikingly apparent in 1814. The middle classes had shared his protectionist views and continued obstinately to hold them through the nineteenth century, but they abandoned Napoleon when he ceased to gain them profits. Napoleon was extremely perturbed by the Malet conspiracy in December 1812, during the retreat from Moscow. Malet, a mad Republican general, announced that Napoleon was dead and proclaimed the Republic. His *coup d'état* made some headway before he was arrested; and the significant point about the episode was the fact that none of the officials who had been deceived by Malet thought of proclaiming the accession of Napoleon II."

It cannot be denied that the efforts of Napoleon to enforce the Continental System crippled the resources of France and alienated the sympathy of many States towards him, Great Britain was



embittered to the point of desperation. *The Continental System was a grand economic endurance test and Great Britain won it.*

**Causes of Napoleon's Failure.** Napoleon attained the height of his power in 1808<sup>1</sup> and after that his decline began. Many factors were responsible for the rapid fall of the man who had brought nearly the whole of Europe under his control.

(1) One important cause was the limitations of individual genius. It is true that Napoleon was a genius but it is also true that he was a human being. It was impossible for him to do everything himself and since he had too many irons in the fire, it was no wonder that he failed in most of them.

(2) There is always a limit to human energy and after a certain age a person starts feeling the effect of fatigue and exhaustion. According to Dr. Sloane, "The causes of his decline may be summed up in a single word, *exhaustion*. There exists no record of human activities more complete than is that of Napoleon Bonaparte's

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1. Compare the following observations of Thompson: "A military historian, looking for a point at which victory gave place to defeat, might find it between Jena (or perhaps Wagram) and Moscow. A naval historian might prefer Trafalgar. A political historian, looking at the balance of power on the continent, might find the turning point at Tilsit. A historian who envisaged the Napoleonic period as a struggle between France and Great Britain for the control of European and overseas trade would prefer to take the moment when the challenge was thrown down and taken up at the breach of the Peace of Amiens. A Frenchman asking himself at what point Bonaparte's system of government ceased to secure the blessings of the Revolution and began to return to the practices of the Bourbon monarchy, might choose the moment at which the First Consul crowned himself Emperor of the French. But he would be as likely to argue that this act had been implicit in the assumption of Life Consulship two years before, and that it made little difference to the character of the government, or to the working out of the laws and institutions which had been inaugurated at Brumaire.

"The concurrence of these lines of argument points to the year 1802 as the turning point—the year of the Treaty of Amiens, of the Concordat, and of the Consulship for life. Each was a climax, a settlement: of the war in Europe, of the crucial issue of the Revolution, of Bonaparte's own rise to power. Each enclosed germs of decay; a treaty which was only a truce, a pacification which inaugurated a new struggle, the climbing of a mountain shoulder which revealed the true summit at least within reach. If an exact moment is needed, let it then be that of the Elevation in the mass of Easter Day, April 18th, 1802, when the material might of the Napoleonic republic did homage to the central miracle of the Catholic faith.

"The historian who finds the turning point of Bonaparte's career in 1802 need not prove that there were no respects in which he grew more admirable, or France more prosperous, in the years that followed. Such a thesis would be absurd. What he means is that in the long verdict of history, plans begun then, institutions founded, tendencies encouraged, already held in them the germs of failure; and that before the rise was ended the fall had begun. (*Napoleon Bonaparte: His Rise and Fall*, pp. 183-84)

According to Grant and Temperley, the year, 1807 marks the zenith of Napoleon's power: "Had he died in that year, his career would have seemed the most miraculous in the military annals of Europe and perhaps of the world. He had succeeded in every task, overthrown every enemy. He had rearranged Europe according to his liking. He had no military rival, and he was in apparent close and friendly alliance with the Czar of Russia. The French Revolution was left far behind now. It was no France but Napoleon who commanded in Europe. And he had carried with him his family to wealth and fame and power."



life. In its beginning we can see the worshipper of power stimulating his immature abilities in vain until, with reckless desperation, he closed the period of training and made his scandalous bargain with Barras; then, grown suddenly, inexplicably rich, becoming with better clothing, food, and lodging physically more vigorous, he seems mercilessly to drive the rowels into his own flanks until initiative, ingenuity and ruthlessness are displayed with apparently superhuman dimensions. The period of achievement is short but glorious in politics; the age of domination is long and exciting. Throughout both, there is the same wanton physical excess and intellectual dissipation. Then comes the turn. Every human age has in it the germs of the next; we begin to die at birth and the characteristic qualities and powers of one period diminish as those of the next increase. So it was with Napoleon. He compressed so much, both as regards the number and importance of events, into so short a space that his times are like those wrinkled Japanese pictures which are made by shrivelling a large print into a small compass—intense and deep but unreal. To change the metaphor, he found the ship of state dashing onward, with her helm lashed and no one daring to take the steersman in hand. He cut the lashings and laid hold. His unassisted efforts as a pilot gave the vessel a new course; but he had not steam or other mechanical power, no *deus ex machina* to aid him; and, as the storm increased, exhaustion followed; he seemed to be steering when, in reality, his actions were under the compulsion of events, he was not controlling, and thus continued until the wreck."

However, this point of view is not accepted by Prof. Holland Rose and the same was the view of President Thiers of France. It is pointed out that Napoleon's activity both before and after Waterloo was that of a man in good health. It was his judgment that degenerated and proved to be the cause of his failure. It is rightly pointed out that his victories in successive battles made him proud and haughty. His egotism became a mania and consequently he refused to listen to the advice of others. Even persons like Talleyrand and Fouché were not taken into confidence. Napoleon was also the best. No wonder, his decisions sometimes ignored certain facts which could easily have been pointed out to him if he had taken the advice. His calculations became defective and ultimately ended in his fall.

(3) Another cause of his failure was his policy of militarism. Napoleon was there to the new militarism of the National Convention but he extended and perfected it. He recruited large armies, trained them and hastened then to the battlefields and was able to defeat one by one all the Great Powers of Europe except England. However, his wars began to take more and more toll of human life and he was forced to recruit even young men of tender age into his army. Such a process could not continue for long and was bound to result in disaster. The militarism which enabled Napoleon to conquer Europe, also proved to be his undoing. French militarism led to militarism in other countries and this was particularly so in Prussia, Russia and



Austria. It was the combined militarism of other countries that brought about the fall of Napoleon. Napoleon used to say that "God marches with the biggest battalions," and when the armies of the enemies became bigger than his own, God was bound to march along with them and that was to result in their victories. Moreover, as time passed, Napoleon was forced to recruit more and more of the Poles, Germans, Italians, Dutch, Spaniards and the Danes. The Grand Army of Napoleon became more and more heterogeneous and consequently lost its fighting effectiveness. Napoleon also followed a policy of quartering the French troops upon the lands of his enemies or allies. Undoubtedly, he was able to make some saving in expenditure but this policy created a lot of bitterness. French troops were hated by the people on whom they were imposed and that hatred proved to be the undoing of Napoleon.

(4) Another cause of his failure was the Continental System. Napoleon regarded England as Enemy No. 1 and was determined to humble her. His view was that the prosperity and strength of England were dependent upon her commerce and consequently he decided to exclude British goods from Europe. He issued the famous decrees and did all that he could to deal a blow to British commerce. He failed to realise that the real strength of England lay in her manufactured goods. On account of the lack of a strong navy and the export of wheat to England, Napoleon failed to bring England to her knees. The enforcement of the Continental System compelled him to interfere with many countries and thereby aroused national resentment. The Continental System acted as a boomerang and destroyed its author.

(5) Napoleon himself admitted that it was the Spanish 'ulcer' that ruined him. It was his determination to exclude English goods and nationals from Portugal and Spain that forced him to interfere with these countries. The resistance was stiff and continuous. The physical features of the country and the constant flow of help from England by sea, enabled the people of Portugal and Spain to beat back the French troops from the Peninsula. The victories of the Duke of Wellington exploded the myth of Napoleon's invincibility on land.

(6) Napoleon's invasion of Russia in 1812 was a blunder. His Grand army was completely destroyed and along with that his prestige. It was his retreat from Moscow in a helpless condition that encouraged his enemies to join hands and bring about his fall.

(7) His kind treatment of his relatives was also partly responsible for his failure. He was kind to his relatives, but most of them were ungrateful to him. Caroline and Jerome were to some extent responsible for the collapse of his power in Italy and Germany. Others, except Pauline, took pleasure in thwarting his will on the occasion of some great crisis. It has been remarked that Napoleon tried to make all his brothers eagles, but they remained ordinary fowls, intent on strutting and crowing before their harems. Napoleon was most unhappy regarding the attitude of his brothers. He would have been a better ruler if he had been a worse brother. He



complained to Metternich in 1810 in these words : "*My relatives have done more harm than I have done them good.*"

(8) Napoleon began to depend more and more on trickery and deceit. One example of his trickery was the manner, in which he removed the King of Spain from his throne. It is claimed that the final cause of his downfall in 1814 was the interception of a letter which proved his lack of sincerity during the negotiations for peace. He was determined to use all means, fair or foul, to win. He is stated to have remarked : "*I know when to exchange the lion's skin for that of the fox.*" No wonder, the Allies refused to have any faith in his declarations and pledges and decided to remove him altogether from the European scene. A policy of deceit does not always pay.

(9) According to Prof. Holland Rose, the hardening of Napoleon's brain was responsible for his failure. That once splendid organizer who acted as a perfect lens, a true balance of alternatives, and a swift framer of resolves, retained the past qualities even in an exaggerated form, but he distorted events so as to fit in with desires and registered fancies as facts. This deterioration has happened to several great warriors and it grew on Napoleon rapidly after Tilsit, still more so after the Austrian campaign of 1809. The increase of his Empire in 1810 was a sign of megalomania which both enlarged his responsibilities and impaired his faculties for meeting them in the right manner.

(10) In the later part of his life, Napoleon became desperate in his actions and that was hardly conducive to his success. Metternich urged Napoleon at Dresden to accept his terms and give peace to Europe. But Napoleon asked : "What is it you wish of me ? That I should dishonour myself ? Never, I shall know how to die but never yield an inch of territory. Your sovereigns who were born on the thrones may get beaten twenty times and yet return to their capitals. I cannot, for I rose to power through the camp." Metternich asked what he would do when his army of conscripts had perished. The reply of Napoleon was in these words : "You are not a soldier. You do not know what happens in the heart of a soldier. I have grown up on battlefields and a man such as I care little for the lives of a million men."

(11) Napoleon could not tolerate the idea of compromise. It is true that he realized in his heart of hearts that the Confederation of the Rhine was "a bad calculation" the Continental System "a chimera and the Grand Empire a lost splendour never to be recovered, but he was not prepared to accept that position. He addressed the members of the Council of States in these words. "Do you wish to descend from the height to which I have raised France, to become a simple monarchy again instead of a proud Empire ?" It was too much for Napoleon even to think that he was to leave France weaker than he had made or found her. The very idea of the defection of his allies sent him into a rage and he vowed revenge. He cried out : "Munich must burn, and burn it shall." So long as there was the least chance of success, Napoleon was not prepared to



come to terms with his enemies and as hope did not leave him till the end, there was no possibility of a compromise and peace. To the end, Napoleon believed that he would be able to take advantage of the military errors of his enemies and win victory for himself. That was partly due to the inflexibility of his mind and partly to the excess of good fortune during the time of ripening manhood. His victories at the beginning were his greatest misfortune and they steeled him against counsel. He continued to believe to the end that he was "The Man of Destiny". Had Napoleon decided to come to a compromise when his misfortunes started, his parents-in-law would have helped him to retain the French throne.

(12) Napoleon's defeat was also due to the rise of a great strategist in Gneisenau and a great fighting general in Blucher. It was his good fortune that in his early years he did not meet a general worthy of his steel. His contempt for his enemies led to his disaster. He held a very poor opinion of Wellington and Blucher and that cost him his Empire.

(13) Napoleon became boastful and the habit of boasting often leads to the fall of a man. During his intervention in Spain, he wrote the following words: "I may find the pillars of Hercules in Spain, but I shall not find the limits of my power.....I have seen nothing so cowardly as these Spanish nobles and troops." This was written shortly before the French troops surrendered.

(14) Napoleon lost the support of certain sections of the people through whom he had come to power. As time progressed, he shed off all his Jacobinism and became a great imperialist. In 1793, he was a true hero who had come to liberate France from the clutches of tyranny and invest it with a true republican spirit. However, by 1800, his whole being was changed and inclined towards imperialism. Napoleon himself stated thus: "The future will discover whether it was not better for the repose of the world that neither Rousseau nor I had ever been born."

(15) Napoleon was always conscious of his own superiority over others and consequently he centralized everything in his own hands and that was the cause of his failure.

(16) His passion for the grandiose overmastered his calculating faculties which in early life had generally held his ambition in leash.

(17) According to Herold, "Though not directly relevant here, the question might be asked with some profit: Why did Napoleon fail? 'Because he bothered God,' said Victor Hugo. That is one answer. Others point to this or that mistake or miscalculation, or declare that Napoleon bit off more than he could chew, or find some basic flaw in his system, or see him succumb to irresistible historic forces, or maintain that his people and allies let him down, or decry in his defeat the triumph of good over evil, or shrug their shoulders and speak of bad luck. Still others maintain that his rise was a historic accident and that his downfall merely cut him down to size. Perhaps, if we accept as a premise the fact that he did fail, then all



or any of these reasons may have been decisive." (*The Mind of Napoleon*, pp. xxx-iii).

According to Foch, "He (Napoleon) forgot that a man cannot be God ; that above the individual is the nation and above mankind the moral law, he forgot that war is not the highest aim, for peace is above war."

**Character of Napoleon.** Napoleon was a man of the Mediterranean and as such had warm and violent passions and vivid imagination. He was capable of being brutal, caddish and coarse and also gay, considerate and poetic. According to Caulaincourt, "Emperor's feelings were expressed through every pore. When he chose, nobody could be more fascinating." He had charming manners. Very few could compete with him in conversation. He always made a great impression on all those who talked to him.

He had a high sense of humour. He was once told by a lunatic that he was in love with the Empress. His reply was : "You should choose somebody else to confide in." In 1812 when he was returning from Moscow alone with Caulaincourt, he thought of teasing Caulaincourt with the prospect of being captured by the Prussians and exhibited in an iron cage in London. They both drove for miles, yelling with laughter. It is said that on one night at Vienna Napoleon asked for the cold chicken which was always kept ready for him for his supper. When the chicken was brought Napoleon looked at it and observed : "Since when has a chicken been born with one leg and one wing ? I see that I am expected to live off the scraps left me by my servants." Napoleon pulled the ears of his servant who had eaten the part of the chicken.

Napoleon was indulgent, familiar and attached by a bond of sentiment to his friends and companions of the youth. His friends like Lannes, Ney, Marmont, Murat, Junot, etc. could say to Napoleon what they pleased. It is stated that Napoleon wept bitterly at the time of death of Lannes and Duroc.

It is wrong to call him a cold-blooded tyrant. He put on a mask in the interests of 'policy'. Napoleon himself said : "There are in me two distinct men : the man of head and the man of heart."

He showered wealth and positions on his brothers and sisters. He made Joseph the King of Naples and then of Spain. He appointed Louis the King of Holland. He made Jerome the King of Westphalia. In spite of that they grumbled. Napoleon complained : "From the way they talk, one would think that I had wasted our parents' estate."

Napoleon had a wonderful memory which helped him to weave plans and dreams in his imagination so that he could, as he said, "live two years in advance". According to Emerson, "He (Napoleon) never blundered into victory, but won his battles in his head, before he won them on the field."

All his intellectual resources were available to him at any time. To quote him, "Different matters are stowed away in my brain as in



a chest of drawers. When I wish to interrupt a piece of work, I close that drawer and open another. None of them ever get mixed, never does this inconvenience or fatigue me. When I feel sleepy, I shut all the drawers and go to sleep."

**Estimate of Napoleon.** Napoleon was one of the greatest conquerors and rulers of the world. He was a genius of a very high order. The large number of volumes written about him testify to his great personality. He will always be remembered as one who laid the foundations of a new social order in Europe. His contribution towards the unification of Italy and Germany cannot be denied. It is difficult to give an accurate estimate of his greatness on account of strong prejudices on the part of those who have written about him. Men like Abbot have tried to praise him as much as they can and others have tried to condemn him. The truth lies between the two extremes. It is too much to say that he was either a robber or a tyrant. He emphasized the idea of equality by abolishing class distinctions and privileges and by throwing, "careers open to talent". *The last of the series of benevolent despots, he was at the same time one of the first of great modern statesmen.*

Napoleon was great orator and was most successful in appealing to the masses. According to some, he was a great writer. To quote Fisher, "He was the prince of journalists, the father of war-correspondents." He had "an eye for theatrical effect and an incomparable talent for self-advertisement."

It is said that he was very selfish and was prepared to give up everything even his dearest friends, for the sake of his own interests. No wonder, in the hour of his need, he was deserted by all including his wife. He was prepared to sacrifice the lives of millions of soldiers for the sake of satisfying his own ambition. It is reported that the Battle of Borodino where the slaughter was the greatest, was regarded by Napoleon as "the finest battlefield I have ever seen." His personality was so great and he hypnotised so much those he met, particularly his soldiers, that they were prepared to sacrifice their lives for him.

"I am not a man like other men," said Napoleon. His view was that religious and moral restrictions did not bind him. Although he professed faith in the Roman Catholic Church in his will, he was probably a materialist without belief in Christ. To quote him, "I was Mohammedan in Egypt; I shall be a Catholic in France."

He was a versatile genius. "He carried human faculty to the farthest point of which we have accurate knowledge. According to Mignet, Napoleon was "the most gigantic being of modern times."

Wellington's view was that Napoleon's presence in the field was worth a force of 40,000 men and his reasons have been summarised thus : "(1) Napoleon was a great *homme de guerre*, possibly the greatest that ever appeared at the head of a French army.

"(2) He was the sovereign of the country as well as the military chief of the army. That country was constituted upon a



military basis. All its institutions were framed for the purpose of forming and maintaining its armies with a view to conquest. All the offices and rewards of the State were reserved in the first instance exclusively for the army. An officer, even a private soldier, of the army might look to the sovereignty of a kingdom as the reward of his services. It is obvious that the presence of the sovereign with an army so constituted must greatly excite their exertions. It was quite certain that all the resources of the French State, civil, political, financial, as well as military, were turned towards the seat of the operations which Napoleon himself should direct. Every sovereign in command of any army enjoys advantages against him who exercises only a delegated power, and who acts under orders and responsibilities. But Napoleon enjoyed more advantages of this description than any other sovereign that ever appeared. His presence, as stated by more than one, was likely not only to give to the French army all the advantages above detailed, but to put an end to all the jealousies of the French Marshals and their counter action of each other, whether founded upon bad principles and passions, or their fair differences of opinion. The French army thus had unity of action." (*Napoleon Bonaparte : His Rise and Fall*, p 285)

Napoleon was a very efficient administrator and organiser. He adapted to the present needs the ideas of the former generations. He was a master of details and methodical in all that he did. By making merit the basis of the recruitment, he was able to secure the services of efficient persons. He could himself work 18 hours a day and demanded the maximum amount of work from others. Once he marched 90 miles in three days after the Dresden campaign in 1814. During the four days of the Waterloo campaign, he was on horseback for 37 hours and slept only for 20 hours out of the 96. He could easily see the weak spots in the line of the enemy on account of his wonderful power of observation. His power of striking hard and swiftly at the decisive point was of great value in view of the lack of cohesion among the forces of the Coalitions. He followed up his victories with great vigour. He generally made the most of the opportunity offered to him.

Napoleon rendered great services to France. His victories saved France from foreign enemies. He established a strong and efficient Central Government and thereby saved France from anarchy. "His life and that alone stood between France and civil war." He gave France a sound system of laws. He promoted education and the finances of France by compelling other nations to support French armies. He issued no paper money and imposed no income-tax. However, it is pointed out that after the Treaty of Tilsit, he brought misery to France. Had Napoleon died in 1807, France would have been grateful to him. His determination to humble England was at the root of all his troubles.

Critics say that 'Napoleon was the tyrant of Europe.' He was not content with the natural frontiers of France. He wanted to extend his authority over other countries of Europe and rule them



in a despotic manner. "War and despotism were inseparable and ingrained parts of his nature." "He wished to subdue Europe by France and Britain by means of Europe." The Continental System was an attempt to unite Europe against Great Britain. His bitterness against England is clear from the following words: "Our Government must destroy the English monarchy or it must accept itself to be destroyed by these active Islanders." Napoleon desired to follow in the footsteps of both Alexander, the Great, and Charlemagne. His ambition was not limited to Europe alone and he had a strong desire to go to the East and this is clear from the following words uttered in 1812: "We are going to make an end of Europe, and then to throw ourselves and become masters of India."

According to Emerson, Napoleon was the embodiment of the middle-class qualities then coming to the fore. However, he did not fit into the niche of a stock exchange and was the villain of a melodrama. According to Taine, Napoleon was the symbol of the revival of the Italian condottiere. According to Sorel, Napoleon was the champion of great France, the protagonist of her demand for the "natural boundaries". According to Levy, Napoleon was an exemplary bourgeois who was always intent on the preservation of peace, but was driven to war by the successive provocations of all the Powers.

According to Grant and Temperley, "Napoleon was without question a man of extraordinary force of brain and character, who under all circumstances and in all countries would have won for himself a high position. He had great powers of work and of organisation, rapid insight, courage, a willingness to accept responsibility, resolution in following out a plan once undertaken—all the qualities of the soldier in their highest development; and with all he had the gift of genius which defies analysis. But his rise is much more than the story of a capable man winning for himself a high place in the world. It reflects also one of the most general laws that may be observed on the surface of history. We can see constantly how a period of confusion and of revolution ends in the establishment of some strong and often of a personal power. The instances that are usually quoted in comparison with Napoleon's life history are the establishment of the Roman Empire by Julius Caesar after a century of confusion and revolution in Rome, and the personal rule of Oliver Cromwell which followed the Puritan revolution. But these are only the most obvious instances. We may see something of the same sort when the Tudor Monarchy follows the Wars of the Roses; when the strong concentration of the French kings under Charles VII and Louis XI brought to end the long agony and turmoil of the Hundred Years' War in France; or again, when the Thirty Years' War in Germany is followed very generally by the establishment of personal rule."

According to Dr. Holland Rose, there was only one man who could challenge comparison with Napoleon. The figure of Julius Caesar dominated the Roman world as that of the great Corsican overshadowed the age of the French Revolution. Both men lived in cataclysmic periods when the old order was passing away and new



ideas called for recognition. In many ways, both Napoleon and Julius Caesar succeeded in linking on the new to the old. Though innovators in youth, they became more and more conservative in manhood. However, Caesar was a greater man than Napoleon. Although he began the serious part of his life late, yet both in war and statecraft, he established an unquestioned supremacy which nothing but murder could end. He led the way both by developing new principles of strategy and by adopting the almost stereotyped polity of Rome to the needs of a fast growing Empire. His clemency and conduct won the affection of the conquered peoples whom he brought under the Roman rule. He left behind him a State both greater and stronger than that before his accession to office. His unparalleled triumphs both at home and abroad neither blinded his vision nor hardened his temper. They were harmonised and humanised by clemency. The same cannot be said of Napoleon. He admitted his failure in the following words which he wrote about Alexander, the Great : "What I like in Alexander is not his campaigns, which we cannot understand, but his political methods. At thirty-three years of age, he leaves a well established Empire which his generals partitioned. He had the art of making himself beloved by the peoples he conquered."

According to Holland Rose, the personality of Napoleon abounds in contradictions. Dowered with the passions of the south, he yet had the cool and calculating instincts characteristic of the northern peoples. By turns he was mild and stern, placable and unforgiving, generous but egoistic, far-seeing yet far-sighted. On every event and problem, he concentrated a bewildering variety of powers so that in every case we must ask what set of faculties led him to this and not that conclusion. Moreover, at the end of the inquiry we are baffled by the crowning paradox, that he, the greatest Emperor and organiser of all time, left France and his enemies stronger than before his appearance in the arena.

According to Dr. Sloane, Napoleon became great because he was the typical man of his day, less the personal mediocrity ; the typical burgher in personal character, the typical soldier in war, the typical despot in peace and the typical idealist in politics ; capable in all those qualities of analysis ; capable consequently of being understood ; capable of exhaustion and of being overwhelmed by combinations. The Empire of Napoleon was like a brilliant bubble on the stream of time. Alexander Hellenised the civilisation of his day and prepared the world for Christianity. Charlemagne ploughed, harrowed and sowed the soil of barbaric Europe, making it receptive for the most superb of all secular ideals, that of nationality. Napoleon tore up the system of absolutism by the roots, propagated in the most distant lands of Europe, the modern conception of individual rights, overthrew the rotten structure of the German-Roman Empire, and in spite of himself regenerated the long-abused ideas of nationality and fatherland.

According to Chateaubriand, "Napoleon was a poet in action." He was "the mightiest breath of life whichever animated human



clay." According to Leon Bloy, "Napoleon is the Face of God in the darkness."

According to Herold, "This supreme combination of intellect and energy gave Napoleon's mind a magnetic, almost supernatural power—a power that seems to radiate from his pictured features and endows his very name with magic. If modern times have produced a mythological figure, that figure is Napoleon. Abraham Lincoln is a possible rival, but as a figure of mythology Napoleon has a great advantage; like the Olympians he is beyond good and evil, a true pagan god, eminently classical and Greek. Lincoln, a Christ-like figure from the backwoods, belongs to a different circle.

"Few men have expressed the Napoleon *mystique* so suggestively as Heine in these few sentences: "His countenance, too, was of the complexion we find on the marble heads of Greeks and Romans. The features were as nobly proportioned as those of ancient statues, and on his face was written: "Thou shalt have no other god but me." (Introduction, *The Mind of Napoleon*, page XIX)

*"Death makes no conquest of this conqueror  
For now he lives in fame".*

According to Talleyrand, "His (Napoleon's) genius was unbelievable. It is the most astonishing career that has been witnessed for the last thousand years. He was certainly the most extraordinary man I ever saw, and in my opinion the most extraordinary man that has lived for many centuries."

Hardy put the following words into the mouth of Napoleon after his defeat at Waterloo:

*"I came too late in time  
To assume the prophet on the demi-god,  
Apart past playing now. My only course  
To make good showance to posterity  
Was to implant my line upon the throne.  
And how shape that if now extinction nears?  
Great men are meteors that consume themselves  
To light the earth. This is my burnt-out hour."*

The difference between the France of 1799 and 1815 was the work of Napoleon. The former was traditional and chaotic and the latter had respect for person, for contract and for property. The administration was unitary, homogeneous and active. The finances, though not regulated, were restored to vigour. The processes were inaugurated by which the great cities of France became healthy and beautiful. The revolutionary precepts were so modified and assimilated that the efforts of the dynasties failed to change them. It was one of his sayings that "to have the right of using nations, you must begin by serving them alone". The seeds of discontentment were sown by Napoleon among the Christians of Turkey and his emissaries fired their hearts. Serbia was one of those examples and national awakening of the Greeks also began with the hopes similarly aroused.



It is pointed out that indirectly Napoleon made the U.S.A. completely independent of England. Napoleon was responsible for bringing about a war between the U.S.A. and England from which the former emerged with glory and with absolute commercial independence. The purchase of Louisiana from Napoleon revolutionised the American national system both from inside and outside.

**Comparison between Napoleon and Hitler.** According to Herold, "Certain external and by no means accidental similarities between Napoleon's career and that of Hitler have blinded some men to the far more significant contrasts. Unlike Napoleon, Hitler is likely to go down in history as another Attila or Jenghiz Khan. Hitler destroyed the law; Napoleon was a law-giver whose code spread across continents. That difference alone should be enough to discourage comparison. Hitler was maniacal crank with an ideology; Napoleon, sane and self-controlled, despised ideologies. Hitler appealed to hatred; Napoleon, to honour. Hitler extolled that dark, instinctual monster which he called the People and which Taine had called the Gorilla; Napoleon had seen that monster in action during the Reign of Terror, and he preferred to perish rather than invoke its power. Napoleon, when he began his career, embodied the hopes of sane and noble minds (not least among them Beethoven's); Hitler began and ended surrounded by a handful of psychopaths. But why insist on the contrast? Perhaps there is no difference between them but the difference between the Age of Reason and the Age of Hatred. It is a substantial difference."

"It is difficult to see how Hitler, as an individual, can be judged as anything but a diseased catalyst of a mass disease. Nothing positive appears on the ledger. Napoleon, on the other hand, in his historic action left positive achievements behind him. Unlike Hitler, he left Europe not in ruins but brought it up-to-date. Even where his genius failed his purpose, its nature was such that it co-operated willy-nilly with the constructive forces of history; the unification of Germany and of Italy, the spread of democratic liberalism might not have been in accord with his intentions, but they most certainly owed much to his action. And as a myth and a symbol he pushed back the limits of human capabilities. It may be a costly process for humanity to produce Napoleons, but if humanity should ever cease to produce them it would be a sign that its energies are exhausted. In order to turn its Napoleon to better enterprises than conquest and war, humanity first would have to turn away from war. To prove Napoleon wrong humanity must change." (*The Mind of Napoleon*, pp. XXXVIII—XXXIX)

**Napoleon, the child of the French Revolution.** Napoleon maintained that he was the child of the Revolution. By abolishing the old political system and paving the way for military despotism, the French Revolution gave Napoleon an opportunity to establish his power. If an extraordinary situation had not been created by the French Revolution, a man like Napoleon would not have got the chance to come to power. After coming to power as First Consul, he got his election as Emperor ratified by the people in 1804. In the Code Napoleon, he embodied the best of the revolutionary principles and laws. He emphasized the principle of equality and recruited



his servants and generals on the basis of merit and not status. He gave permanence to the influence of the French Revolution. However, critics point out that although Napoleon was the child of the Revolution, he was the child who killed the mother. He did not care for the principles of liberty and fraternity which were emphasized by the authors of the Revolution. The liberty of the people of France and Europe was crushed in every way and Napoleon tried to impose his own will on the people. He centralised everything in his own hands and thereby destroyed the initiative of the people. His own view was that what the people wanted was not liberty but equality and with that conviction he did not allow people to give expression to their views. Complete censorship was imposed on the press and dissent in any shape or form was crushed. He tried to impose a military discipline on the people. The absolute Government which Napoleon established was the very negation of the idea of a "sovereign people". "He was the last and greatest of the autocratic legislators who worked in an unfree age."

According to Grant and Temperley, "Napoleon was the child of the Revolution, but, in many ways he reversed the aims and principles of the movement from which he sprang. And this was particularly true of the codes. The Revolution had not only swept away what remained of feudalism and ecclesiastical control of the State, but it had attacked the cherished traditions of the lawyers of France. It had striven, above all things, for equality. It had insisted that the inheritance should be divided in equal shares among the children; it had limited very strictly the power of testamentary bequest; it had offended Catholic sentiment by introducing divorce; it has removed all control over questions arising out of births, deaths, and marriages from the Church. There was much in all this of which Napoleon in his new mood did not approve. He made friends with the Church. He valued authority. He had little love for equality. He would therefore not merely present the legislation of the Revolution in a short and logical form: he would desire to alter it in important particulars."

According to Flenley, "He was the child and heir of the French Revolution, who if he completed the destruction of liberty, yet preserved equality and built it into the enduring laws he gave to France. *I closed the chasm of anarchy; I cleansed the revolution*", he claimed."

According to Prof. Markham, "The reforms of the Consulate, considered as a whole look both ways. From one aspect, they are a continuation of the Revolution; from another, a surreptitious return to the institutions of the Bourbon monarchy. They confirmed and secured the national gains of the Revolution in equality, legal and administrative unity, the career open to talents. In this sense, Napoleon's claim to represent the revolution is justified. For him and for the mass of the French workers and peasants, the social and administrative aims of the Revolution were far more important than the bourgeois aim of political liberty. The Revolution of 1789 had been, not one but three simultaneous revolutions,



social, administrative and political. In 1800, the French people were prepared to abandon the political revolution in order to consolidate the other two.

"Moreover, Napoleon, like Mirabeau in 1790, did not regard the revolution as incompatible with monarchy. Mirabeau, in his secret correspondence with the court, had urged the king to continue the work of Richelieu, and lead the Revolution, by completing the destruction of feudalism and modernising the State. In Napoleon's opinion, the fall of the throne had been due to the 'vanity' of the bourgeoisie and the feebleness of Louis XVI. There were certain features of the Bourbon monarchy which he admired. In the early days of the Consulate, he described the 'old administration' as 'the most perfect that ever existed...while conserving every useful innovation produced by the Revolution, he would not reject the good institutions which it wrongly destroyed.' In 1809, he was to say: 'From Clovis to the Committee of the Public Safety, I embrace it all.' The Bourbon dynasty had failed to rise to the occasion; it was open to Napoleon 'to pick a crown out of the gutter'. He saw no reason why a 'fourth dynasty of France' should not establish itself, based on the changes brought by the Revolution."

According to Gottschalk and Lach, "Although Bonaparte has frequently been reviled as an unscrupulous dictator and conqueror, his regime may also be looked upon as an effort to provide a synthesis of the old and the new for the war-weary and revolution-weary Europe of his day. When he became master of France in 1799, his new charge had undergone a decade of social, economic, and political turmoil in the course of which it had helped to impart to Europe a widely held conviction that 'the source of all authority resides essentially in the nation' (as the French Declaration of Rights of 1789 had stated), and that 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity' were objectives for which one should fight, bleed and die. But in the course of that decade France had also imparted, along with notions of popular sovereignty and the hope of a freer and better world, an atmosphere of uncertainty, instability, and fear such as Europe had not known since the close of the religious wars in 1648. The initial success of Bonaparte's triumphs at home and abroad derived not alone from his undeniable personal qualities, his carefully nurtured reputation, and the strength of his following, but just as much from the inability of his rivals and enemies to prescribe better remedies for the patent social, economic, and political illnesses of the times. Though Napoleon was ultimately to forget his principles, as even those who are not conquerors often do, and to act rather out of considerations of expediency, he forced both peoples and rulers of Europe either to adhere to his system or else, in order to survive his onslaughts, to modify the old order and make place for the aspirations embodied in the principles of 1789, whether they liked those principles or not." (*Transformation of Europe* pp. 32-3)

**Sayings of Napoleon.** It is difficult to resist the temptation to refer to some of the sayings of Napoleon. According to him,



(1) love of country is the first virtue of civilized man. (2) The true wisdom of nations is experience. (3) The heart of a statesman should be in his head. (4) Be clear and all the rest will follow. (5) Love is the occupation of the idle man, the distraction of the warrior, the stumbling block of the sovereign. (6) Unity of command is the first necessity of war. (7) The first quality of a Commander-in-Chief is a cool head. (8) I regard myself as probably the most daring man in war who has ever existed. (9) An army is a people that obeys. (10) Never attack a position in front which may be taken by turning. (11) At the commencement of a campaign, thought should be expended as to whether an advance should be made or not; but when once the offensive has been assumed it should be maintained to the last extremity. (12) Men must be led by an iron hand in a velvet glove. (13) Courage is like love; it feeds on hope. (14) In war all is mental; and the mind and opinion make up more than the half of the actual. (15) Work is my element. I am born and built for work. I have known the limits of my legs. I have known the limits of my eyes. I have never known the limits of my work. (16) The first quality of a soldier is fortitude in enduring fatigue and hardship; bravery is the second. Poverty, hardship and misery are the school of the good soldier. (17) A great captain ought to say to himself several times a day: "If the enemy appears on my front, my right or my left, what should I do?" If he finds himself embarrassed, he is ill-posted. (18) I had the taste for foundation, not taste for property. My property consisted in glory and celebrity. (19) All the ills and curses which can afflict mankind come from London. (20) All my life, I have sacrificed everything—comfort, self-interest, happiness to my destiny. (21) I have made all the calculations: fate will do the rest. (22) Politics is fate. (23) The strong are good; only the weak are wicked. (24) History I conquered rather than studied... I spurned what was of no use (to me), and I seized upon certain conclusions that pleased me. (25) France needs me more than I need France. (26) A revolution can be neither made nor stopped. The only thing that can be done is for one or several of its children to give it a direction. (27) Outside budgets, there is no salvation. (28) Men take their needs into consideration—never their abilities. (29) Men are moved by two levers only: fear and self-interest. (30) The masses gladly take revenge for the honours they render us. (31) When the fatherland is no more, the patriot must die. If in order to free my countrymen all I had to do was to destroy one man, I should set out this instant and plunge into the tyrant's breast the avenging sword of fatherland and law. (32) He who fears to lose his reputation, is sure to lose it. (33) There is only one thing to do in this world and that is to keep acquiring more and more money and power. All the rest is chimeral. (34) Serving the fatherland is a religion. (35) Governments keep their promises only when they are forced or when it is to their advantage to do so. (36) Between meditating an action and carrying it out, you must put an interval of three years. (37) If you wage war, do it energetically and with severity. This is the only way to make it shorter and consequently less inhuman. (38) From triumph to fall,



there is but one step. (39) The love of glory is like the bridge that Satan built across chaos to pass from Hell to Paradise : glory links the past with the future across a bottomless abyss. (40) I had taste for founding, not for owning. (41) Men must be very bad to be as bad as I think they are. (42) My mistress is power, but it is as an artist that I love power. I love it as a musician loves his violin. (43) Conquest has made me what I am and conquest alone can maintain me. (44) I fear insurrections caused by shortage of bread. I would fear them more than a battle of 200,000 men.

**Josephine.** No account of Napoleon can be complete without a reference to Josephine. He married her in 1796. At that time, she was six years older than Napoleon. Her previous husband had been guillotined a few days before the fall of Robespierre. She had two children from her previous marriage and she had practically no means. However, she did not lose heart.

She was very much impressed by the vehemence of Napoleon's passion and the intensity of his glance. She at once agreed to marry him. She was impressed by the self-confidence of Napoleon. Napoleon had addressed her in these words : Do they (Directors) think that I need their protection in order to rise ? They will be glad enough some day if I grant them mine. My sword is at my side and with it I can go far." Josephine has written thus about her inner feelings : "This preposterous assurance affects me to such a degree that I can believe everything may be possible to this man and, with his imagination, who can tell what he may be tempted to undertake ?"

Napoleon had his happiest time with Josephine. As a matter of fact, she was the only woman for whom he really cared. Even

Madame Walewska who gave him a son, never took her place. It is rightly said that Napoleon conquered Europe and put it at the feet of Josephine. Had there been no Josephine, there would have been no Napoleon. It was she who inspired him. She could amuse him by her indignation and move him by her tears. She was his only refuge from his own family. She was the one person in the world to whom he could say what was really in his mind. He could be natural-self with her alone.

Unfortunately, all the members of Napoleon's family were against her. Napoleon also foolishly thought of marrying a



Josephine



princess and having a son from her to succeed him. That created trouble and ultimately Josephine was divorced in December 1809. Soon after that, she left the Tuileries and began to live alone at Malmaison. It is there that she died alone. After the battle of Waterloo in 1815 when Napoleon left Paris for the last time, he went to Malmaison to see the ghost of Josephine.

It has rightly been said that Napoleon committed a blunder of his life when he divorced Josephine. When he divorced her, he cut his life in half and threw away the betterhalf of it.

**Results of the French Revolution.** (1) The French Revolution was not a local event. It influenced profoundly not only the people of France but also those of Europe and the world. The French Revolution stood for certain principles and those were Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. The example of France became the inspiration of Europe and from there of the whole world. These ideas dominated the European politics throughout the 19th century and after.

(2) The Declaration of Rights of Man by the National Assembly emphasized the fact that sovereignty resides in the people and law is the expression of the general will. The machinery of the State was to be worked in such a way as to bring the greatest good to the people. It cannot be denied that even the benevolent despots like Catherine the Great of Russia, Frederick the Great of Prussia, and Joseph II of Austria recognised the necessity of improving the condition of the people even before the French Revolution, but that was not the generally accepted view of the Government of Europe. The French Revolution asserted that the people should rule themselves and the government should be not only "for the people" but also "by the people". It was recognized that sovereignty was not a property of which the owner enjoyed the profits, but a magistracy established for the performance of certain duties. It is true that there was a reaction against this principle for some time but ultimately the principle was firmly established in all the States of Europe. The period of reaction lasted particularly from 1815 to 1848 when Metternich was at the helm of affairs in Austria. The middle-class played a very important part in the assertion and establishment of the principle of sovereignty of the people.

(3) The French Revolution asserted that all men were equal before law and there was absolutely no justification for the maintenance of privileges whether based on birth or wealth. The result was that serfdom, feudal restrictions and the limitations imposed by the guilds were abolished. Religious toleration was assured. The freedom of the press was established and the right of the individual to education was maintained. In the *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) Mary Wollstonecraft asserted that women should enjoy equal rights with men.

(4) France became the spokesman of the human race and the idea of liberty became the watchword and charter of all the reformers and revolutionaries. Liberty became a universal creed. Not



only personal liberty was secured but efforts were made to achieve political liberty. There was a general demand to have popularly elected legislatures with varying degrees of authorities. In this respect England led the way and France was next to her.

(5) The French Revolution also asserted the principle of nationality. Prior to the French Revolution, the loyalty of the nobles and the love of people for the king had taken the place of patriotism. The French Revolution substituted the idea of the French nation for that of the French kingdom. The flight of the Emperor, Louis XVI, in 1791 showed that the interests of the people and the king were not identical. The declaration of the 11th June 1792, that "the Fatherland is in danger" led to an outburst of national feeling which inspired France to resist her enemies. The aggression of France in other countries of Europe provoked the feeling of nationality among them. This was so in Italy, Portugal, Spain, Prussia, Russia, and Austria. It was the growth of national feeling among the Spaniards and the Portuguese which enabled them to drive out the Napoleonic armies from the Peninsula. It was the same spirit which enabled the Russians to follow a "scorched earth" policy in 1812. The same feeling of nationality supplied the revival of Prussia. Spain proved that "a whole people is more powerful than disciplined armies." It was the same sentiment of nationalism that enabled the Frenchmen to beat back the Allies during the days of the National Convention. The idea of "the nation in arms" was a great contribution to the world.

(6) It is true that after the Congress of Vienna (1815) there was a reaction against the idea of nationality and an attempt was made to crush it by means of the Protocol of Troppau, but ultimately the principle of nationality triumphed all over Europe. It was this principle that enabled the people of Italy and Germany to achieve their unification and independence. The same was the case with Belgium, Serbia, Greece, Rumania and Bulgaria. The same principle gave a lot of headache to Russia on account of the unsuccessful efforts of the Poles to achieve their independence. The revolt of Hungary in 1848-49 under the leadership of Kossuth was also due to the force of nationalism.

(7) The French Revolution also gave a stimulus to humanitarianism. Efforts were made to abolish slavery and improve the condition of the prisons. Legislation was passed in many countries to improve the conditions of the people in general.

(8) The French Revolution also helped the revival of romanticism by the assertion of individualism, the defiance of tradition, and the "establishment of human life on a basis of pure feeling." The influence of the French Revolution can be seen in Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*, Southey's *Joan of Arc*, Wordsworth's *Prelude*, Shelley's *Musk of Anarchy*, Goethe's *Faust* and in the early works of Coleridge.

(9) On account of the patience with which the Pope put up with the humiliations which were hurled on him by Napoleon, the



influence of the Roman Catholic Church was strengthened. Chateaubriand asserted the cause of Christianity against atheism and Maister vindicated the authority of the Pope.

(10) There was another effect of the French Revolution. Not only the attacks but also the confiscation of property by the government weakened the idea of the sanctity of property. The result was that socialism ceased to be merely a speculative doctrine and became a political programme. It is clear that the ideas of the French Revolution have spread in every nook and corner of the world and they are being universally recognized. One can see its effect on the minds of those who drafted the Preamble of the new Constitution of India which came into force on 26th January 1950.

(11) According to Kropotkin, the French Revolution made France stronger and prosperous. Formerly, there was scarcity in many parts of France, but as a result of the Revolution, France began to produce much more of the necessities of life of every kind than in 1789. Never was there in France such an energetic ploughing as in 1792 when the peasants ploughed the lands they had taken back from the lords, the convents and the churches. They goaded their oxen with the cry of "*Allons Prusse ! Allons Autriche*". Never had there been so much clearing of lands as during those years of Revolution. The first good harvest in 1794 brought relief to two-third of France—at least in the villages, for all this time the towns were threatened with scarcity of food. A new France was born during those four years of Revolution. For the first time in centuries, the peasant ate his fill, straightened his back and dared to speak out. A new nation was born. It was owing to this new birth that France was able to maintain her wars under the Republic and Napoleon had to carry the principles of the Great Revolution into Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Holland, Germany and even to the borders of Russia. When after all those wars, people expected France in 1815 to be reduced to misery and her land laid waste, what was actually found was that there was more prosperity in France than in the time of Louis XVI. The energy regenerated by the Revolution was so great that in a few years France became a country of well-to-do peasants. Here enemies found that in spite of all the blood she had shed and the losses she had sustained, France, in respect of her productivity, was the richest country in Europe. Her wealth was not drawn from the Indies or from her foreign commerce. It came from her own soil, from the love of the soil and from her own skill and industry.

Kropotkin also points out that the French Revolution brought about the abolition of serfdom and absolutism. Personal liberties were conferred upon individuals, undreamt of by the serf of the lord and the subject of the absolute king. These two achievements represent the principal work of the 18th century, begun in France in 1789 and slowly spread over Europe in the course of a century. The work of enfranchisement begun by the French peasants in 1789, was continued in Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Germany and Austria by



the armies of Napoleon. The abolition of serfdom in Europe would have been completed within the first half of the 19th century if the French bourgeoisie, coming into power in 1794 over the dead bodies of Anarchists, Cordeliers and Jacobins, had not checked the Revolutionary impulse, restored monarchy and handed over France to Napoleon. Napoleon began to prop up aristocracy but in spite of that, the institution of serfdom had already received a mortal blow. It was abolished in Spain and Italy in spite of temporary triumph of reaction. It was closely pressed in Germany after 1811 and disappeared in that country definitely in 1848. In 1861, Russia was compelled to emancipate her serfs and the war of 1878 put an end to serfdom in the Balkan Peninsula. The abolition of absolute power took a little over 100 years to make a tour of Europe. Attacked in England in 1648 and vanquished in France in 1789, the royal authority based on divine right disappeared from all parts of Europe. Equality before law and representative governments were set up in almost all parts of Europe.

Kropotkin pointed out that the French Revolution left a legacy on the principles of communism. Throughout the French Revolution, the communist idea kept coming to the front. After the fall of the Girondins, numerous attempts were made in that direction. Fourierism descended in direct line from L'Ange on one side and Chaliier on the other. Babeuf was the direct descendant of ideas which stirred the masses to enthusiasm in 1793. There is a direct link between the *Enrages* of 1793 and the Babeuf conspiracy of 1795 on the one hand and the International Working Men's Association of 1866-78. The popular communism of the first two years of the Republic went much deeper in its analysis than modern socialism. There was communism in the consumption of the necessities of life and not in production only. It was the communalisation and nationalisation of what is known as consumption. Robespierre declared that only the superfluity of foodstuffs was to become the articles of commerce and what was necessary belonged to all. The communism of 1793 with its affirmation of the right of all to sustenance and to the land for its production, its denial of the right of any one to hold more land than he and his family could cultivate and its attempt to communalise all trade and industry, went straighter to the hearts of things than all the minimum programmes of our own time or even all the maximum preambles of such programmes. As a matter of fact, the French Revolution was the source and origin of all the present communist, anarchist and socialist conceptions. (*The Great French Revolution*, pp. 573-581)

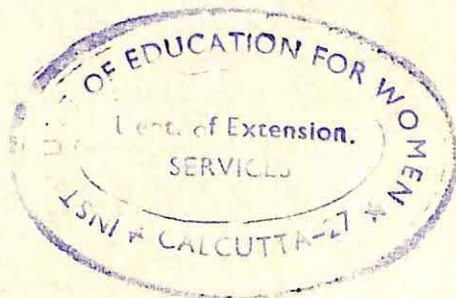
According to Prof. Goodwin, "In our time the French Revolution of 1789 has been overshadowed by the Russian Revolution of 1917 and its ideals were temporarily dimmed or distorted by the Fascist and Nazi revolutions. Critics inside France have spurned its emphasis upon the primacy of the individual in relation to society and the State, while foreign observers have asked whether it was, after all, 'a mistake' and whether the price which France had to pay for its conquest of liberty and equality was too great. Historians are more disposed to bring the Revolution of 1789 into



focus by comparative studies of other eighteenth-century revolutions, of which there were many, and by emphasizing that its essential contribution to the evolution of modern democracy was that it enunciated the principle and worked out the implications of popular sovereignty. Only in a limited sense can the French Revolution be regarded as the source of modern totalitarianism, for the Jacobin dictatorship and the 'revolutionary government' of 1793 were merely the provisional and abnormal forms to which France submitted, in time of civil and foreign war, the defence of its national security and its essentially liberal ideas"

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- |                 |  |
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## CHAPTER X

### THE VIENNA SETTLEMENT (1815)

Napoleon had badly mutilated the political map of Europe. He had torn away territories from some States and added them to other States to suit his convenience. However, when he was overthrown in 1814 and sent to the Island of Elba, the problem before the European statesmen was how the map of Europe was to be rearranged. As Metternich had played the most important part in the overthrow of Napoleon, Vienna was chosen as the venue of negotiations and the settlement of Europe. Many emperors, foreign ministers and statesmen assembled at Vienna and carried on deliberations during the winter of 1814-15. There was a lot of controversy among the victors regarding the fate of Poland and Saxony. However, ultimately, a compromise was arrived at and the Final Act was signed only a few days before the Battle of Waterloo in 1815.

(1) The Vienna Settlement was based on three principles *viz.*, restoration, legitimacy<sup>1</sup> and compensation. As regards the principle of restoration, it was decided to restore, as far as possible, the boundaries and reigning families of the several European countries as they were before the French Revolution and the rise of Napoleon. The principle of restoration was consistent with that of legitimacy which the French statesman Talleyrand was exploiting in order to save France from further territorial spoliation and to enable his defeated country to play an important part in the deliberations of Europe. The Vienna Settlement restored the Bourbons in Spain, Naples and Sicily. The House of Orange was restored in Holland. The House of Savoy was restored in Piedmont and Sardinia. The Pope was also restored with all his possessions in Italy. The various German princes whose territories had been included by Napoleon in the Confederation of the Rhine were also restored to their territories. The Swiss Confederation was also restored. The Tyrol was restored to Austria. The right of Austria to the Austrian Netherlands was recognised but she was allowed to exchange it for some other territory.

(2) During the Napoleonic wars, Great Britain had captured the important Dutch colonies of Ceylon, Cape Colony, South Africa

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1. About the principle of legitimacy, Talleyrand wrote thus: "We showed that the principle of legitimacy must be held sacred in the interest of the people themselves, because legitimate Governments can alone be strong and durable; whereas illegitimate Governments, relying upon force only, fall to pieces the moment that support fails them, and then the people are delivered over to a succession of revolutions of which no one can foresee the end."



and Guiana. Those colonies were confirmed to her. However, with a view to compensating Holland and also to creating a strong State on the northern frontier of France, the Austrian Netherlands were given over to Holland. The King of Holland was made the King of the United Netherlands. Austria was compensated for her loss of the Austrian Netherlands and she got Lombardy and Venetia in Italy. The members of the Habsburg family were put on the thrones of Tuscany, Parma and Modena. Finland and Swedish Pomerania were taken away from Sweden and given to Russia and Prussia respectively. Sweden was compensated in the form of Norway which was taken away from Denmark. Denmark was punished on account of her alliance with Napoleon for a long time.

(3) Prussia also gained a great deal. She got back all the German territories which had been taken away from her by Napoleon. She was also given Swedish Pomerania, two-fifths of Saxony, the whole of Westphalia and most of the Rhineland. One of the reasons why Prussia was given these territories was that it was intended to make Prussia a bulwark against France. However, the result of these acquisitions was that Prussia became the leader of Germany. These concessions added to her mineral resources and helped her to become a great industrialised country. Prussia also became a purely German State by the surrender of her Polish territory to Russia.

(4) With the object of maintaining the balance of power and creating a ring round France, it was decided to enlarge and strengthen the kingdom of Sardinia. To that kingdom, Savoy and Piedmont were restored and Genoa was added.

(5) As regards the settlement of Germany, it was decided not to restore all the petty States which existed before the French Revolution. The Holy Roman Empire had been abolished by Napoleon in 1806 and no effort was made to revive it. It is true that men like Stein advocated the unification of Germany under the supremacy of a single Power, but Frederick William III did not show any keenness to become the leader of Germany and Metternich had also given a promise to the Princes of South Germany that their sovereign rights would be protected. Neither Prussia nor Austria nor the Princes of the small German States showed any enthusiasm for a unified Germany and so the opportunity to create a united Germany was lost. A loose German Confederation of 38 States was established. There was to be a Diet at Frankfurt which was to consist of *Delegates* from the various sovereign States of Germany. The Diet was to be presided over by the Chancellor of Austria. Austria was given the right to send six *Delegates* to the Diet. All the States were not given representation in it. The members were forbidden to enter into an alliance with a foreign Power either against the Confederation as a whole or against a fellow-member. Although the German Confederation was nominally guaranteed by all the European Powers, in actual practice, Austria dominated her politics.

(6) Russia was allowed to retain Finland which she had conquered from Sweden. She was also given Bessarabia which she



had captured from the Turks. She also got most of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw.

England occupied Heligoland in the North Sea, Malta and the Ionian Islands in the Mediterranean, Cape Colony in South Africa, Ceylon and other islands.

Austria-Hungary recovered her Polish possessions. As compensation for the Austrian Netherlands given to Holland, she got Lombardy and Venetia. She also got the Illyrian provinces along the eastern coast of the Adriatic. Duchy of Parma was given to Maria Louise, wife of Napoleon and an Austrian Princess. Princes connected with the Austrian imperial family were restored to the thrones of Modena and Tuscany.

It is to be observed that in the name of legitimacy France was restored but she was hemmed in by the Netherlands, Prussia and Sardinia. The leadership of Europe passed to Austria from France. The Austrian acquisitions made her a great power in Europe. She dominated both Germany and Italy. She became more German than before. Although the Austrian Emperor lost the title of the Holy Roman Emperor yet the control of Austria over Germany was complete.

**Criticism.** According to Prof. Fyffe, "*Standing on the boundary line between two ages, the legislation of Vienna forms a landmark in history.*" It cannot be denied that the Vienna Settlement of 1815 was not so bad as the Paris settlement of 1919-20. On account of the influence of Castlereagh, the settlement of 1815 was not one of revenge. He rightly told the statesmen present at Vienna that they had assembled not to distribute the trophies of war but to make such a settlement as would give peace to the people of Europe. The principle of compromise was applied wherever possible and consequently there was no thrashing or flogging of France. In 1919, Germany was held responsible for all the acts of omission and commission of William II and was deprived of her territories, colonies, investments, etc. and was made to pay a huge war indemnity amounting to billions of dollars which was not within her competence to pay. It cannot be denied that Napoleon was responsible for acts of wanton aggression and had disturbed Europe in a very bad way, but France was not held guilty for all his misdeeds. Even when Napoleon was defeated for the second time in 1815 at Waterloo, a very mild treaty was imposed on France. Her frontiers were restricted to those of 1791 and not even those of 1789 when the French Revolution actually started. France was required to restore her treasures of arts which Napoleon had plundered from other countries. She was merely asked to pay a war-indemnity of 700,000,000 francs. The period of Allied occupation was cut short in 1818 when France paid off the war indemnity. The result of this kind treatment to France was that there was no general conflagration in Europe for 99 years (1815—1914).

According to Seaman, "Nevertheless the Vienna Settlement must not be regarded as having of itself prevented European war for a century. It is possible to say instead that it contained in



none of its provisions the seeds of a future war between the great powers, and must thus be rated a better peace than either Utrecht of Versailles. Utrecht rankled in the hearts of the Habsburgs, and its colonial and commercial clauses were an encouragement to the British to embark in due course on new wars against France and Spain. Versailles humiliated, or appeared to humiliate the Germans; created new democratic States whose democracy had no roots and whose independent sovereignty was illusory; abolished old minority problems only to create new ones; disappointed the Italians and inflated the French; and by appealing to the irrational forces of the mass mind bred a chaos contrasting tragically with the orderliness that Vienna achieved by ignoring the masses altogether. For the disregard of Liberalism and Nationalism at Vienna (in so far as they were disregarded) did not cause war. They were right in thinking in 1815 that before revolutions can make wars, there must first be the wars that encourage the revolutions. They saw that the issues of peace and war are decided by the great powers and by them alone. Hence the simple fact that the Vienna Settlement contained no clause that offered any of the great powers a pretext for war is its complete and sufficient justification." (*From Vienna to Versailles*, pp. 8-9)

(1) However, it cannot be maintained that the Vienna Settlement was an ideal one and many drawbacks in it can be pointed out. According to Prof. Hayes, "In all these territorial readjustments, there was little that was permanent and much that was temporary. The union of Holland and Belgium lasted but 15 years. The Italian and German settlement survived but 50 years and the Polish barely a century." Napoleon had annexed Holland in 1811 on account of the refusal of Louis to enforce properly the Continental System. However, there was no justification to group Belgium with Holland. Holland was democratic, Protestant and Teutonic. Belgium was conservative, Catholic and the majority of her people spoke the French language. The people of Belgium did not like the headship of Holland and no wonder they revolted in 1830 and won their independence. It may be noted that England was responsible for this unnatural union. Her fear was that without Holland, Belgium alone would not be able to resist French pressure and consequently it was necessary to unite her with Holland so that France might not be able to gobble up Belgium in one mouthful.

The union of Russia and Finland was dissolved in 1917 and that of Sweden and Norway in 1905. The German Confederation with all its paraphernalia was destroyed by Bismarck. The settlement of Italy was completely upset by Cavour.

(2) Another defect of the settlement was that it ignored altogether the nationalist movement that had stirred the Poles, the Spaniards, the Italians, and the Germans. The Polish nationalist leader Czartorysky attached himself to Czar Alexander I with a view to securing independence for his country but he failed in his efforts. Poland was put under the control of Russia and it was to be ruled as a separate territory. The Poles had to exert themselves throughout the 19th century to achieve their independence and



suffered terribly while doing so. They were crushed under the tyrannical regime of Russia. Likewise, the dream of Stein to create a unified German State was not realised. A loose German confederation was created. Austria is blamed for not giving Germany, unity and constitutional government. However, it is pointed out that even the hegemony of Britain was considered undesirable. The Congress of Vienna did not overlook Germanic constitutionalism, but the trouble arose on account of the reactionary policies followed afterwards by Metternich in Germany. As regards Italy, it was pointed out that a timely devolution of government from Vienna might have given Italy good government by Italians. The Vienna Congress had no authority to force Austria to give Italy Home Rule. The Congress united the kingdom of Savoy and Piedmont with the republics of Genoa and Nice. The union appeared to be temporary and there was a lot of bitterness in Genoa and Nice. In spite of this, the union of these small Italian States led indirectly to the unification of Italy. Mazzini, the apostle of Italian liberation, was a native of Genoa. Garibaldi, the sword-arm of Italy, was born in Nice. It was from Genoa that the famous "Thousand" red shirts sailed in 1860 under the leadership of Garibaldi to liberate Sicily. In 1859, Cavour brought the help of Napoleon III to turn out the Austrians from Venetia and Lombardy by giving him Nice and Savoy.

(3) The hopes of the liberals were frustrated. Rulers who were restored by the Vienna Settlement set up reactionary regimes in their countries and there was repression everywhere. This was particularly so in Spain and Naples where the Bourbons were restored. Metternich himself tried to police Europe. Wherever liberalism raised its head, it was crushed. Liberal ideas were regarded as daggers. The Protocol of Troppau helped the European States to interfere in the internal affairs of other States. Metternich's own view was that "what the European people want is not liberty but peace."

(4) According to Prof. Hayes, the Vienna Settlement was defective in so far as the people were regarded as so many pawns in the game of dynastic aggrandizement.

(5) According to Crutwell, "It was mean and hypocritical not to extend the doctrine of legitimacy to Republics. Both Venice and Genoa had a longer and more glorious life of independence than many monarchs, but both were extinguished without a murmur in the supposed interests of securing North Italy against France."

(6) According to Grant and Temperley, "It has been customary to denounce the peace-makers of Vienna as reactionary and illiberal in the extreme. It is indeed true that they represented the old regime and were to a large extent, untouched by the new ideas. But they represented the best and not the worst of the old regime, and their settlement averted any major war in Europe for forty years. According to their lights the settlement was a fair one. France was treated with leniency, and the adjustments of the Balance of Power and territory were carried out with the scrupulous nicety of a grocer weighing out his wares, or of a banker balancing



his accounts. Russia alone gained more than her fair share, and this was because she had an undue proportion of armed force. The settlement disregarded national claims, forced 'unnatural unions' on Norway and Sweden, on Belgium and Holland. But in each case the ally and the stronger partner (Sweden and Holland) demanded it, and the Allies did not see their way to resist the demand. A more serious criticism was the disrespect paid to the views of smaller Powers. Though the settlement was supposed to be in favour of the old order and existing rights, the smaller States were ruthlessly sacrificed for the benefit of the larger. For this side of the activities of the peace-makers there is little excuse, and it is the gravest criticism of their actions."

(7) Critics pointed out that the Congress of Vienna did not give a satisfactory solution of the Eastern question. However, it was impossible for the Vienna Congress to tackle that question successfully. That question was not solved in spite of the efforts made by the European statesmen throughout the 19th century. "The sick man of Europe" was a great puzzle. All the European Powers wanted to have Constantinople and it was impossible to arrive at any settlement. Moreover, Russian treaties with Turkey, particularly that of Bucharest of 1812, added to the difficulties of the problem.

According to Hazen, "The Congress of Vienna was a congress of aristocrats, to whom the ideas of nationality and democracy as proclaimed by the French Revolution were incomprehensible or loathsome. The rulers rearranged Europe according to their desires, disposing of it as if it were their own personal property, ignoring the sentiment of nationality, which had lately been so wonderfully aroused, indifferent to the wishes of the people. There could be no 'sentiment' because they ignored the factors that alone would make the settlement permanent. The history of Europe after 1815 was destined to witness repeated, and often successful, attempts to rectify this cardinal error of the Congress of Vienna."

According to H.A. Kissinger, "The statesmen at Vienna were not interested in transforming humanity, because in their eyes this effort had led to the tragedy of a quarter-century of struggle. To transform humanity by an act of will, to transcend French nationalism in the name of that of Germany, would have seemed to them to make peace by revolution, to seek stability in the unknown, to admit that a myth once shattered cannot be regained.

"The issue at Vienna, then, was not reform against reaction—that is the interpretation of posterity. Instead, the problem was to create an order in which change could be brought about through a sense of obligation, instead of through an assertion of power." (*A World Restored*, p. 172)

Again, "Whatever one may think of the moral content of their solution, it excluded no major power from the European continent and therefore testified to the absence of unbridgeable schisms. The settlement did not rest on mere good faith, which would have put too great a strain on self-limitation; nor on the efficacy of a pure evolution of power, which would have made calculation too indeterminate. Rather, there was created a structure in which the forces



were sufficiently balanced, so that self-restraint could appear as something more than self-abnegation, but which took account of the historical claims of its components, so that its existence could be translated into acceptance. There existed within the new international order no power so dissatisfied that it did not prefer to seek its remedy within the framework of the Vienna Settlement rather than in overturning it. Since the political order did not contain a 'Revolutionary' power, its relations became increasingly spontaneous, based on the growing certainty that a catastrophic upheaval was unlikely.

"That the Vienna Settlement came to be so generally accepted was not a fortunate accident. Throughout the war Castlereagh and Metternich had insisted that theirs was an effort for stability, not revenge, justified, not by crushing the enemy, but by his recognition of limits. If we compare the outline of the Vienna Settlement with the Pitt plan and its legitimization with that of the instructions to Schwarzenberg, we find that luck, in politics as in other activities, is but the residue of design. This is not to say that the settlement revealed a prescience that made all events conform to a certain vision. Castlereagh, in giving up his conviction of the mechanical equilibrium for that of an historical balance, maintained through confidential intercourse among its members, increasingly separated himself from the spirit of his own country. Metternich, by attempting to maintain predominance in both Italy and Germany, was forced into a policy beyond his resources. His increasingly inflexible struggle for legitimacy revealed a growing consciousness of the insufficiency of Austria's material base for the European task he had set for her. If a policy for pure power is suicidal for an Empire located in the centre of a continent, reliance on unsupported legitimacy is demoralizing and leads to stagnation. Finesse can substitute for strength when the goals are determinate, but it is no substitute for conception when the challenges have become internal. And Prussia, with misgivings and hesitations, with a feeling of national humiliation and grudging surrender, was forced into a German mission in spite of itself. Extending now from the Vistula to the Rhine, it symbolized the quest for German unity. Scattered in enclaves across Central Europe, its need for security, if not its conception of a national mission, forced it into becoming, albeit reluctantly, the agent of a German policy. Situated athwart the major waterways and land routes, Prussia came to dominate Germany economically before it unified it physically. The defeat in Saxony, so bitterly resented, became the instrument of Prussia's final victory over Austria". (*Ibid.*, pp. 173-74)

**The Holy Alliance (1815).** It seems desirable to refer to the Holy Alliance of 1815 which was the creation of Czar Alexander I who was a visionary, a mystic, a man of moods and unstable imagination. Such a scheme had been put forward earlier by Sully, the Minister of Henry IV of France, in his Grand Design. The object of the Grand Design was "to deliver them for ever from the fear of bloody catastrophes, as common in Europe; to secure for them an unalterable repose so that all the princes might henceforth live together as brothers." It was intended to set up a General Council



or Senate consisting of 66 delegates from the different countries whose duty was to settle disputes and maintain the peace of Europe. However, nothing came out of it on account of the premature death of Henry of Navarre in 1610.

Czar Alexander I was encouraged to put forward his scheme of the Holy Alliance on account of his preponderant influence in Europe after the overthrow of Napoleon. He also had liberal views on account of the influence of his Swiss tutor. What Alexander I wanted was that the rulers of the European States should apply the principles of Christianity in their dealings with one another. They were also to regard their subjects as their children. He intended to spiritualise politics. To quote Alexander, "The present act has no other object than to publish, in the face of the whole world, their fixed resolution, both in the administration of their respective States and in their political relations with every other government, to take for their sole guide the precepts of their Holy religion, namely, the precepts of Justice, Christianity, Charity and Peace, which, far from being applicable only to private concerns, must have an immediate influence on the counsels of princes and guide all their subjects, as being the only means of consolidating human institutions, and remedying their imperfections."

It is to be noted that the Holy Alliance was honoured more in its breach than observance. It is true that Russia, Austria not Prussia made the required declaration but the declaration was not observed in actual practice. The Holy Alliance was an attempt to apply the principles of morality in the field of international diplomacy and to create the political conscience of Europe but it failed in its objective. The Czar did not succeed in providing "*the transparent soul of the Holy Alliance with the body*" and the scheme remained still-born.

Great Britain refused to subscribe to the principle of the Holy Alliance. According to Castlereagh, the Holy Alliance was "a piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense." Metternich looked upon it as "a loud-sounding nothing" or "moral demonstration" To quote Metternich, "The Holy Alliance was merely a philanthropic aspiration clothed in a religious garb." "It was not an institution to keep down the right of the people, to promote absolutism or any other tyranny. It was only the overflow of the pietistic feeling and the Emperor Alexander's application of Christian principles to politics."

The practical importance of the Holy Alliance was negligible. Its principles were never put into practice. However, the people of Europe confused the Holy Alliance with the Quadruple Alliance and as the Quadruple Alliance was used for the purpose of suppressing nationalism and liberalism everywhere in Europe, the Holy Alliance was also condemned and was regarded as a symbol of reaction, a league of princes against their peoples and a conspiracy against liberalism. However, the attitude of the various Powers towards the Holy Alliance showed that there was no unanimity of purpose among the Powers and there was every possibility of their falling out if circumstances so required.



According to Seaman, the Holy Alliance "was an important preservative of peace in Europe. For so long as it kept Austria, Russia and Prussia together, peace was almost certain, and war, when it came, only partial. The fact that the Holy Alliance had existed helped to prevent Prussia and Austria from fighting against Russia in the Crimean War, and thus kept the conflict outside the main European area, confining it to the Crimea, where nothing vital could be destroyed and no essential changes be effected. Its collapse after 1856 was the prelude to the destruction of the 1815 Settlement in Italy and Germany; for only because Austria was isolated from an aggrieved Russia could Napoleon III and Bismarck create the new Italy and the new Germany (and indirectly an autonomous Hungary) at Austria's expense. Moreover, Bismarck's first concern after 1871 was to create the Alliance from whose years of eclipse he had profited. The Three Emperors League of 1872 was alleged, like the Protocol of Troppau, to be based on a common resistance to republicanism; and all Bismarck's subsequent ingenuity in foreign affairs was directed to the same end at the policy of Metternich, that of preventing Austrians and Russians from fighting over the Eastern Question. For only when that happened would a general European war be inevitable."

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|-----------------------|--|
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## CHAPTER XI

### CASTLEREAGH AND CANNING

**Castlereagh (1812-22).** Castlereagh belongs to the category of those statesmen who were called upon to face a very critical situation and who performed their functions in a masterly manner. He was helped in his task by his calm, quiet, passionless and unruffled temperament.

Castlereagh was born in 1739 and he died in 1822. He was Secretary for Ireland when the union of England and Ireland took



Castlereagh

place and he was partly instrumental in bribing the Irishmen to support the Union. He was in favour of showing religious toleration to the Catholics. He also worked as Colonial and War Secretary. In 1807, he was responsible for the re-organisation of the army. He made the old militia the basis of the military establishment of the country. He resigned his office in 1809 and fought a duel with



Canning. He became Foreign Secretary in 1812 and held that office till 1822 when he committed suicide. According to Lord Brougham, "Castlereagh possessed a fund of plain sense, not to be misled by any refinement of speculation or clouded by any fanciful notions. He went straight to his point. He was brave, politically as well as personally."

When he became the Foreign Secretary in 1812, the condition of European States *vis-a-vis* Napoleon was not strong. Every State had its own axe to grind and the result was that no effective action could be taken against Napoleon. In these circumstances, Castlereagh went over to the Continent and brought the Allies together. Thus it was that the war of the Nations started which ended in the overthrow of Napoleon in 1814. Great Britain in 1814 held the same position in the Council of Europe as the United States held in 1919. She alone had the power, the resources and the will to continue war. England was the arbiter of Europe and the credit for that achievement goes to Castlereagh who combined in himself high ideals, sound commonsense and great diplomatic gifts. He not only retained the confidence of the British Parliament and his colleagues in the Cabinet but was also to win the trust and good opinion of the continental statesmen.

Castlereagh had gone to Europe and travelled to the allied headquarters with the definite object of welding the Four Powers into a solid alliance against Napoleon. He also aimed at creating an international organisation to decide the problems which might confront the European statesmen. According to Castlereagh, "in an habitual confidential and free intercourse between the ministers of the Great Powers as a body" lay the best means of removing differences of policy and ensuring a united front for victory and peace. The idea of "*diplomacy by conference*" seems to be a familiar one in the 20th century, but in the time of Castlereagh it was nothing short of a revolution. By this one plan alone Castlereagh was stamped as one of the great peace-makers of history.

Castlereagh had gone to Europe to bring the Four Powers nearer one another and the Treaty of Chaumont of March 1814 was his crowning achievement within two months. By this treaty, the Four Powers pledged themselves to continue war until France accepted peace. Each was to provide arms and Great Britain was to give an additional subsidy of £5 millions a year. The alliance was to remain effective for 20 years and the Allies were to defend Europe against any attempt by France to upset the terms of the peace settlement. The signing of the Treaty of Chaumont was followed within a month by the abdication of Napoleon and peace negotiations were started in Paris. The first stage of the peace settlement was arranged at Paris and the rest at Vienna. The final treaty was made in November 1815.

In the peace settlement Castlereagh played an important part. He was helped in his task by the Duke of Wellington, Metternich and Alexander I. Both Castlereagh and Alexander I were determined to see that France was not treated harshly. To quote



Castlereagh, "*It is not our business to collect trophies but to bring back the world to peaceful habits.*" Castlereagh was strongly opposed to snatching from France any territory which one day France might attempt to recover by force. He wrote to Liverpool thus: "The more I reflect upon it, the more I deprecate the system of scratching such a Power. We may hold her down and pare her nails so that many years shall pass before she can again wound us, but this system of being pledged to a continental war for objects that France may any day reclaim from the particular State that hold them, without pushing her demands beyond what she would contend was due to her own honour, is, I am sure, a bad British policy."

It was because the European statesmen, under the guidance of Castlereagh, followed a lenient and just policy towards France that the latter settled down under the Vienna Settlement. In spite of the fact that France had troubled Europe for almost two decades, she was treated with amazing moderation. Most of her conquests were taken away, but she was allowed to retain some slight extensions of her Northern and Eastern frontiers. No war indemnity was imposed. Louis XVIII was restored to the French throne. In spite of the defeat of Napoleon in the Battle of Waterloo in 1815, the terms of peace were not made very harsh. Territorial concessions were withdrawn and she was asked to pay a small war indemnity. She was required to return the captured art treasures. An army of occupation was to stay on the French soil till the payment of war indemnity. By meting out such a lenient treatment, Castlereagh showed that he was a greater statesman than Lloyd George who imposed upon the world a Second World War within a period of twenty years. The Settlement of Castlereagh lasted for about a century (1815—1914).

Throughout the long and complicated negotiations which took place at Paris and Vienna, Castlereagh did not lose sight of his ideal of international co-operation. He got an opportunity to put into practice his ideal when Article 6 of the Treaty of November 1815 was being discussed. In its original form, the Article provided that statesmen of Europe should meet at intervals to discuss the affairs of France. Castlereagh did not approve of the wording and substance and widened the scope of the Article by substituting the following words: "To facilitate and to secure the execution of the present Treaty and to consolidate the connections which at the present moment so closely unite the four sovereigns for the happiness of the world the High Contracting Parties have agreed to renew their meetings at fixed periods, either under the immediate auspices of the sovereigns themselves, or by their respective ministers for the purpose of consulting upon their common interests, and for the consideration of the measures which at each of those period shall be considered the most salutary, for the purpose and prosperity of the nations and for the maintenance of peace of Europe."

This was Castlereagh's great contribution to European peace. One can find in it the first draft of the Covenant of the League of Nations or the Charter of the United Nations. It was the basis of the so-called Concert of Europe. Castlereagh hoped that all the



problems affecting the peace of Europe would be discussed as they arose at the conferences summoned under Article 6 and peace would be maintained because no critical situation would be allowed to develop. Castlereagh's scheme was bound to fail because his contemporaries failed to understand the value of "diplomacy by conference". England herself did not come forward to maintain peace when it was threatened.

It has been contended that Castlereagh "*tied England to the tail of the Holy Alliance.*" This assertion is merely a distortion of facts. It is true that Castlereagh believed in the co-operation of European statesmen to settle the problems that might arise from time to time and it was with that object the Four Congresses met in Aix-la-Chapelle (1818), Troppau (1820), Laibach (1821) and Verona (1822). Castlereagh was, no doubt, anxious to settle the problems by means of mutual exchange of thoughts. He had strong faith in mutual exchange of views but it is wrong to say that he in any way approved of the policy of the Holy Alliance which in its practical application became an instrument in the hands of Russia, Prussia and Austria-Hungary to stamp out all liberal ideas and movements in Europe. It is true that England was a member of the Quadruple Alliance and she was ready to co-operate with other powers to settle the problems which might confront the European statesmen. It is also true that Castlereagh was ready to allow Austria a free hand in Italy. He approved of a secret treaty between Austria-Hungary and Ferdinand IV of Naples to maintain absolutism in Naples and Sicily. It is for that reason that Castlereagh regarded the revolt of the Italian Risorgimento as "a sectarian conspiracy and military revolt against a mild and paternal Government." Castlereagh was a "good European" and "a friend of peace." He wished periodic Congresses to dispose of international disputes and thereby avoid cause of war, but he did not wish those meetings to be made the instruments of interference in the internal affairs of States. Castlereagh was opposed to the international policing of Europe which was the main object of Russia, Austria and Prussia. It is for this reason that he objected strongly to the Protocol of Troppau which authorised the powers of the Holy Alliance to interfere with the internal policies of the States.

In 1820, Castlereagh embodied his views in a great State Paper which was afterwards used by Canning as the basis of his own policy. The occasion for the paper was the outbreak of a military revolution in Spain against the tyranny of Ferdinand VII of Spain. In that paper Castlereagh outlined a policy of "non-intervention" in the internal politics of the States. He pointed out that "the Spanish nation is, of all the European people, that which will least brook interference from abroad." This information was based on the views of Wellington. However, this was not the only ground on which Castlereagh stressed the necessity of non-intervention. The Holy Alliance Powers wished to intervene in Spain to restore Ferdinand VII's authority and Castlereagh tried to deter them by recalling the origins of the Four Powers Alliance which had been established by Article 6 of the Treaty of 1815. That Alliance had



been intended to serve as a protection for the peace settlement not "as a union of the Governments of the World for the superintendence of internal affairs of other States" and "nothing", Castlereagh declared, "is more likely to impair or even to destroy its utility than any attempt to push its duties and obligations beyond the sphere which its original conception and understood principles will warrant." This was a criticism of the Holy Alliance's misuse of Article 6. As for British policy, Castlereagh stated that Britain could not agree to foreign intervention on behalf of a king who had behaved so badly. To quote Castlereagh, "We shall be found in our place when actual danger menaces the system of Europe. But this country cannot, and will not act upon abstract and speculative principles of precaution." While Britain would defend the peace of Europe against any real danger, she would not follow her Allies against any imaginary menace or when their motive was the defence of tyranny and not of peace.

By his firm statement of policy, Castlereagh did not intend to leave the Quadruple Alliance. However he was definitely determined to see that European Powers did not make intervention a principle guiding their regular actions. Just before his death, Castlereagh was preparing to attend the Congress of Verona where the Spanish question was to be discussed. He had already made up his mind to check the intervention of the European powers to reinstate Ferdinand to his former position. Although he committed suicide on the eve of the Conference, his work was carried on by Canning. Wellington who went to attend the Congress of Verona acted on the same principles as were laid down by Castlereagh. Woodward has rightly pointed out that Canning agreed with the decisions of Castlereagh although he differed from him in his *methods* while Castlereagh had believed in the policy of holding conferences with a view to solve the difficulties. Canning was opposed to that method. His view was summed up in his own statement: "We shall have no more Congresses, thank God." It was as a result of this policy that the era of Congresses ended.

It is wrong to say that Castlereagh tied England to the tail on the Holy Alliance. He was definitely opposed to the principles of Holy Alliance which enabled the European powers to interfere with the domestic affairs of other States. As a matter of fact, Castlereagh was deadly opposed to the Holy Alliance. He characterised the Holy Alliance as "a piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense." He frankly told Lord Liverpool that the mind of the Czar which entertained or conceived the idea of the Holy Alliance was not "completely sound". He disliked the use of the Holy Alliance as a crusade against liberalism. Castlereagh himself had no sympathy with liberalism, but he detested the idea of intervention in the domestic affairs of another country. The reason why Castlereagh was accused of having tied England to the tail of the Holy Alliance was because the people did not make a distinction between the Holy Alliance and the Quadruple Alliance. His close association with foreign enemies of liberalism must have strengthened the belief in the minds of the people. Castlereagh was not a



good speaker. He had neither the capacity nor the desire to convince public opinion that he was an opponent of the Holy Alliance. It is only modern historical research that has revealed the distinction between the Quadruple Alliance and the Holy Alliance. It is this distinction which has revealed the greatness of Castlereagh. His contemporaries who did not make the distinction, dubbed him as one in league with Metternich, another conservative and reactionary statesman of Europe. It was on account of this ignorance that Shelley summed up the extreme opinion in these lines in his *Masque of Anarchy* (1817) :—

"I met Murder on the way ;  
He had a Mask like Castlereagh :  
Very smooth he looked, yet grim.  
Seven blood-hounds followed him.  
All were fat and well they might  
Be in admirable plight,  
For one by one and two by two  
He tossed them human hearts to chew."

The greatness of Castlereagh has begun to be realised in modern times. It is true that he failed in his ideal of making the European States co-operate among themselves to settle their disputes which might endanger peace, but he was the pioneer who made the suggestion which was embodied in the Covenant of the League of Nations and later on in the Charter of the United Nations. Best tributes to his memory have been paid by those historians who have mastered the details of his work. In his *"The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh,"* Webster describes Castlereagh as "the best European Foreign Minister in (Britain's) history." Seton-Watson describes him as "one of the very greatest and most constructive of British Foreign Secretaries". According to Webster, "Castlereagh had learnt the great lesson that if he wished to avoid war, he must prepare for peace."

According to H.A. Kissinger, "Yet it was this man, more than any other, who forged against European connection for Britain, who maintained the Coalition, and negotiated the settlement which in its main outlines was it last for over fifty years. Psychologists may well ponder how to come about that this Irish peer, whose career had given no indication of profound conceptions, should become the most European of British statesman. No man more different from his great protagonist, Metternich could be imagined. Metternich was elegant, facile, rationalist ; Castlereagh, solid, ponderous, pragmatic ; the former was witty and eloquent, if somewhat pedantic ; the latter cumbersome in expression, although effective in debate ; Metternich was doctrinaire and devious ; Castlereagh, matter-of-fact and direct. Few individuals have left behind them such a paucity of personal reminiscences. Icy and reserved, Castlereagh, walked his solitary path, as humanly unapproachable as his policy came to be incomprehensible to the majority of his countrymen. It was said of him that he was like a splendid summit of polished frost, icy, beautiful, aloof, of a stature that nobody could reach and few would care to. It was not until his tragic death that



the world was to learn the price of solitude." (*A World Restored*, p. 30)

**George Canning (1822-27).** George Canning was born in 1770. Although a man of humble origin, he rose to eminence through his good education at Eton and Oxford. He was a brilliant man. He was the Foreign Secretary of England from 1807 to 1809. There was a gap between 1809 and 1816. In 1816, he became President of the Board of Control. In 1821, he resigned on the issue of the treatment meted out to Queen Caroline. When he was making preparation to come to India as Governor-General, he was made the Foreign Secretary of England on account of the sudden death of Castlereagh. He was Foreign Minister from 1822 to 1827. He was witty, a skilled debater and a brilliant speaker. He was the leader of the House of Commons.

Like Castlereagh, Canning was a friend and a pupil of Pitt, the Younger, but the two became rivals of each other. In outlook, one was the antithesis of the other. Castlereagh was an aristocrat and cool and practical in his judgment. He was swayed by a desire to protect Britain's interest by drawing his country with other powers into a close international understanding. However, his policy depended to a large extent on his personality and on his remarkable influence over the statesmen of the Continent. Canning also believed in the necessity for peace, but he did not believe that it could be achieved through co-operation. His view was that Britain should not concern herself with Europe except in times of serious crises when her intervention was necessary as much for the defence of her own interests as for the restraint of aggression. Then she should intervene forcefully and decisively. In the normal times, Britain should abstain from interference in European politics. His policy was more nationalist than that of Castlereagh. On taking office, Canning is stated to have declared thus: "*For Europe, I shall be desirous now and then to read England.*" He summed up his creed in the motto: "*Every nation for itself and God for us all.*" Seton-Watson has added to it a corollary in these words: "Devil take the hindmost."

Canning was more in accord with the spirit of his age than Castlereagh. The nineteenth century was an age of nationalism and Castlereagh's internationalism was not in keeping with it. An elector addressed himself to Gladstone in 1831 in these words, "*Damn all foreign countries. What has England to do with foreign countries?*" This sums up the British attitude towards Europe. Canning himself summed up the feelings of the Englishmen in these words: "*Let us not in the foolish spirit of romance, suppose that we alone could regenerate Europe.*"

Woodward has rightly remarked that Canning differed from Castlereagh, not in his object, but in his methods. Their objective was the same, although their methods differed. Canning acted upon the same policy which has been laid down by Castlereagh in his State Paper of 1822. On taking office, Canning made that State Paper the basis of his policy, although he gave it a characteristic



twist. He accepted the breach between Great Britain and her Allies and did not attempt to remedy it. "We shall have no more Congresses, thank God", was his remark. Castlereagh's vision of co-operation disappeared. Canning hated to co-operate with the Holy Alliance Powers on the ground that he was fond of his country's institutions and believed that other countries would benefit by the introduction of institutions on the British model. He wished English institutions to serve as the models for Europe."

**Spain.** Canning had first to deal with Spain. At the Congress of Verona, France was appointed the executor to restore the reactionary regime in Spain. Canning protested against this intervention and England left the Congress under protest. He was opposed to the general principle of intervention or the policing of Europe by the reactionary Powers. In spite of Britain's protest, the Duke of Angoulême was sent to Spain to restore Ferdinand VII. After his restoration, Ferdinand tried to go to extremes in his reactionary policies. Canning was indignant at this intervention. However, he found himself helpless to oppose the French without an open war with all the European Powers. He had to content himself with a strong protest. When Ferdinand began to think of establishing his control over the Spanish colonies in South America, Canning made up his mind to check it. He adopted a high tone in his speeches. To quote Canning, "*I resolved that if France had Spain, it should not be Spain with the Indies.*" Canning recognised the independence of the Spanish Colonies in South America. With one stroke, British commerce was protected, and, the revolting colonies were freed from the danger of a French attack and the principles of the Holy Alliance were flouted. He boasted in the House of Commons in these words: "I have called a New World into existence to redress the balance of the old". His claim was not justified. Although the Spanish colonies had won their own independence, it was the British sea power which protected them from interference. In the face of naval action by Britain, the French did not dare to carry their arms beyond Spain itself. All this was done by Canning by merely a threat. Canning was also assisted by President Munro who enunciated at this time his famous Munro Doctrine in a message to Congress.

**Portugal.** In the case of Portugal, Canning had to take a strong line of action. He made it clear that England would not tolerate the spread of reactionary forces in Portugal. He extorted from France the declaration that she would not extend to Portugal her support of reaction in Spain. He persuaded the King of Portugal to recognise the independence of Brazil. In 1826, the King of Portugal died and Don Pedro, not wishing to leave Brazil, presented the Portuguese with a constitution. Ferdinand VII of Spain began to intrigue in Portugal in favour of reaction. The Portuguese Government appealed to Great Britain for assistance. Canning sent British troops within four days of the receipt of the appeal and thus the Portuguese constitution was protected by the British bayonets. When Canning announced this step in Parliament, he made a remarkable speech in which he made the following declaration: "*We go to Portugal, not to rule, not to dictate, not to prescribe*



*constitution, but to defend and to preserve the independence of an ally. We go to plant the standard of England on the well-known heights of Lisbon. Where that standard is planted, foreign domination shall not come."*

**Greek War of Independence.** Canning adopted a strong line of action in the case of Greek War of Independence. He was not prepared to allow Turkey to go on oppressing the Greeks. By his intervention he not only secured a strong and independent position for Great Britain, but was also able to break the Holy Alliance. With a view to protect the British trade with the Levant from an attack, he recognised, in 1823, the Greeks as belligerents. In 1827, he entered into the Treaty of London with Russia and France. The object of that treaty was to secure the independence of Greece. The Treaty of London was a master-stroke. It isolated Austria and split the Holy Alliance. By attaching Russia to Britain, Canning put a check on Russian ambitions in the Eastern Mediterranean. The establishment of a new Greek State promised advantages to British trade. In his Greek policy, Canning got much support from the pro-Greek agitation in France and Great Britain. It is true that Wellington, his successor, tried to undo his work by joining hands with Turkey and making a truce with her, yet the Treaty of London secured Greek independence. Soon after his death, the combined fleets of Russia, France and Great Britain destroyed the Turkish and Egyptian fleets in the Battle of Navarino in October 1827. Although Russia alone reaped the harvest, Canning's policy of recognising Greek independence was successful.

Within five years of his assuming office, Canning set Britain upon the path which she followed for 50 years. He protected British interests and encouraged liberal and constitutional movements abroad. He prevented any general interference by the reactionary powers with the development of liberty and national freedom in Europe and overseas. International co-operation on a wide scale was gone. Canning took pride in the fact that he was responsible for disrupting the Holy Alliance. Under his guidance, Great Britain regained her freedom of action. She could intervene in European affairs where, when and how she pleased without any danger of being used by continental states for the furtherance of their own selfish ends. In this policy, Canning had the support of public opinion. He realised the necessity of national unity in matters of foreign policy and wished to have his countrymen behind him so that foreign government may understand that he spoke for Britain as a whole and spoke with all her force and all her resources at his command. His Frank speeches and the publication of the despatches initiated the policy of putting before the electors the means of forming their opinion of foreign policy. According to Temperley : "In Canning's view, it was essential that future foreign policy should be both intelligible and popular." However, Canning did not allow the public to dictate his policy. *He "made foreign policy popular without ceasing to make it effective."* He disclosed only enough information to secure public support because she had no leanings towards democracy. In spite of this, this innovation



was regarded to be a revolutionary tendency in the reactionary countries.

According to Cecil, Canning's political philosophy was a well-defined compact body of opinion. It can be gathered up into a bundle of phrases. At the root of his ideas lay the thought of the nation as the unit of statesmanship. He saw so far clearly and scarcely troubled to look beyond. We find him abandoning the conceptions of Castlereagh, contending not only against the Holy Alliance, but against a Concert of Europe, foreswearing Congresses, refusing conferences and asking every nation to look to itself and leave the rest to God. He made the notion of a balance of power prominent in his speeches. He accepted as a matter of course the conflict of interests, groups and principles as the basis of his foreign policy. To quote Castlereagh, "Some years ago, I stated that the position of this country in the present state of the world was one of neutrality, not only between contending nations but between conflicting principles; and that it was by neutrality alone that we could maintain that balance, the preservation of which I believe to be essential to the welfare of mankind." Canning admitted that it was "much better and more convenient for us to have neighbours whose institutions cannot be compared with ours in point of freedom." Canning was not immoral. He believed in treaties and the maintenance of treaties. He believed in peace and justice. He had no clear sense of the unseen foundations of society. He had no regard for that common will towards a common welfare which is the basis of international civilization.

Canning's sympathies were with a grade of society which is the backbone of the country. He had the practical efficiency, the strong assurance, and the material outlook that were to make the middle period of Victoria's reign what it became in politics and trade. He lacked the high international courtesy, the sense of European solidarity and the spirit of peace. Combative, competitive and insular, Canning broadened a path for British policy where Palmerston was presently to strut crowing with crest erect. According to Lord Acton, "*No Foreign Secretary has equalled Canning.*" However, there are others who do not give him that high praise but still admire him for his qualities of head and his achievements in various fields.

#### Suggested Readings

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|----------------------|---|
| Kissinger, H.A.      | : <i>A World Restored.</i>                              |
| Temperley, H.W.V.    | : <i>The Foreign Policy of Canning (1822-27), 1925.</i> |
| Temperley and Penson | : <i>Foundations of British Foreign Policy,</i>         |
| Webster, C.K.        | : <i>The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh.</i>             |
| Stewart              | : <i>Memoirs of Castlereagh,</i>                        |
| Marriott             | : <i>Castlereagh.</i>                                   |
| Hill, F.H.           | : <i>George Canning.</i>                                |



## CHAPTER XII

### CONCERT OF EUROPE (1815-22)

The idea of a Concert of Europe was suggested by the Austrian Chancellor, Kaunitz, in 1791 and it found expression in the Treaty of Chaumont which was made in March 1814, by Great Britain, Russia, Prussia and Austria. The same four Powers tried at the Congress of Vienna to effect "a regeneration of the political system of Europe". The Congress of Vienna scaled the triumph of reaction and restored the pre-revolutionary conditions as far as possible. However, the fear of revolution was so great that the European Powers could not rest contented until they had devised some means to secure the permanence of Vienna Settlement. With that object in view, Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia entered in November 1815 into the Quadruple Alliance for the maintenance of the treaties with France and for the consolidation "of the intimate relations now uniting the four sovereigns for the welfare of the world". The Powers also agreed to hold periodical meetings "either under the immediate auspices of sovereigns or through their ministers". Those meetings were to be "devoted to the grand interests they have in common, and to the discussion of measures which shall be judged to be most salutary for the repose and prosperity of the nations and for the maintenance of peace of Europe". It was in this way that the Concert of Europe was formed. This system of diplomacy by conferences was one of the most interesting experiments of 19th century. The period that followed the Quadruple Alliance is known as the Era of Congresses. On many occasions, the members of the European Concert met at different places to discuss questions that needed collective deliberations. In these Congresses, the dominating personality was the Austrian Chancellor, Metternich. Under his leadership and guidance, the Quadruple Alliance practically established a dictatorship of the Powers. However, the Concert of Europe broke up in 1823 after holding four conferences at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, at Troppau in 1820, at Laibach in 1821, and at Verona in 1822.

**Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818).** The first Congress met in 1819 at Aix-la-Chapelle where Napoleon had once put forward his own scheme for the welfare of Europe. Regarding this Congress, Metternich is said to have remarked that he had "never seen a prettier little Congress." This Congress marked the zenith of the system by which the Allied Powers endeavoured to establish a joint control over the affairs of all continental States. The Congress was recognized as the Supreme Council of Europe and accordingly it entertained appeals in all kinds of cases.



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The most important question before the Congress was that of France and happily a compromise was arrived at on that point. As France had paid off the whole of war indemnity, it was decided to withdraw the Allied Army of Occupation from the French soil and to admit France into the Concert of Europe. It was in this way that the Quadruple Alliance was transformed into the Quintuple Alliance which was called by Metternich as "moral pentarchy". There was a difference of opinion between Russia on the one hand and England and Austria on the other regarding the basis on which France was to be admitted into the Quadruple Alliance. Russia proposed to follow the principles as embodied in the Holy Alliance. However, the view of England and Austria was that France should be admitted by means of a treaty alliance with the four Powers and that was done. The Quadruple Alliance was renewed separately with a view to meeting any danger that might arise from France. However, to please Czar Alexander, a high-sounding statement was issued regarding the aims and objects of the moral pentarchy. It was intended to observe strictly the rights of the people, protect the arts of peace, increase the prosperity of State, awaken sentiments of religion and morality and set an example of justice and concord.

The Congress also called upon the King of Sweden to explain why he had ignored the treaty rights with regard to Norway and Denmark. The ruler of Monaco was ordered to improve the administrative system of his country. The Elector of Hesse petitioned to the Congress that he be allowed to take up the title of king, but it was refused. The Congress also dealt with the question of the disputed succession to the Duchy of Baden. The position of the Jewish citizens in Austria and Russia was also discussed.

In spite of the above achievements of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, certain differences arose among the Powers and those differences increased with the passage of time. Those were due to the divergent interests and mutual jealousy of the Powers concerned.

As regards the question of the rebellious colonies of Spain in South America, there was going on a lot of trade between England and those colonies from the time of the French Revolution. As Great Britain had invested a lot of money in those colonies, Castlereagh, the British Foreign Minister, refused to agree to any proposal either to bring them back under Spain or even to mediate between them and Spain unless British interests in those colonies were safeguarded beforehand.

In order to suppress slave trade, Great Britain suggested that the European States should exercise a mutual right of search for slaves. However, the suggestion was not accepted on account of the jealousy of the naval strength of Great Britain. No country was prepared to tolerate British interference with her commerce. The result was that no effective action could be taken against slavery.



With a view to checking the menace of the Barbary Pirates in the Mediterranean, Russia suggested that an international fleet, representing the various powers, should be stationed in the Mediterranean. However, Great Britain rejected the proposal. She was not prepared to allow a Russian fleet to be stationed in the Mediterranean. Her interests were secure because the Barbary Pirates respected the Union Jack. The result was that the menace of the Barbary Pirates continued.

It has been claimed that the real significance of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle lies deeper. It was for the first time that Great Britain came to know of the real intentions of those who had set up the Concert of Europe. On this occasion, Czar Alexander proposed that a declaration should be signed by all the Powers guaranteeing the existing territorial boundaries and also the rights of sovereign princes. As this proposal was in accordance with the views of Metternich, it was accepted by Austria. Prussia also followed suit. It is maintained that a universal guarantee of the *status quo* would have resulted in the systematic suppression of nationalism, liberalism and constitutionalism in Europe. This declaration would have acted as a crusade against the progressive forces of Europe and thereby proved fatal to her supremacy in the world. There would have been no unification of Italy and Germany. It would have been impossible to separate Belgium from Holland in spite of the grievances of the former. Norway and Sweden would have continued to remain united. Greece, Roumania, Bulgaria, and Serbia would not have got their independence. Poland would have remained under foreign yoke for an indefinite period. Peace would have been secured in Europe at the price of liberty and independence.

However, the credit for the failure of the scheme must go to Great Britain who opposed tooth and nail the move of Russia, Austria, and Prussia. The question was whether the Powers had any right to intervene in the internal affairs of a State merely on the ground that the *status quo* had been to set in a particular country. Whatever the ostensible object of the Concert of Europe, its real object was to control the external and internal affairs of the European States. Great Britain was opposed to set a policy and counteracted the new move of the other Powers. The British stand was that she was not prepared to accept the general principle of international control. However, she was prepared to consider separately the question of intervention whenever an emergency arose in any country. Great Britain rejected the idea that the collective force of the Allies was "to be prostituted to support of the established order without any consideration of the extent to which it was abused". According to Castlereagh, "The Alliance was never intended as a union for the governments of the world, or for the superintendence of the internal affairs of other States." Its purpose was not to suppress revolutionary movements in every nook and corner of Europe irrespective of their merits.

The principle of intervention in the internal affairs of other states was, however, accepted in 1820 by the Congress of Troppau



in spite of the protests of Great Britain. It was the application of this principle which enabled Austria to suppress revolts in Naples and Piedmont in 1821. France also interfered in Spain in 1823.

Kissinger points out that although at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, there appeared to be outward harmony, "the incompatibility of the various motivations was becoming manifest. With France integrated into the concert of powers, the political contest was finally over and with it disappeared the only motive which could make British participation in Continental affairs acceptable domestically. As Britain increasingly hedged its commitments, a vicious circle was set in motion: the stronger Britain's isolationist tendencies, the more Metternich, aware of Austria's material weakness came to rely on his most effective weapon of restraining the Tsar: the appeal to Alexander's moral fervour. But the more Metternich flattered the Tsar's exaltation, the more difficult it became for Castlereagh to engage in any joint action. As the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle ended, both were eager to obscure this, however Metternich, because his bargaining position towards Russia depended on the illusion of his British option; Castlereagh, because of his European vision, which he still hoped he could make prevail against the obtuseness of his Cabinet and, to him, the petty quest for safety of his Allies. Yet he must have sensed that the time for illusions was coming to an end. For, at this moment Metternich engaged in act which left little doubt that the next battle would be fought on a plane where Castlereagh could not follow, whatever his personal sympathies. He submitted two memoranda to the King of Prussia advising him on the administrative structure of his State and urging the impossibility of fulfilling the promise, made during the passionate days of 1813, of granting a constitution to his subjects. The precise arguments used by Metternich are less interesting than this first step which indicated Metternich's intention to function as the conservative conscience of Europe." (*A World Restored*, pp. 230-231)

**Congress of Troppau (1820).** The second Congress met at Troppau in 1820. Revolutions had broken out in Naples, Spain and Portugal and the people had forced their kings to give them liberal constitutions. The great Powers condemned the revolutions but they differed with regard to the steps to be taken to meet the situation. Russia offered armed assistance to the Spanish king to suppress the revolt. However, Metternich held her back because his hatred of revolution was balanced by his fear of Russian aggrandisement. Naples was considered to be a more urgent problem than others and consequently it was this revolt that occupied the statesmen assembled at Troppau. It was recognized by all the Powers that Austria had a special interest in Italy and consequently she should be allowed to suppress the revolt in Naples. According to Castlereagh, Austria could interfere in Naples on two grounds. She had great interests at stake in Italy. The stability of Lombardy and Venetia was endangered by the revolt and these were within the Austrian Empire itself. The same was the case with Parma, Modena and Tuscany which were ruled by the members of the Habsburg family. Moreover, there was a treaty between the King of Naples



and Austria by which the latter was bound to come to the assistance of Naples.

However, Metternich was not satisfied with the mere recognition of Austria's right to interfere in the internal affairs of Italy. In addition to a narrow legal justification, he also wanted a moral justification for such interference. Castlereagh, the British Foreign Minister, was not prepared for that. His view was that no State was justified in interfering in the internal affairs of any other State except on the ground of a treaty between the two countries. Moreover, the revolt at Naples was outside the orbit of Great Britain, and consequently there was no justification for Great Britain to interfere in that territory. Castlereagh was not prepared to say that all popular insurrections or revolutions originating from below, were illegitimate and against the public law of Europe.

However, Metternich was backed by Prussia and Russia. At the Congress of Troppau, Czar, Alexander declared himself to be a convert of Metternich. Formerly, Metternich was always afraid of Russian designs because Russian agents were spread all over Europe to encourage revolutionary movements. The conversion of Alexander, therefore, brought great relief to Metternich. The change in Alexander was due to the murder of Kotzebue and the mutiny of the Imperial Guards at Petrograd. Czar Alexander declared his conversion to Metternich in these words: "So we are at one, Prince, and it is to you that we owe it. You have correctly judged the state of affairs. I deplore the waste of time which we must try to repair. I am here without any fixed ideas, without any plan; but I bring you a firm and unalterable resolution. It is for your emperor to use it as he wills. Tell me what you desire, and what you wish me to do, and I will do it." The result was that the Quintuple Alliance was divided into two parts. On the one side were the reactionary governments of Russia, Austria and Prussia and on the other were Great Britain and France.

This Congress also passed the famous *Protocol of Troppau* which justified the intervention of one State in the internal affairs of other States. The Protocol provided: "States which have undergone a change of government due to revolution the results of which threaten other States, *ipso facto* cease to be members of the European Alliance, and remain excluded from it until their situation gives guarantee for legal order and stability. If, owing to such alterations, immediate danger threatens other States, the Powers bind themselves, by peaceful means, or if need be by arms, to bring back the guilty States into the bosom of the Great Alliance."

Great Britain, however, refused to be a party to the above declaration. Castlereagh objected to the attempt "to reduce to an abstract rule of conduct possible cases of interference in the internal affairs of independent States." His contention was that the Protocol was bound to be considered as a league of sovereigns against their subjects and there was every possibility of the revolutionary tendencies getting an impetus on account of it. To quote him, "Would the great Powers of Europe be prepared to admit the principle that their territories were to be thrown open to each



other's approach upon cases of assumed necessity or expediency of which not the party receiving, but the party administering it, was to be the judge!" The British Government did not join in the police system which was bound to "lead to the creating of a species of general government in Europe, with a superintending Directory destructive of all correct notions of internal sovereign authority."

According to Kissinger, "The Congress of Troppau marks the high point of Metternich's diplomatic skill. Unwilling or unable to adapt Austria to the predominant trends of the period, confronted by the prospect of a battle against nationalism and liberalism, he succeeded in making it a European rather than an Austrian contest and thus avoided symbolizing the incongruity of Austria's domestic structure. Faced with the danger of a resurgent France restoring its Italian position by means of a family compact and an appeal to constitutionalism, he managed to isolate France and to reduce her to impotence. The role of the French representatives at Troppau could not have been more miserable. By appearing as the most conciliatory of the plenipotentiaries, Metternich lured them into one trap after another." (*A World Restored*, pp. 266-267)

**Congress of Laibach (1821).** The third Congress was held at Laibach. Austria was allowed to send her troops to Naples to suppress the revolt there. This was easily done by the Austrian troops. There had also occurred a revolt in Piedmont in the north of Italy. That revolt was also put down by the Austrian troops on their way back home.

**Congress of Verona (1822).** The fourth and last Congress was held at Verona in 1822. There were two questions before the Congress, of which one of them was solved. The Greeks revolted against Turkey and thus the Greek question came up for consideration before the Congress of Verona. Czar Alexander wanted to take isolated action in the same way as Austria had done in the case of Naples and Piedmont. However, Austria was Russia's rival in the Balkans and Metternich was determined to prevent Russian intervention in Greek affairs. Metternich was also supported by Great Britain who was opposed to Russian interference in the Balkans. Under these circumstances the Greek question was not taken up by the Congress of Verona and the Spanish question alone remained before it.

There was a revolt in Spain in 1820 and the King of Spain, Ferdinand VII, was forced to abolish the Inquisition and proclaim a constitution. However, from the very beginning, he acted in a clever way and appealed to the King of France for help against his subjects. This appeal of one Bourbon to another Bourbon looked like the revival of the old Bourbon family pact and no wonder England felt uneasy. At the Congress of Verona, France announced her intention to intervene in Spain and asked for the moral support of the Powers. Austria, Russia and Prussia backed France but Great Britain opposed the proposal. The Duke of Wellington, the British representative at Verona, was instructed by Canning to insist upon "a rigid abstinence from any interference in the internal affairs



of Spain." The result was that when the British point of view regarding non-intervention was not accepted, Great Britain withdrew from the Congress and thus the era of Congress ended. Canning, the new Foreign Minister of England, was happy at the idea of the break-up of the Concert of Europe. He said : "The issue of Verona split the one and indivisible Alliance into three parts as distinct as the constitutions of England, France and Muscovy." Again, "Things are getting back to a wholesome state again. Every nation for itself and God for us all. The time for Aeroepagus, and the like of that is gone by."

**Causes of failure.** The failure of the Concert of Europe was due to many causes. The principle of intervention in the internal affairs of the States divided the Powers into two camps. Great Britain opposed this principle in 1818. But in spite of that the Protocol of Troppau was made in 1820. Again in 1822, Great Britain opposed the intervention of France in Spain and despite her protests France had her way and she did intervene in Spain. Her action was backed by Russia, Prussia and Austria. Great Britain could not put up with this attitude of the other Powers and she withdrew from the Congress of Verona. The era of Congress collapsed with the withdrawal of Great Britain. The attitude of the British Government can be understood from the following extract of a letter written by Canning to the British Ambassador at Verona in 1823 : "England is under no obligation to interfere or to assist in interfering in the internal affairs of independent nations. The specific engagement to interfere in France is an exception so studiously particularized as to prove the rule. The rule I take to be that our engagements have reference wholly to the state of territorial possession settled at the Peace, to the state of affairs between nation and nation ; not (with the single exception above stated) to the affairs of any nation within itself." Again, "What is the influence we have had in the counsels of Alliance ? We protested at Laibach, we remonstrated at Verona ; our protest was treated as waste paper ; our remonstrances mingled with the air. Our influence, if it is to be maintained abroad, must be secure in the sources of strength at home ; and the sources of that strength are in the sympathy between the people and the government ; in the union of the public sentiment with the public counsels ; in the reciprocal confidence and co-operation of the House of Commons and the Crown."

Autocracy and constitutionalism cannot go together. No wonder, England with her parliamentary institutions found herself unable to pull on with the autocratic Powers of Europe. The Concert of Europe degenerated into a clique for the preservation of autocracy and the suppression of democracy and nationalism in every shape and form.

Mutual jealousies arose among the Powers from the very beginning. In the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle the Powers disagreed on the question of slave trade and the suppression of the Barbary Pirates. They also disagreed in 1820 on the question of intervention. There was no internal harmony among the Powers. Merely an outward show of co-operation was maintained for some time. However,



such a state of affairs could not last long and the matters were precipitated by the intervention of France in Spain.

It was also stated that the Concert of Europe was a product of the Napoleonic Wars and its object was to provide against a common enemy—France. However, when the French danger was over, the unity among the Allies was gone and every Power decided to deal individually with her diplomacy.

It was good that the Concert of Europe collapsed. Had that continued, the nationalist and liberal forces in Europe would have got a severe setback. Great Britain rendered a great service to the cause of nationalism and constitutionalism by first protesting and later leaving the Concert.

According to Thomson, "In so far as the Congress system meant that the Great Powers of Europe could usually meet together from time to time to resolve disputes among them and to preserve a certain balance of power in the continent, it met with partial success and helped to keep the peace. At successive Congresses, such questions as the abolition of slavery, navigation of the Danube, and arbitration of disputes were considered. But in so far as it came to serve the purposes of the Holy Alliance and of at least some partners of the Quadruple Alliance; it was a disturbing force in Europe. The principle of joint intervention, generally accepted in reference to the ex-enemy State of France, became an excuse for a universal meddlesomeness that chimed with the real interests neither of Metternich nor of Britain. Each Power in turn was prompted to intervene: Austria in Piedmont and Naples, France in Spain and Greece, Britain in Portugal and Greece, Russia in Greece. Britain, alarmed by the interventions of reactionary monarchs and by the ambiguous aims of Russia in Turkey, found herself committed to the paradoxical policy of 'intervening to prevent intervention'. Even the long and tense achievement of 'holding the ring' during the Greek revolution broke down in the end, and meanwhile brought terrible losses to the Greeks. The protest of the Monroe Doctrine against the practice of intervention for or against existing regimes helped to force upon public attention this fundamental issue of international relationships. Neither the forces of conservatism nor those of nationalism and liberalism derived unmitigated benefits from it. Intervention favoured monarchs in Spain and Naples, liberal rebels in Portugal and Greece; but neither dynastic monarchy nor national independence stood to gain in the long run from accepting the doctrine that external powers might properly intervene in the internal affairs of States. It was discovered by experience that the Congress system could mean generalizing, and so magnifying every dispute; it meant altering governments everywhere whenever there was an insurrection anywhere. By making peace indivisible, it made peace more fragile, for the rival interests of the major Powers were implicated in each revolutionary crisis. The 'Concert of Europe' viewed by the conservative powers as a dam against revolution, was thought of by Britain rather as a sluice gate, allowing for a measured flow of national and liberal progress." (*Europe Since Napoleon*, pp. 119-20)



According to Grant and Temperley, "It is not fair, however, to dismiss this first serious experiment in international government without pointing out some of its merits. The idea of personal conference and mutual confidence between rulers was excellent. Castlereagh was sincere in promoting the reunions, and so was Metternich, up to a point. But Alexander went too far and too fast for both. After 1820 the Congress system became in effect a trade union of kings for suppressing the liberties of peoples. To the continuance of that system, parliamentary England could not consent and parliamentary France only shared in it with reluctance. The smaller Powers, who did not share in it at all, were naturally opposed to it. In the 'thirties there were European Congresses again which did much good. But, though the Great Powers still took the lead, there was no collective attempt to revive the doctrines of absolutism, to condemn revolution as such, or to proclaim a general policy of intervention by force. Parliamentary England and parliamentary France were, therefore, able to enter freely into conference with the three despotic monarchies of East Europe. The Congress which settled the independence of Belgium is a good example of how Great Powers can meet without embarrassment and effect lasting good, because each respected the institutions and difficulties of the other."

**Canning.** Reference may be made to the following remarks of Canning: "*I have called a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old.*" This was his reply to the French invasion of Spain which he could not check. England was opposed to the general principle of intervention in the internal affairs of other European States. She opposed the move of Russia, Austria and Prussia in 1818 to enforce this principle in European politics. However, in spite of the protests of England, the Protocol of Troppau was made in 1820. By this, the European States were allowed to interfere in the internal affairs of their neighbours if there was a revolt in them and that revolt threatened their own security. It was in pursuance of that policy that Austria intervened in Naples and Piedmont in 1821. At the Congress of Verona in 1822, Great Britain opposed the intervention of any country in Spain, but the French troops entered Spain and restored its king to absolute powers. It was evident that England had failed so far as intervention in Spain was concerned. When this happened, Canning made it clear that he would not allow the reconquest of the Spanish colonies in South America, and thereby make up the balance in America for the loss in Europe.

The policy of Canning to create a new world to redress the balance of the old was not the result of any sudden inspiration. It was a deliberate policy which was long contemplated and tenaciously followed. In 1790, Pitt had told Miranda that the emancipation of Spanish America was a matter which would engage the attention of every Minister of England. In 1808, the separation of the Spanish colonies in South America under British protection was an idea present to the minds of both Canning and Castlereagh. This very thought engaged the attention of Canning from his first



day at the Foreign Office until it was accomplished. In 1822, Canning wrote thus to Duke of Wellington who represented Great Britain in the Congress of Verona: "Every day convinces me more and more that in the present state of the Peninsula, and in the present state of this country, the American questions are out of all proportion more important to us than the European and that, if we do not seize and turn them to our advantage in time, we shall rule the loss of an opportunity never to be recovered."

It cannot be denied that Spain had found great difficulty in governing her American colonies. In 1817, Spain sold to the U.S.A. the territory of Florida for 5 million dollars. Things did not improve even after that. There was anarchy in South America and consequently Englishmen suffered a great deal on account of attacks on their ships. England failed to get any compensation for these. In 1823, Canning appointed Consuls to the Spanish colonies for the protection of British trade. The British Government made it clear to France that she would not allow the reconquest of the Spanish colonies by a Power other than Spain, and she knew that Spain alone could not reconquer them. On the 1st January 1825, the Powers were informed that Great Britain had recognised the independence of Buenos Aires, Colombia and Mexico. The Powers protested against this action of Great Britain but they could do practically nothing. Canning continued his policy in spite of the annoyance of the Great Powers of Europe.

Canning found a powerful ally in the U.S.A. In December 1823, President Monroe enunciated his famous Monroe Doctrine. He declared that "any interference on the part of the Great Powers of Europe for the purpose of oppressing or controlling the destiny of the Spanish American States which had declared their independence would be dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, and would be considered as the manifestation of the unfriendly disposition towards them." Canning wrote thus in 1824: "I have very little doubt that the President was encouraged to make his declaration about the South American States by his knowledge of our sentiments. The effect of the ultra-liberalism of our Yankee co-operators on the ultra-despotism of our Aix-la-Chapelle laws gives us just the balance that I wanted." Again, he wrote thus next year: "The thing is done...An act which will make a change in the face of the world almost as great as that of the discovery of the Continent now set free. The Allies will fret; but they will venture no serious remonstrance. France will forget; but it will be with a view to hastening after our example as regards South America." The action of Great Britain and United States was decisive. By 1830, the Spanish empire in South America had ceased to exist and consequently the following independent republics came into existence: Mexico, Guatemala, Colombia, Peru, Chili, Bolivia, Paraguay and Rio de la Plata or Buenos Aires.

It is evident from the above that while Canning failed in Europe, he succeeded in America. He could not stop the intervention of France in Spain, but he was able to stop the intervention of Spain or any other Power in Spanish America and thereby



establish the independence of the Spanish colonies in America. Canning was right in saying that he had brought a new world into existence in South America and thereby redressed the balance which had been upset on account of the combination of Austria, Russia, Prussia and France.

#### Suggested Readings

- Fyffe : *History of Modern Europe.*  
 Phillips, W.A. : *The Confederation of Europe : A Study of the European Alliance (1813-23), 1920.*  
 Phillips : *Modern Europe.*  
 Schenk, H.G. : *The Aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars : the Concert of Europe— an Experiment, 1917.*  
 Seignobos : *Political History of Europe Since 1814.*  
 Thomson : *Europe Since Napoleon.*  
 Kissinger : *A World Restored.*  
 Ward, Sir A.W. : *The Period of the Congresses, 1919.*



## CHAPTER XIII

### LOUIS XVIII TO NAPOLEON III

**Louis XVIII (1814-24).** After the abdication of Napoleon in 1814 and his departure for the Island of Elba, Louis XVIII was put on the throne of France. He was the brother of Louis XVI. At the time of his succession to the throne, he was 59. He was corpulent and gouty and was unable to sit on horse-back. Both intellectually and by character, he was well qualified to be a king. He had a lot of commonsense and realised the fact from the very beginning that it was impossible to put the hands of the clock back. Like Charles II of England he was not prepared to go on his travels again and he stood for a policy of compromise and reconciliation. He wrote in 1818: "The system which I have adopted and that which my ministers are perseveringly pursuing, is based upon the maxim that it will never do to be the King of two peoples; and to their ultimate fusion—for their distinction is only too real—all the efforts of my government are directed."

**The Charter of 1814.** On 4th June 1814, Louis XVIII issued a liberal charter. That was partly due to the influence of Czar Alexander I. This Charter embodied the constitution of France up to 1848. Its Preamble ran: "It is our duty according to the example of the kings, our predecessors, to appreciate the results of the constantly increasing progress of enlightenment, the new relations that this progress has introduced into society, the direction impressed upon opinion for half a century, and the important alterations which have ensued; we have recognised that the wish of our subjects for a constitutional Charter was the expression of a real need, but in yielding to this wish we have taken every precaution that this Charter should be worthy of us and of the people whom we have to rule."

The king was to be head of the State and he was given the power of making all appointments, issuing ordinances, declaring war, making treaties of peace, alliance and commerce, commanding the army and navy and initiating and sanctioning laws. Provision was made for a legislature of two houses, *viz.*, a Chamber of Peers and a Chamber of Deputies. The Chamber of Peers was to have a number of members who were to be nominated by the king either for life or as hereditary members. It was to sit in secret and also act as a High Court of Justice. It was to try impeachments of the ministers. The Chamber of Deputies was to be elected by those persons who paid 300 francs annually as direct taxes. Its tenure was five years and one-fifth of its members were to retire every year. It was to meet once a year. It could request the king to introduce legislation on a particular subject.



The Roman Catholic Church was established but religious freedom was given to others also. Both the nobility of Napoleon and that of the *Ancien Regime* were restored on an equal footing. Liberty of the press was guaranteed. Provision was made for trial by jury. Every citizen of France was entitled to have employment under the State. Persons in possession of confiscated property were assured that it would not be taken away from them.

The importance of the Charter lies in the fact that it accepted the work of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic regime. This is clear from the recognition of personal equality; eligibility for office, religious toleration, the Code Napoleon, the Concordant, etc. The Charter was also not inconsistent with the principle of Divine Right of Kings. It was not imposed by the people on the king. On the other hand, it was given by the king to the people as a matter of grace. According to Chateaubriand, "The Charter is a treaty of peace between the two parties into which France has been divided, a treaty by which both parties yield some of their pretensions in order to work together for the glory of their country."

**Talleyrand.** Talleyrand was one of the cleverest men produced by France. He acted in various capacities throughout the



Talleyrand

French Revolution, under Napoleon and after the Restoration. He played many roles in life. He belonged to the nobility. He was a member of the church. He was employed by Napoleon in very



many difficult tasks. He was clever and cunning. He knew how to play the fox and change sides as circumstances demanded. Napoleon consulted him on all difficult matters. In spite of that, Talleyrand deserted him towards the end and joined hands with the Austrians. It was through his cleverness that he played an important part in the deliberations of the Congress of Vienna. He coined the doctrine of legitimacy and thereby saved his country. Although France was defeated, it was through his influence that she was not deprived of her territories.

Talleyrand was not an attractive personality. Napoleon once described him as "a mass of filth in a silk stocking". Again, "You are a devil of a man. I cannot help telling you of my affairs or prevent myself liking you."

**Parties.** There were two parties in France and those were the *Moderates* who were the upholders of the Charter of 1814 and the *Ultra-Royalists*. The Ultra-Royalists stood for absolutism and privileges. They wanted an alliance between the altar and the throne. They wanted the church to control education. They stood for censorship of the press and the restoration of the confiscated property of the nobilities. Louis XVIII followed a policy of moderation and consequently did not pay any heed to the demands of the Ultra-Royalists. He also failed to win over the peasants and the army. According to Wellington, "A king of France is no king without the army." The result of the alienation of the peasantry and the army was that when Napoleon returned from Elba, he was joined by the army and the people. However, Louis XVIII was restored after the Hundred Days.

**White Terror.** As soon as the news of the defeat of Napoleon in the Battle of Waterloo reached France, the Ultra-Royalists created a reign of terror in the country. The Royalist mobs attacked the Bonapartists. The Protestants were attacked by the Catholics. There were outrages and murders everywhere, and the movement was called by the name of "The White Terror". It was in this atmosphere of intimidation and violence that elections were held and no wonder the Royalists were able to sweep the polls. Talleyrand and Fouché were dismissed. Richelieu was made the head of the new ministry and his chief lieutenant was Decazes. The newly-elected Chamber of Deputies showed itself "more royalist than the king," and came to be known as the *Chambre Introuvable* (1815-16). Although the king, his ministers and the Chamber of Peers stood for a policy of moderation, the Chamber of Deputies under the leadership of the Count of Artois, the brother of Louis XVIII, who became king of France in 1824, demanded revenge against the enemies. Marshal Ney, "the bravest of the brave," was shot as a traitor. Thousands of Bonapartists were either imprisoned or exiled. Some of them were executed and many of them were dismissed from their posts. In September 1816, the *Chambre Introuvable* was dissolved.

**Moderates in Power.** New elections were held in 1816 and the Moderates were returned in a majority in the Chamber of



Deputies. They remained in power up to 1820. In 1818, the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle decided to withdraw the Allied Army of Occupation from the French soil as France had paid the whole war indemnity. In 1817, a new electoral law in favour of the Moderates was passed. In 1819, a new press law was passed by which censorship was abolished and press offences were allowed to be tried by the juries.

In February 1820, the Duc de Berri was assassinated by a fanatic named Louvel. The duke was the son of the Count of Artois and was considered to be the hope of the Bourbons. Although the murder was the work of an isolated fanatic, the Ultra-Royalists attributed it to the policy of moderation of the king. Different motives were attributed to the murder. According to one, "I saw the dagger that pierced the Duc de Berri; it was a liberal idea." According to another, "Either Decazes must retire before the reigning dynasty or the race of our king must retreat before him." Decazes himself remarked: "We have been killed with the duke." Decazes was dismissed and the Ultra-Royalists came to power.

Richelieu was once again made the head of the ministry in 1820, and he continued up to 1821. The era of reaction started during his regime. The censorship of the press was restored. The electoral law was changed. The secret ballot was abolished, franchise was narrowed. Double vote was given to the landed interests.

Richelieu was succeeded by Villele who was an able and cautious statesman but a pronounced reactionary. He held office up to 1827. In 1822, the censorship of the press was made more rigorous. The church was given control over education for religious and monarchical propaganda. High tariffs were imposed on imports to favour the landed proprietors and manufacturers. In 1823, French troops were sent to Spain to restore the Bourbons to absolute power. New peers were created to overthrow the liberal majority in the Chamber of Peers. By means of the Septennial Act, the life of the Chamber of Deputies was extended to seven years instead of five.

**Charles X (1824-30).** After the death of Louis XVIII in 1824, Charles X became the King of France. At the Court of Artois, he had acted as the leader of the Emigres. During the reign of Louis XVIII, he was the leader of the Ultra-Royalists. He was a man of prejudices and convictions. It was said about him that he "had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing." He took pride in the fact that both he and Lafayette had not changed at all in spite of the change of times. He stood for the supremacy of the church and was prepared to sacrifice even his throne for the sake of the church. According to Wellington, he set up "a government by priests through priests and for priests." He has rightly been compared with Philip II of Spain.

France gained some prestige by a vigorous foreign policy. Algiers was conquered and France joined hands with the British who helped the Greeks against the Turks. When the Turkish fleet



was destroyed in the Battle of Navarino in 1827, the French fleet also took part in it. Although France withdrew from the Greek War of Independence, she co-operated with England to lessen the influence of Russia in the Balkans.

**Villele.** Villele continued to be the head of ministry up to 1827. As the press was opposed to the church policy of the king, it was decided to make the press a creature of the executive. No newspaper was to appear without the sanction of the king. The contents of the newspapers were to be censored by the government. The writer of any article or the designer of any illustration which outraged or turned into ridicule the religion of the State or which excited contempt or hatred of any class was to be punished with a heavy fine or imprisonment for seven years. An attempt was made in 1827 to pass a new law by which the liberty of the press was to be completely ended. Although there was opposition from all quarters, the Chamber of Deputies passed the law but the Government was forced to rescind it on account of the opposition from the Chamber of Peers.

In 1825, a law was passed to indemnify the Emigres for the loss of their lands during the days of the French Revolution. This was done by lowering the rate of interest on the public debt from 5% to 4%. It must have annoyed the middle classes because they suffered on account of the lowering of the interest. Religious communities for women were re-established under certain restrictions. An attempt was made to revive the law of primogeniture, but it failed due to the opposition of the Chamber of Peers. A law of sacrilege was proposed which would have punished by death theft of sacred vessels from a church. Those who were guilty of the offence of desecration of the Host were also liable to get their hands cut off. The law was passed with certain amendments, but was never enforced on account of opposition.

In 1827, the National Guard was disbanded. That was due to the fact that while returning from a review held by the king, the members of the National Guard shouted the slogans of "Down with the Ministers" and "Down with the Jesuits". The people of Paris were offended by the disbandment of National Guard and its result was fatal.

**Martignac.** Villele was succeeded by Martignac who remained in power from January 1828 to July 1829. He was a man of ability, moderation, and experience and he followed a policy of compromise. The Jesuits were deprived of their control over education. The censorship of the press was stopped. Franchise was extended in the provincial assemblies. A large measure of local self-government was proposed. The reactionaries were furious and Martignac resigned.

**Polignac.** The view of Charles X was that "*concessions ruined Louis XVI*" and therefore he decided not to give any concession. To quote him, "There is no way of dealing with these people: it is time to call a halt." Prince Polignac, a fanatical



reactionary and Emigre, was made the head of the ministry. He did not possess any majority in the Chamber of Deputies. There was a lot of criticism of the government all over the country. However, Charles X addressed the Chamber of Deputies in March 1830 in these words: "The Charter has placed the liberties of France under the guarantee of the rights of the Crown. These rights are sacred and it is my duty to hand them over intact to my successor. I do not doubt that you will help me to realize my good intention; that you will repel shameful insinuations which malevolence has sought to spread abroad. Should conspiracies admit to impede my government, such as I do not wish to anticipate, I will find the means to remove the obstacles, firm in my own determination to maintain the public peace, in just confidence in the people of France, and in their avowed love for their King." This speech of the king was considered to be a challenge to the people. Men like Thiers came forward to resist the reactionary politics of the king. The Polignac ministry was defeated. To begin with, the king prorogued the Chamber of Deputies and later on dissolved it. New elections were held in June and July 1830, but their only result was that the opposition was strengthened.

On 25th July 1830, Charles X issued four ordinances and attached to them the following explanation: "A turbulent democracy is endeavouring to supplant the legal authorities. It dominates the elections by means of newspapers and associations; it endeavours to fetter the rights of the Crown and to dissolve the Chamber. A government that has not the right to take measures for the safety of the State cannot exist. That right, older than the laws, exists in the nature of things. An imperative necessity demands its application; the moment has come to take measures which, if they overstep the ordinary methods of legislation, are undoubtedly in accord with the Charter." By means of four ordinances, Charles X suspended the freedom of the press, dissolved the newly-elected Chamber of Deputies, reduced the life of the legislature from seven years to five years and ordered new elections under a restricted franchise.

The ordinances were a challenge to the people and it was accepted by them. Barricades were constructed in the streets but they were demolished by the government. However, the National Guard and the regular troops joined the people who became the masters of Paris on 29th July 1830. Thiers, Guizot and Talleyrand offered the throne to Louis Phillipe, Duke of Orleans and the offer was accepted by him. Charles X abdicated in favour of his grandson, Henry, Duke of Bordeaux, better known as Count of Chambord. However, nobody bothered about him and consequently Charles X and his family left for England. It was in these circumstances that the July Revolution took place in France in 1830.

**Importance of July Revolution.** The July Revolution of 1830 was of great importance in the history of France. It brought about a change in the ruling dynasty. The Bourbons were replaced by the Orleanists. The monarchical system was continued in spite



of the protests of the Republicans. Minor changes were made in the constitution of France which were embodied in the Charter of 1814. The king was deprived of his power of making ordinances in times of emergency or otherwise. The Chambers were given the power to initiate laws. Catholicism was to be the official religion of France. The freedom of the press was restored. The franchise was extended. It was on the basis of one out of 280 although promise was given for universal suffrage. The Charter was "accepted" but not "granted". The king was to rule by the will of the people and not by Divine Right. He was to be known as the "King of the French". The principle of legitimacy which had played an important part in 1815 was rejected and that is why the Bourbons were replaced by the Orleanists. The Ultra-Royalist party, with its programme, disappeared with the Bourbons from the French scene. The revolution of 1830 was the complement of the Revolution of 1789. It granted equality, liberty, secularisation of property, etc. The Charter of 1814 became the *right* of the nation and not the *free gift* of the king who was forced to do so. Those tax-payers who could pay for their uniforms were to form the National Guard which was to maintain the Charter.

**Louis Philippe (1830-48).** Louis Philippe was the son of the "Egalite" Orleans who played not a mean part in the Revolution of 1789. As a young man, he fought with the forces of the French Republic at Valmy. After that, he ran away from France and visited various parts of the world including Southern Europe, Sicily, the United States, England and Switzerland. He worked as a tutor in Switzerland. After the Restoration of 1814-15, he came back to France and recovered the family estates and entered the Chamber of Peers. He associated himself with the middle classes and the workers of Paris. Although he was prosperous yet he was genial and accessible. The result was that the people came to believe in his professions of democratic and republican principles. During the crisis of July 1830, Charles X began to realise slowly that



Louis Philippe

the crisis "was not a revolt but a revolution". He then withdrew the ordinances and dismissed Polignac, but the concession came too late and Louis Philippe was put on the throne of France.

Louis Philippe ruled for 18 years and the middle class remained supreme during his regime. He was called the "citizen" ki



He was to "reign but not to rule". He gave up the symbols of the ancient monarchy. The crown and the sceptre were set aside. He began to use a white tall hat and green umbrella. He sent his children to the ordinary schools and went to the streets to do the shopping himself. He gave up the title of "King of France and Navarre" and took up the title of "King of the French". The qualifying phrase "by the grace of God" was supplemented with the words "and by the will of the nation". The tricolour was restored as the national flag. Titled aristocrats were removed from public offices and their places were taken by commoners. The government was proclaimed parliamentary and representative.

According to De Tocqueville, "He (Louis Philippe) had most of the qualities and defects which belong more particularly to the subaltern orders of society. He had regular habits and wanted those around him to have them too. He was orderly in his conduct, simple in his habits, his tastes were tempered; he was a born friend of the law, an enemy of all excesses, sober in his ways except in his desires. He was human without being sentimental, greedy and soft. He had no flaming passions, no ruinous weakness, no striking vices, and only one kingly virtue: courage. He was extremely polite, but without discrimination or greatness, the politeness of a merchant rather than of a prince. He hardly appreciated literature or art, but he passionately loved industry. His memory was prodigious and capable of retaining the most minute detail. His conversation was prolix, diffuse, original and trivial, anecdotal, full of small facts, of salt and significance... He was enlightened, subtle, flexible; because he was open only to what was useful, he was full of proud disdain for the truth, and he believed so little in virtue that his sight was darkened... He was an unbeliever in religion like the eighteenth century, and sceptical in politics like the nineteenth; having no belief in himself, he had none in the belief of others."

It is to be noted that in the beginning of the regime of Louis Philippe, the industrial capitalists and economic liberals like Laffitte and Casimir-Perier were in power and no wonder that his government was liberal and bourgeois. The French Government was similar to the government established in England after the First Reform Act of 1832. *Casimir-Perier* defined his policy as that of the just mean. He followed a policy of evolution. He aimed at the development of the foreign trade of the country and the establishment of friendly relations with other States. After his death, Guizot and Thiers held office at different times. Both of them belonged to the middle class and were ambitious, aggressive and were great writers. *Guizot* was a Huguenot and was the Minister of Public Instruction from 1832 to 1839 and Chief Minister from 1840 to 1848. He believed in a policy of peace at any price. He was prepared to go to any length to maintain peace. He was corrupt to the extreme and it was through his corrupt methods that he was able to manage the legislature for eight years. *Thiers* was a free thinker and an opportunist. He got a lot of money by marriage and was trained in politics by Talleyrand. Although he had a n from the masses, he distrusted them. He was, however,



attached to the liberal philosophy of the 18th century and opposed the arbitrary rule of Louis Philippe. He was a great writer and was one of the persons responsible for the overthrow of Charles X. He believed in a vigorous foreign policy and was the leading minister from 1832 to 1836 and Prime Minister in 1840. He was dismissed in that year because he insisted on helping Mehmet Ali even at the risk of a war with England.

The regime of Louis Philippe was bourgeois in action, in purpose and in personnel. Industries were encouraged. Machinery was imported from England and factories were set up in France. A large number of railways were planned and some of them were actually constructed. Private companies were encouraged to execute works of public utility. He did not do anything which could be called "socialistic". He stood for private initiative, and individual thrift. Like a good middle-class person, the king invested the income of his family in stocks and shares.

Agitation was carried on for the establishment of free trade in the country. However, it was realised that the infant industries of France were not in a position to compete with British industries and consequently the policy of protection were continued. No legislation similar to that of the repeal of the Corn Laws in England were enacted in France. However, Bastiat, a merchant and economist, organised a Free Trade Association in France in 1846.

As a result of the growth of Industrial Revolution in the country, the condition of the workers became very unsatisfactory but, with one minor exception, no labour legislation was enacted. In 1841 was passed a Factory Act which prohibited the employment of children under eight years of age, limited the working day of children under 16 years to 12 hours and prescribed a minimum of schooling for children under 12. This Act had practically no effect as no provision was made for its enforcement.

Under the guidance of Guizot, a law was passed in 1833 concerning education. The Church was left free to conduct elementary schools. However, the control of the government over secondary and higher schools was strengthened. All educational institutions were required to teach "internal and social duties". Although the number of schools was increased, attendance was not made compulsory.

In matters of religion, the government tried to follow a policy of neutrality. The Concordat with the Pope was continued and the government continued to nominate the bishops and pay the salaries of the Catholic clergy. The Government treated all religions alike and in 1831 it put Judaism on an equal footing with Christianity. It began to pay the salaries of the Jewish *rabbis* in the same way as it paid the Protestant pastors and Catholic priests.

This reign was the great age of Romanticism in France. In 1830, Victor Hugo's play *Hernani* was first produced. Chateaubriand and Mme de Staël led the way for the new movement which Lamartine, Victor Hugo, Alfred de Vigny, and Alfred de Musset



revealed in verse and Balzac, George Sand and Dumas revealed in romance proper. There was a struggle between classical and romantic art and we have the natural and colourful painting of Gericault and Delacroix. The "School of 1830", was the great school of *paysagistes* led by Corot, Dupre and Theodore Rousseau. In sculpture, the reign saw the greatest work of Rude, notably that of the Arc de l'Etoile, one of the greatest achievements of French sculpture. It was also the great age of French historical writing which owed a lot to the inspiration from Chateaubriand. Best examples of historical writings are those of Thierry, Michelet, Guizot Mignet and Thiers. Thus, this reign saw the appearance of a large number of masterpieces of French literature and art.

**Foreign Policy.** On the whole, Louis Philippe followed a policy of peace in foreign affairs, although he could not ignore altogether the French desire for *La Glorie*. He was on very good terms with Queen Victoria, although that was not true of Palmerston. Efforts were made to follow a policy which was in harmony with that of England. Although he desired to have a hand in the affairs of Belgium when the latter revolted against Holland, he later on agreed to follow in the footsteps of England in allowing the people of Belgium to have their independence and their own king. He helped the new State of Greece to find a liberal monarch. He was not prepared to allow Russia to increase her influence in the Balkans.

Thiers stood for a vigorous foreign policy independent of England. In 1836, he was in favour of sending a French army to Spain to suppress an insurrection against Queen Isabella II but he was dismissed from office by the king. In 1840, there was a possibility of war between England and France. That was due to the fact that Thiers, who was the Prime Minister at that time, was determined to help Mehmet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt. Palmerston, the Foreign Minister of England, was determined to crush the growing power of Mehmet Ali and help Turkey against him. Great Britain was supported by Russia and Austria. If Louis Philippe had allowed Thiers to have his way, a war with England was a certainty. At that time, Thiers was dismissed and thus the war was avoided. Guizot was appointed in his place as the Prime Minister and he also believed in a policy of peace. The result was that Mehmet Ali had to surrender Adana and Syria and he was accepted as the "hereditary governor" of Egypt.

In the time of Charles X, the city of Algiers had been occupied by the French troops and its Dey or the ruler was exiled. For many years, Louis Philippe could not make up his mind as to the policy to be followed by him with regard to Algeria. There were three alternatives before the government, viz., to conquer the whole country, occupy only a part of the country or to evacuate the country altogether. The Liberals were in favour of complete withdrawal. Between 1834 and 1839, the French Government continued its occupation of Algiers and a few coastal towns. However, the king



gradually allowed penetration into the interior of the country. The things changed in 1839 when Abd-el-Kader declared a *Jehād* or Holy War against the French. The king was forced to send General Bugeaud with an army of one lakh of men to crush Abd-el-Kader and conquer the whole of Algeria. The struggle was a long one and involved a lot of destruction. However in 1847, Abd-el-Kader was captured and Algeria was pacified. About 40,000 French colonists settled in the country. This was the beginning of the **French colonial empire**.

Louis Philippe was very keen to further the interests of his family. One of his daughters was married to King Leopold I of Belgium and another to the King of Wurtemberg. In 1846, he married one of his sons to the sisters of Queen Isabella II of Spain.

**Towards Revolution.** By 1846, however, the middle-class monarchy of Louis Philippe became very unpopular with all sections of the people. The *Legitimists* regarded Louis Philippe as a usurper because in their eyes, the Count of Chambord, the grandson of Charles X, had a better title to the throne than he himself had. They also considered his government as revolutionary and bourgeois. The *Republicans* aimed at the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a republican government in the country. They stood for universal manhood suffrage and were completely dissatisfied with the bourgeois monarchy of Louis Philippe.

The *Socialists* also condemned the bourgeois government of Louis Philippe. The lot of the working men was unsatisfactory and the government had done practically nothing to improve it. As a matter of fact, it had used force to crush meetings of workers and passed laws to stop the formation of their organizations. The important French socialists were Saint-Simon, Fourier, Cabet, Louis Blanc and Proudhon. Saint-Simon stood for a co-operative State directed by scientists and engineers. His disciples established a socialist humanitarian cult near Paris and were a source of nuisance to the government during the 1830s. Fourier was in favour of the establishment of co-operative communities called Phalanxes. He had some following in France during the 1830s and 1840s. Louis Blanc was a popular agitator who demanded that the State must guarantee a living wage to all workers. To quote him, "To the able-bodied citizens the State owes work ; to the aged and infirm it owes aid and protection. This result cannot be obtained except through a democratic power. A democratic power is that which has the sovereignty of the people for its principle, universal suffrage for its origin and for its goal the realization of the formula : Liberty. Equality, Fraternity." Proudhon was a radical revolutionary. He stood for the destruction of private property and authoritarian government and the establishment of a new order on the basis of voluntary co-operation. The followers of Proudhon were small in number but they were determined to destroy rather than to construct anything. The socialist propaganda did a lot to add to the discontentment of the people.

The *Catholics* of France were not happy with the corrupt politics of Guizot who was a Huguenot. They also did not approve



of the liberal policy of the government in matters of religion. They condemned the undemocratic nature of July monarchy and demanded legislation in the interests of the working-class. The *Patriots* condemned the submissive foreign policy of Louis Philippe. They were not prepared to subordinate their foreign policy to that of England. They stood for national honour and national glory. They condemned the king for dismissing Thiers who stood for the honour of the country. Thiers became the leader of Patriots against the Guizot administration.

The Patriots were helped by the growth of the *Napoleonic Legend* during the regime of Louis Philippe. While the shortcomings of Napoleon were forgotten, his achievements were glorified. He was considered to be the personification of national glory. He was regarded as a hero and regenerator of society. Louis Philippe completed the Napoleonic Arch of Triumph which commemorated the achievements of Napoleon Bonaparte. He allowed streets to be named after the battles of Napoleon. He persuaded the British Government to allow the dead body of Napoleon to be brought from St. Helena to Paris where it was buried with great ceremony. The Napoleonic Legend also gained in popularity on account of the writings of Louis Napoleon who was the nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte. The result of the Napoleonic legend was that the government of Louis Philippe became all the more unpopular with the people who compared his achievements with those of Napoleon Bonaparte and found practically nothing.

The *Reformers* also condemned the government of Louis Philippe. That was because in spite of their moderate demands for reforms like the broadening of franchise and the eradication of corruption, Guizot and Louis Philippe refused to move in the matter and continued to follow a policy of "do nothing". They depended upon the use of the police, censorship of the press, and the banning of meetings.

In 1847, the liberal reformers began to arrange banquets in which questions of reforms were discussed and efforts were made to mobilize the public opinion. On some occasions, glasses were raised "to the amelioration of the lot of the working classes". On one occasion, Lamartine predicted the fall of monarchy. The Reformers fixed "a monster banquet" for 22nd February 1848, but the government banned the same and that precipitated matters. On the appointed day, workers and students assembled and shouted for the reforms. The Marseillaise was sung and bonfires were lighted in the streets. On 23rd February 1848, the National Guards were ordered to restore order, but instead of doing so they joined the people. The people shouted "Down with Guizot" and the king asked Guizot to resign. The affairs might not have taken a serious turn had not a detachment of soldiers guarding the residence of Guizot fired on the demonstrators and 23 of them were killed and 30 were injured. The demonstrators put the dead bodies on a wagon and displayed the same to the people of Paris in the glaring torch-lights. The result was a revolution. Barricades were put up in the streets of



Paris and placards with the following contents were fixed up in all parts of the city ; *Louis Philippe massacres us as did Charles X, let him go to join Charles X.* Louis Philippe tried to handle the situation but failed. Ultimately he abdicated in favour of his grandson, the Count of Paris, and left for England as Mr. Smith.

The manner in which the Revolution of 1848 took place has been described thus : "I had not yet completed my fourth year when one morning my mother took me out of bed, and my dear father, who had put on his National Guards' uniform, embraced me tenderly. He had on his shako, with a golden cock and a red tuft. The call to arms sounded from the street and the gallop of horses echoed from the pavement. Now and then we heard the sound of shouting, and, in the distance, of the crackle of musketry. My father went out. My mother went to the window, lifted the muslin curtains, and burst into tears. It was the revolution." (*Anatole France, Le Petit Pierre*)

It is to be observed that Louis Philippe fell because he failed to win over all the sections of the country. He merely depended upon the support of the middle class which was very small in number and which had no moral or historical right to control the government which was hated by the aristocracy and the masses. If Louis Philippe had made reforms in the social and political fields, there is every reason to believe that he would have been able to win over the support of the people, but he did not do so. He could have appealed to the patriotism of the French people by following a vigorous foreign policy, but even that was not done by him. The result was the fall of the July monarchy.

### COMPARISON OF REVOLUTIONS OF 1830 AND 1848

The Revolution of 1830 was essentially a middle-class revolution. The bourgeoisie were hit hard by the policy of Charles X and it is they who brought about the July Revolution. In 1825, an indemnification bill was passed by means of which the Emigres, whose lands had been confiscated during the French Revolution, were to be given compensation. Unfortunately, the compensation was given at the cost of the middle-class by lowering the rate of interest on the national debt from 5% to 4%. The people also resented the Sacrilege law that prescribed barbarous punishments in modern times. The character of Charles X also alienated the middle-class. He was a staunch Catholic and believed in the propagation of his faith. According to Prof. Hayes, "The principles he had and cherished were : union of the altar and throne ; revival of the institutions of the old regime, political, religious, social and intellectual, detestation of revolutionary doctrines." To quote Charles X himself, "It is only Lafayette and I who have not changed since 1789." Such a person was not fit to rule the people of France who were profoundly influenced by the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity. No wonder, there was a stiff opposition to his measures. The people was not prepared to allow the Jesuits to be in charge of education in the country. They wanted to give



secular education to their children. The censorship of the press was resented. Nothing could be published without the approval of the king. The government of Charles X raised the property qualifications of the voters and consequently the control of the middle-class over the government was lessened. The secret ballot was abolished and the double vote was given to the landed interests in France. In 1827, the National Guard was disbanded. This was resented by the middle-class because they dominated the National Guard. In short, the acts of omission and commission of Charles X resulted in the opposition of the middle-class and ultimately to his overthrow in 1830.

The Revolution of 1830 was essentially a *middle-class revolution* but that of 1848 was essentially a *socialist revolution*. The socialists played the most important part in its overthrow. The progress of the Industrial Revolution in France had led to the creation of a class-conscious proletariat. As the government refused to do any thing to improve the lot of the workers, the socialist leaders got an opportunity to exploit the situation to their advantage. The philosophy of St. Simon, Fourier, Proudhon and Louis Blanc created a stir among the workers and there was a demand for social and political reforms. The workers shouted : *Bread or lead*. As the government of Louis Philippe refused to move in the matter in spite of the protests of the people, the discontentment began to grow and ultimately led to the February Revolution.

The immediate causes of the two *revolutions* differed. In the case of 1830, the immediate cause was the issuing of four ordinances by Charles X, but in the case of 1848, the immediate cause was the banquet of 22nd February and the shooting of the demonstrators.

If the uncompromising character of Charles X was responsible for the July Revolution, the unpopularity of Louis Philippe was responsible for his overthrow. There was none to raise his finger in his defence. The dismissal of Thiers and the corrupt regime of Guizot from 1840 to 1848 alienated all sections of the people. According to Prof. Hearnshaw, "*No one had wanted him : few respected him ; only a small middle-class minority continued to support him.*"

In both cases, the people of France wanted the government to follow a vigorous foreign policy and the refusal of the government to do so was partly responsible for the failure. In the case of Charles X, Algiers was conquered in 1830 but the news of its fall did not come in time to save him. The people of France were sick of the policy of inaction followed by Louis Philippe. In his own words, he was determined "*to crush twelve Chambers rather than make war*". He directed his foreign policy more in the interests of his own family than that of his country. He did not help the people of Northern Italy or of Poland. When Thiers wanted to help Mehmet Ali against the Sultan of Turkey, Louis Philippe dismissed him and came to terms with Palmerston. Guizot consistently followed a pacific policy. His ideal was : *Preservation of peace in all places, at all times.*" Lamartine retorted that "*a stone post*



could carry out this policy." A member of the French Parliament enquired thus in 1847: "*What have they done in seven years? Nothing, nothing, nothing.*"

It is to be observed that while the July Revolution was due to the pro-Catholic policy of Charles X, the February Revolution was due to the anti-clerical policy of Guizot. The Huguenot Prime Minister showed favour to the anti-clerical university. He also gave religious toleration, but that was resented by the Catholics.

While the July Revolution put another bourgeois king on the throne, that of 1848 established a republic. In 1830, the grant of universal suffrage was promised, but in 1848 it was actually given. The Revolution of 1830 did not upset the social order and the disturbances caused by the July Revolution were short-lived. Order was restored with the placing of Louis Philippe on the throne. However, in the case of February Revolution, France had to face the bloody massacre of June 1848. The Revolution of 1830 overthrew the Divine-right monarchy, but that of 1848 uprooted the middle class limited monarchy and set up a republic which lasted for four years.

According to Prof. Hayes, "The February Revolution of 1848 was not basically different from the July Revolution of 1830. Both the revolutions were chiefly Parisian affairs, both were essentially, political and only incidentally social, both were primarily 'liberal'. One, it is true, set up a monarchy, with a restricted franchise, while the other established a republic, with universal manhood suffrage. But both recognized the principle of popular sovereignty, both employed the Tricolour and the Marseillaise, and, much more significant, both eventuated in the triumph of property-owners and the adoption of policies which reflected the wishes of property-owners."

**The Provisional Government.** After the overthrow of Louis Philippe the second Republic was proclaimed on 26th February 1848. To quote Lamartine, "Royalty is abolished. The Republic is proclaimed. The people will exercise their political rights." Again, "National workshops are opened for those who are without work." The provisional government consisted of Lamartine, for Liberal Catholic leader, Ledru Rollin, a Jacobin republican, Louis Blanc, the Socialist leader and Albert, a working man.

Lamartine regarded the republic as an end itself but Louis Blanc considered it as a means to an end. A decree drafted by Louis Blanc provided: "The provisional government engaged themselves to guarantee the existence of the workmen by means of labour. They engaged themselves to guarantee labour to every citizen." A decree of 27th February 1848 provided that "the provisional government decrees the establishment of national workshops. The Minister of Public Works is charged with the execution of the present decree."

Louis Blanc was appointed the president of a commission whose function was "to examine the claims of labour and to ensure



the well-being of the working-class." He was installed at the Palace of the Luxembourg. Louis Blanc at the Luxembourg became a serious rival to the authority of the provisional government and more than once attempt was made to supersede the provincial government and to establish a committee of public safety. The four demands of the Luxembourg Commission were a ten-hour working day, prohibition of sub-contracting, abolition of piece-work and legal minimum wage. A large number of schemes were discussed by the Luxembourg Commission but there is only one achievement which stands to the credit of the commission or its president and that was the impulse given to the idea of co-operative production. It is stated that about one hundred co-operative societies were set up by tailors, saddlers, spinners and other craftsmen.

The provisional government had to face a great danger from the violence of the Paris mob. On three occasions, viz., 17th March, 16th April, and 15th May, attempts were made to overthrow the provisional government which was suffering from internal dissensions. One group was led by Lamartine and the other by Louis Blanc and Albert.

The general elections took place on 23rd and 24th April 1848, and the National Assembly met on the 4th May 1848. It was elected on the basis of manhood suffrage but the extremists were eliminated altogether. An overwhelming majority of the elected members were Moderates. The provisional government resigned all its authority into the hands of the National Assembly and the latter elected an executive committee on which neither Louis Blanc nor Albert found a place. They were not appointed to the ministry.

The National Assembly had to tackle the problem of national workshops. It is to be noted that the provisional government had accepted the principle of national workshops on 25th February 1848, and a decree of 27th February had ordered their immediate establishment. There were no workshops as such and only a few thousand persons were given jobs. The number of those who demanded work went on increasing and the result was that the government was forced to pay without work. Not only the people of Paris demanded work but all kinds of persons from the countryside came to Paris to demand work. The number became so large that there was a serious danger to public order and the National Assembly did not know what to do. It was in these circumstances that Emile Thomas was appointed the director of the national workshops. Although Thomas could not give work to all the unemployed, yet he was able to create order out of chaos. He set up a labour exchange. He centralized the distribution of doles and gave some sort of training to the unemployed. The chances of fraud and disorder were lessened. It is stated that on 16th April 1848, the number of persons enrolled was 66,000 and before the end of May, the figure had risen to 1,20,000.

On 15th May, a mob of about one lakh of persons rushed to the National Assembly and set up a new provisional government.



However, Lamartine and Ledru-Rollin were equal to the task. With the help of the army, they were able to defeat and disperse the mob and arrest the rebel leaders. Preparations were made to deal with the menace created by the national workshops. General Cavaignac was appointed the Minister of War and a large number of troops were recruited. The government made radical changes in the national workshops. It was decreed that all workmen, who could not prove that they had resided in Paris for at least six months, were to be sent away from the capital under a passport. Task work was to be substituted for day work. Registration offices were to be opened for employers who wanted workmen. All workmen who refused to work under private employers and all unmarried workmen between the ages of 18 and 25 who refused to enlist in the army, were to be immediately dismissed from the workshops. The government tried to enforce the decrees on 22nd June 1848, and that brought forth opposition from the workers. The cry was raised: "Down with the Executive Commission." On 23rd June, there was a serious trouble in the whole of the city. Barricades were set up in the streets. General Cavaignac was put in charge of the troops to deal with the situation. From 24th and 26th June 1848, there was bitter street fighting in Paris. There was much bloodshed and about 4,000 rebels were sent to penal colonies overseas. Socialism as an organized movement was stamped out. Louis Blanc was threatened with prosecution and he escaped to England. Proudhon was imprisoned. However, by destroying socialism, the provisional government destroyed itself.

Although General Cavaignac surrendered the dictatorial powers given to him, the National Assembly elected him as the President of the Council. Till the election of the President of the Republic in December 1848, he was virtually the ruler of France. However, he was loyal to the Republic and tried to save it from the Bonapartists, Legitimists and the Communists. The national workshops were abolished. The mischievous clubs were closed down. Some journals were suppressed. The command of the National Guard was given to Changarnier.

After a lot of discussion, the National Assembly was able to frame a republican constitution in October 1848. A provision was made for a single legislative chamber consisting of 750 paid members who were to be elected by departments and colonies on the basis of universal suffrage. The voting was to be direct. It was to be dissolved after three years. Provision was also made for a Council of State to be elected by the Assembly for the drafting of bills. France was to have a President who was to be elected directly by the people on the basis of universal franchise. He was to appoint his own Ministers although the latter were to be responsible to the Legislature. Both the President and the Ministers were to be answerable to the High Court of Justice. The President was to have a suspensive veto on legislation. He was to be elected for four years and a bar was put on his re-election. M. Grévy opposed the provision with regard to the President in these words: "Are you sure that an ambitious man raised to the throne of the Presidency will not be tempted to perpetuate his power? And if



this man is a scion of one of those families which have reigned over France.....will you answer for it that this man, this man of ambition, will not end by overthrowing the Republic?" In spite of the opposition of Grevy, the French Constituent Assembly accepted the proposal and thereby gave a death blow to the Republic.

Elections were held under the new constitution and Louis Napoleon was elected the President. He got 5,434,226 votes Cavaignac got 1,448,107 and Lamartine got only 17,910. with the coming of Louis Napoleon, a new chamber started in the history of France.

**Louis Napoleon.** Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was borne in 1808 in Paris. He was the son of Louis Bonaparte, the brother of Napoleon I, and the King of Holland and of Hortense Beauharnais, daughter of Josephine from her first marriage and the step-daughter of Napoleon I. No wonder, Napoleon I inscribed his name in the family register of the Bonapartes at the time of baptism. When the Allies occupied Paris in 1814, King Frederick William of Prussia brought his children to play with the children of Hortense and that was the first meeting of Louis Napoleon and the future German Emperor. After the Battle of Waterloo, Hortense and her children took refuge in Switzerland. At the time of the Revolution of 1830, the young princes were in Rome and they joined the *Carbonari*. The elder brother of Louis Napoleon died in Italy and in July 1832 "Napoleon II", the son of Napoleon I from the Austrian Princess, also died. After that, Louis Napoleon was considered to be the heir to the claims of the Bonapartists.

In 1836, Louis Napoleon asserted his claim for the first time. He appeared at Strasburg, which was garrisoned by the most strongly Bonapartist regiment in the French army and asked them to help him to re-establish the Napoleonic empire. However, he was arrested in less than three hours but instead of taking action against him, Louis Philippe merely sent him to the United States. In 1840, he landed at Boulogne and declared that the bones of Napoleon I should rest only in a "regenerated France". However, he was arrested, sentenced and shut up in the fortress of Ham. Even in prison, Louis Napoleon continued his agitation. By 1839 he had written a book called *Napoleonic Ideas* in which he pounded his own political views. According to him, "The Napoleonic empire was the perfect realization of the principles of 1789. It rested upon the foundations of national sovereignty. It employed the universal manhood suffrage to determine its chief policy. In the field of foreign affairs, it aimed at a confederation of the national states. It was solidified, directed and rendered glorious by its Caesarism." While still in prison he wrote in 1841 *Fragments Historiques* to refute the parallel drawn by Guizot between the English Revolution of 1688 and the July Revolution of 1830 in France. In 1844, he wrote *The Extension of Pauperism* in which he put forward a plan for the relief of unemployment, and the material prosperity of France. He maintained that it would be his business to assist capitalists opening up new fields of industrial enterprise,



and to help peasants by encouraging agriculture. Everybody was to be provided under the national democratic empire and poverty was to disappear altogether. To quote him, "The triumph of Christianity abolished slavery; the triumph of the French Revolution abolished serfdom; the triumph of democracy will abolish Pauperism." In 1845, he wrote *History of Artillery*. In May 1846, Louis Napoleon managed to escape from fortress of Ham and reached England where he stayed for two years.

When there was a revolution in France in February 1848, Louis Napoleon went to Paris and offered his sword and services to the second Republic. However, both of them were rejected and he was ordered to leave France within 24 hours. When the elections to the National Assembly took place in April 1848, he did not stand for election. However, his supporters carried on propaganda in his favour continuously. When by-elections took place in June 1848, he was elected in his absence from four departments. Louis Napoleon wrote thus to the National Assembly from London: "My name is the symbol of order, nationality and glory and it would be a great grief to me to see that it is used to increase the troubles which are rending our country." However, he added, "Should the people impose duties on me, I should know how to fulfil them." The National Assembly was upset but Louis Napoleon resigned his seat and the matter ended there. During the bloody days of June 1848, Napoleon was away from the scene and consequently his name was not associated with the massacres. In September, he was re-elected from five constituencies and he took his seat in the National Assembly on 26th September 1848. When the elections for the Presidency took place in December 1848, he was elected by a thundering majority.

**Napoleon as President (1848-52).** As the President of the Second Republic of France from 1848 to 1852, Louis Napoleon followed a policy which aimed at adding to his personal popularity with the people of France. He praised the workers in the factories. He prevailed upon the Assembly to pass in 1850 a law which provided for a scheme of voluntary old age insurance. He tried to please the Catholics and the bourgeoisie. He also tried to encourage the industries of France. A French military expedition was sent to Rome in 1849 to restore the Pope. The Falloux Law of 1850 restored the privileges which the Catholic clergymen exercised in the time of Charles X over the education of French children.

The Assembly which was elected in 1849 had only a handful of Bonapartists. Out of 750 members, 500 were Monarchists. The Republicans were in a minority. There was no party as such in the Assembly and that proved to be advantageous to Louis Napoleon. By following a reactionary policy, the Assembly played into his hands. Public meetings were prohibited and censorship was imposed on the press. Members of the Assembly were to be paid. A law was passed in 1850 by which no one was allowed to vote who had not lived and paid taxes for three years in one and the same district. The result of this law was that the workers who had to move from



one place to another in search of employment, were disfranchised completely. Out of the total of 9 million voters, 3 million were removed by the law. Against this there were protests from the cities particularly from Paris. Louis Napoleon took advantage of this position and declared that as the elected representative of the people, he was entitled to prevent the Assembly from disfranchising Frenchmen. The conflict between the President and the Assembly continued for more than a year. When the Assembly declared open war upon him, he dismissed General Changarnier, who was the Commander of the National Guard and the Paris Garrison in January 1851. The dismissal of Changarnier precipitated a crisis. The prestige of the Republic was sinking in the country and that of Napoleon was increasing. There were many persons in France who started thinking in terms of setting up a monarchy or a dictatorship. To quote one, "If there could be anything absolutely new under the sun, it would be the spectacle which France offers to the world today. It is filled with Monarchists who cannot establish a monarchy and who groan under the weight of a Republic which has no Republicans to defend it. In the midst of this confusion only two personages remain standing, Louis Napoleon and the Mountain, two things only are possible, a new revolution or a dictatorship. It is evident to me that force must bring about a solution."

The Assembly passed a vote of no-confidence against the Ministry and forced it to resign. However, the President refused to appoint another. Instead, he reappointed the Ministry which had been censured by the Assembly. The Assembly refused to increase the allowances of the President. A revision of the Constitution was proposed and carried by a large majority but the majority was not such as was required by law to amend the Constitution. However, as time passed, the demand for the amendment of the Constitution began to increase.

In November 1851, he gave to the Assembly an ultimatum that it must re-establish universal suffrage at once and when the Assembly refused to do so, the President decided to act. His secret was shared by Saint Arnaud, Maupas, Morny, Persigny, Flahaut and Mocquard. On the midnight of December 1-2, 1852, the opponents of the government were arrested in their beds and when the people of Paris woke up in the morning, they found the walls of the city covered with placards which contained two proclamations addressed to the people and the army and the decree. The decree declared that the Assembly was dissolved, universal suffrage was restored and a promise was made that the people should be given an opportunity to express by plebiscite their approval or disapproval. Troops were posted at all the important points and all opposition was put down. The *coup d'etat* of 1851 was a success. There was no serious disorder in the country and the people seemed to have submitted. With popular leaders like Thiers, Cavaignac and Changarnier out of the picture, the plebiscite took place on 20th December 1851, and the President was empowered to prepare a new Constitution for the Second Republic.



**New Constitution (1852).** On 14th January 1852, the President promulgated a new Constitution. The life of the President was extended to ten years. He was given the power of sanctioning all laws and decrees. The Ministers were to be responsible to him alone. A Council of State was to be nominated by him and it was to draft laws on the initiative of the President. The Legislature was to consist of two Houses. The Senate was to consist of the Marshals, Admirals and Cardinals *ex-officio*, and 150 other members nominated by the President. The *Corps Legislatif* was to consist of 261 members. The *Corps Legislatif* was given the power of veto but it was not to have the power to initiate or amend legislative projects. The new Constitution was commended, to the people as "the only Constitution adapted to the social and administrative institutions of modern France and calculated to secure the liberties of France and the maintenance of Napoleonic principles." Universal manhood suffrage was also provided.

During the year 1852, France was on the way to empire. Although nominally Louis Napoleon was the President, he put his own effigy on the national coins. He restored to the army and national buildings the gilt eagles. He made a tour of the country and made speeches with a view to winning over all sections of the people. In November 1852, a plebiscite was held by which the people approved the transformation of the Presidency into an hereditary empire. On 2nd December 1852, Louis Napoleon was proclaimed emperor as Napoleon III. He ruled France as emperor from 1852 to 1870.

**Napoleon III as Emperor (1852-70).** The two aspects of the reign of Napoleon III are his home policy and foreign policy.

He had already outlined his programme in his Bordeaux address of October 1852. He said, "There is a fear to which I ought to reply. *In a spirit of suspicion some people say: the Empire is war. I say, the Empire is peace.....* yet I confess that I, like the Emperor, have many conquests to make. I wish, like him to conquer, the irreconcilable warring factions and to turn back again into the great popular river the angry side-currents which are likely to lose themselves without profit to anybody. I wish to conquer to religion, to morality, to prosperity, that part of the population still so large, which in the midst of a country of faith and belief, are scarcely acquainted with the precepts of Christ, which, in



Napoleon III



the bosom of the most fertile country in the world, can scarcely procure for themselves the bare necessities of life. We have immense tracts of waste lands to bring into cultivation, roads to open, harbours to deepen, canals to complete, rivers to render navigable, a network of railways to link up. Facing us, opposite Marseilles, we have a vast realm to assimilate to France. We have all our great ports of the West to bring near to France by developing the rapid means of communication which are still lacking. On all sides we have ruins to restore, false gods to overthrow, truths to make triumphant. This is how I should understand the Empire, if the Empire is, indeed to be restored. Such are the Conquests I contemplate, and all you who surround me, who desire, like myself, the welfare of our country, you are my soldiers."

**Home Policy.** Napoleon III tried to fulfil the promises made to the people. The forces of anarchy were suppressed. Social order was restored. Industry was encouraged. Means of communication were improved. Roads, canals and harbours were constructed. The railway system of France was completed from north to south and from west to east. Credit was provided for agriculture, industry and commerce. Two great central banks known as the *Credit Foncier* and the *Credit Mobilier* were established. Land banks were set up in Paris and in the provinces. The improvement of the means of transport added to the prosperity of the peasants. The government took keen interest in the vineyards and wheat fields of the peasants. The number of agricultural societies was increased. Encouragement was given to the breeding of horses. Marshes were drained and land was brought under cultivation.

Paris was rebuilt and made more spacious, more sanitary, more splendid, and more defensible. Broad boulevards and magnificent public buildings were constructed in Paris. Under the supervision of Baron Haussmann, an attempt was made to make Paris the most beautiful and most attractive city in the world.

Napoleon III tried to impress upon the workers that he was one of them. He went about in engine cabs with locomotive engineers. He talked on the roads with artisans and labourers. He drank to the health of the masons, carpenters and plumbers. Subsidies were given to their organisations. Subsidies were given to the innkeepers to guarantee cheap bread to the labourers. Holidays were given to them. Schemes were promoted for the provision of dwellings to the workers, and their insurance against accidents and old age. Labour associations were legalized. A law of 1863 allowed the labourers to form co-operative societies for collective buying and selling. The right of the workers to strike was recognized by a law of 1864. A few of 1808 provided for the voluntary insurance of the workers against death and industrial accidents.

The government followed a liberal policy in the industrial field. The control of the government over private business was gradually lessened. Facilities were provided for the introduction of machinery and the organisation of industrial corporations.



Savings banks were established. Tariffs were gradually lowered. In 1860, France entered into a commercial treaty with England by which trade between the two countries was facilitated. In 1855, a Grand International Exhibition was held in Paris and its object was to impress the people with the material progress and prosperity of the country.

Napoleon III consistently followed a policy of keeping the Catholics in good humour. In 1849, he sent the French troops to Rome to restore the Pope. He strengthened the hold of the clergymen upon the universities and public schools in France. One of the reasons why Napoleon stopped in the middle of his Italian campaign in 1859 was the fear of the opposition of the Catholics of France. The Empress Eugenie gave a lot of charity to the Catholic Church. Napoleon III intervened in the Crimean War to support the cause of the Catholic monks in Palestine. He posed as the champion of Catholicism in the world.

However, it is to be observed that at least up to 1860 Napoleon III was practically a dictator of France. He exercised all control in the country. The press was rigorously controlled. The secret police were employed to watch and check the activities of the people. He controlled the legislature by paying the expenses of the 'official candidates' from the national exchequer while the other candidates had to meet their own expenses. The electoral machinery was practically in the hands of the emperor. An Act of 1858 provided that every candidate was to take an oath of fidelity to the emperor. Another law of the same year allowed the government to intern political offenders in France or Algeria or to exile them without any formality of a trial.

This state of affairs continued up to 1860 when the Constitution was revised and the government was liberalized. The Senate and the Legislative Body were allowed to debate and vote an annual address in reply to the speech from the throne. Verbatim reports of parliamentary debates were to be published. The executive was required to keep the legislature informed of its activities.

In spite of these concessions, the Republicans swept Paris in the general elections of 1863. Jules Simon, Thiers, Ferry and Gambetta were returned. Although the government got a majority on account of the influence of the prefects, the opposition was strong enough to give headache to Napoleon III.

In 1866, Ollivier founded a party to support the idea of a liberal empire. In 1867, the emperor announced "the crowning of the edifice created by the will of the nation." The press censorship was relaxed. A limited right of public meetings was allowed. The Ministers were to sit in the Legislature to answer questions and take part in the debates.

After the general elections of 1869, Ollivier was asked to form the Ministry. The new Ministry was liberal in complexion and responsible to Parliament. The Legislature was given complete freedom of debate, to control public finance and legislate without



any restriction. To quote Ollivier, it was "the most truly liberal Constitution which France has enjoyed since 1789."

In his speech from the throne on 29th November 1869, Napoleon III referred to the attacks on the empire and pointed out to the solidarity of the French empire which was based on universal suffrage. He declared that France "evidently desires liberty but liberty united with order." "I will answer for order; assist me, gentlemen, to save liberty." The emperor outlined a further programme of reforms. Authority was to be decentralized. Mayors were to be selected from the councils of the communes. The councils were to be elected by the people. Cantons were also to have their councils too. Free primary education was to be improved. Child labour in factories was to be regulated. Savings banks were to be set up on the countryside for the good of the people. These reforms were submitted to the people and were approved of by them by a great majority. However, Napoleon III was defeated in the Battle of Sedan in 1870 and surrendered. That led to the abolition of the second empire and the proclamation of the Third Republic in France in September 1870.

**Foreign Policy of Napoleon III.** Both as the President of the French Republic and Emperor of France, Louis Napoleon professed to stand for peace, but actually he followed a vigorous foreign policy which involved France in many wars. His aggressive foreign policy was due to many causes. Louis Napoleon was a nationalist and he sympathised with the people of Italy, Germany and Poland who were fighting for their freedom and unification. It was his nationalism which attracted the French masses to him. It was the name of Napoleon that was responsible for his election as President in 1848 and also his popularity later on. He could justify that name only by following in the footsteps of his uncle which meant war. Napoleon also felt that he could carry with him all the people of France by following a vigorous foreign policy as the people of France yearned for glory. He was also the centre of intrigues and the object of constant appeals for active help to the oppressed nationalities of Europe. The Patriots of Europe looked up to him for assistance. Napoleon himself hoped to get compensation in the form of territories and thereby add to the national pride and prestige.

In the colonial field, Napoleon annexed the whole of Algeria to France and it became a great prosperous dependency. He joined hands with England in a military demonstration against China and many Chinese ports were opened for trade to the Europeans. In 1851, he sent punitive expeditions to Annam and Cochin-China. In 1863, he established a French protectorate over Cambodia.

**Rome.** In 1849, Louis Napoleon sent French troops to Rome to overthrow the republican regime and thereby restore the Pope. The republic was defeated and the Pope was restored. The French troops remained in Rome from 1849 to 1870. He intervened in Rome with the object of winning over the goodwill of the Catholics



of France who wanted the Pope to be restored to his former position.

**Crimean War.** Napoleon III intervened in the Crimean War in 1854. The relations between Napoleon and Czar Nicholas I were very bitter. The Czar considered Napoleon III as an upstart and Napoleon III would like to have revenge for the French humiliation of 1812. Bussinessmen, Liberals and Catholics of France hated Russia on various grounds. There arose certain quarrels between the Catholic and Orthodox monks in Palestine. Czar Nicholas I asked Turkey to recognise the right of Russia to protect the Christians of the Turkish empire. Napoleon III asked the Sultan to resist the Russian "aggression". The Sultan of Turkey did as he was asked to do and war was declared between Turkey and Russia. Both France and England joined hands to preserve the territorial integrity of the Turkish empire. Both the French and the English did not do well in the beginning and their troops suffered terribly. However, things changed for the better after the death of Nicholas I and on Palmerston's becoming Prime Minister of England in 1855. Russia was defeated and peace was made by the Treaty of Paris of 1856. Napoleon satisfied his vanity by presiding over the Congress of Paris. That also raised his prestige.

**Italy.** Napoleon interfered in the affairs of Italy to help the cause of the unification of the country. He himself had been in his youth a member of the Carbonari which was a secret society working for the expulsion of Austria from Italy and a unification of the country. The Bonapartes had Italian blood in their veins. A war with Austria for Italian unification was likely to be popular with the Liberals of France. There was also the possibility of Napoleon getting some compensation. In spite of these factors, Napoleon hesitated to intervene in Italy. He felt that a war with Austria was a risky affair on account of the strength of Austria and her prestige in Italy. A united Italy might become a serious rival of France in the Mediterranean. The Catholics of France were bound to oppose French intervention to help Italian unification on account of the peculiar position of the Pope in Italy. No wonder Napoleon ended when an attempt was made on his life in 1858 by Orsini, an Italian patriot. Napoleon decided to remove the grievances of the French. He decided to risk to the reproaches of the Pope and the French Catholics.

It was agreed between Napoleon III and Cavour at *Plombieres* in 1858 that Napoleon III was to help Piedmont to drive out the Austrians from Lombardy and Venetia. He was to get Nice and Savoy as his reward. In April 1859, the Austrian Government gave an ultimatum to Sardinia demanding immediate demobilization. As that was refused, Austria declared war against Sardinia-Piedmont. As Austria was the aggressor, Napoleon III came to the help of Sardinia-Piedmont and their combined armies won the battles of Magenta and Solferino. After the battle of Solferino, Napoleon III



stopped the war all of a sudden and made an armistice with Austria which was ratified by the Treaty of Zurich. When the Austrian troops evacuated Lombardy according to the Treaty of Zurich, the people of Parma, Modena and Tuscany revolted and turned out their kings. They also voted their union with Sardinia-Piedmont. By the Treaty of Turin, Napoleon III recognized the annexation of Tuscany, Parma, Modena and Lombardy by Piedmont and he himself got Nice and Savoy.

According to Taylor, "The annexation of Savoy was a turning point in the history of the second empire. Until then it had been plausible to argue that Napoleon was seeking glory by liberating others, not by the direct aggrandizement of France; now he had taken up the revolutionary policy of the natural frontiers, which seemed to lead directly to a French hegemony of Europe. The British Government could not oppose by war a course of events that was helping on the unification of Italy; but they never recovered the faith in Napoleon III which they lost in March 1860." (*The Struggle for Mastery in Europe*, p. 118).

Although Napoleon III got Nice and Savoy, he was not a gainer on the whole. Russia was already an enemy and he added Austria to that list. The nationalists of Italy did not forgive him on account of the betrayal of their cause at the most crucial stage. Great Britain began to suspect the designs of Napoleon III. Napoleon III found himself isolated and earned for himself a reputation for dishonesty. The Italian intervention split up the Nationalist Party of France. The French Catholics blamed Napoleon for going too far and the French Liberals condemned him for not going far enough. The differences between the two began to widen and Napoleon III failed to keep them together. He had to liberalize his government in 1860 to win over the Liberals.

Many reasons have been given for the sudden stoppage of war by Napoleon III after his victory at Solferino. It is pointed out that Napoleon III was a coward at heart and he could not tolerate the sight of bloodshed which he saw at Solferino. He was also suffering from kidney trouble and his health could not stand further strain. He also felt that if the whole of Italy became one, there would be no place for the Pope in Italy and he had not bargained for such an eventuality. If he had allowed the Pope to be driven out by the Italian nationalists, he would have found himself in a difficult position on account of the Catholic criticism in France. The Austrian armies were firmly established in Venetia and there was every possibility of the French troops being defeated there. There was also the possibility of a danger from Prussia which was mobilizing her forces along the Rhine river.

**Rumania.** Napoleon III gained some prestige by championing the cause of Rumania. In 1856, Moldavia and Wallachia were given autonomy in their affairs. Two years after, Napoleon secured for them the right to have their own Princes and Parliaments. Three years later, he prevailed upon the Powers to allow



the two provinces to be united under one Prince. In this way, he helped the cause of Rumanian unification.

**The Poles.** Napoleon III had the united support of the French people to help the Poles in their efforts to liberate themselves from the subjection of Russia. The Liberals of France stood for Polish independence. The French Catholics wanted Napoleon to help the Poles because the Poles were Catholics. However, when the Poles actually revolted in 1863, Napoleon III did not help them because he was afraid that Prussia and Austria would help Russia and in that case a war with Russia was bound to be suicidal for France. The result was that the Poles were ruthlessly crushed and consequently both the liberals and Catholics of France were disappointed.

**Mexico.** When the Government of Mexico repudiated the public debts of the country, France, England and Spain decided to interfere to enforce their rights. While the other two Powers did not resort to any military action and tried to manage the situation in one way or the other. Napoleon sent in 1862 an army of 30,000 French troops to Mexico. His intention was to establish a great Catholic and Latin empire in Mexico. He hoped to please the Catholics of France by giving them an opportunity to convert the people of Mexico. The French patriots were to get glory and businessmen were to get raw materials and markets. In 1864, Napoleon III made Maximilian, brother of the Austrian emperor, the emperor of Mexico. However, the U.S.A. kept quiet so long as the civil war was going on in their country. But as soon as the war was over, the American Government applied the Monroe Doctrine and asked France to quit Mexico. Napoleon III was forced to evacuate his troops in 1867. Maximilian delayed matters and consequently was shot dead. The Mexican enterprise proved to be an utter failure. It acted like a boomerang against Napoleon III. The death of Maximilian alienated Austria. On account of the absence of French troops in Mexico, Napoleon III could not intervene effectively in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.

According to Hazen, "A most expensive enterprise for the French emperor, it had prevented his playing a part in decisive events occurring in Central Europe in 1864-66, in the Danish war, and the Austro-Prussian war, the outcome of which was to alter so seriously the importance of France in Europe by the exaltation of an ambitious, aggressive, and powerful military State, Prussia. It had damaged him morally before Europe by the desertion of his proteges to an appalling fate before the threats of the United States. It had lessened his prestige at home."

**Austro-Prussian War (1866)** There was a war between Austria and Prussia in 1866 which lasted for only seven weeks. The Austrian forces were defeated in the Battle of Sadowa and Austria made peace with Prussia. The rapidity and completeness of the Prussian victory upset all the calculations of Napoleon III. His expectation was that a war between Austria and Prussia would be a long one and he would be in a position to intervene effectively in



the war. Napoleon III also thought that Prussia would be defeated and Germany would become hopelessly weak. However, the Austrian defeat at Sadowa completely upset everything. It was the traditional policy of France to keep Germany divided and weak, but the victory of Prussia and the unification of Germany created a great danger for France. The military success of Prussia was considered to be a challenge to France and even a threat to her security. It was rightly pointed out that *it was France that was defeated at Sadowa*. Napoleon III would like to have revenge for his diplomatic defeat. War between France and Prussia became inevitable.

**Franco-Prussian War (1870-71).** In 1865, Napoleon III had an interview with Bismarck at Biarritz. On that occasion, Bismarck gave an undertaking to Napoleon III that the latter could have compensation towards the Rhine—perhaps Belgium or Rhineland. After the war of 1866, Napoleon III tried to get compensation for France. He asked for Belgium but in vain. He also failed to get the Rhinish Palatinate. Then he tried to buy Luxemburg. The King of Holland was willing to sell, but Bismarck objected. As Napoleon III was not prepared for war, the matter had to be referred to a conference of the powers who had signed the treaties of 1815. The settlement was made at London in 1867 and Luxemburg was made an independent State, neutralised and guaranteed by all the Great Powers. Anyhow, Napoleon failed to get Luxemburg also.

The people of France were getting fed up with the policies of Napoleon III. After 1867, many Frenchmen began to think in terms of restoring the Bourbons or the Orleanists. Many middle-class liberals including businessmen and professional men, began to think of setting up a republic in France. The growth of the royalist and republican tendencies in France must have weakened the position of Napoleon III. The parliamentary elections of 1869 returned 50 royalists and 40 republicans. Napoleon III felt that concession must be given to maintain his position. Consequently, he reduced the rigour of press censorship. He promised to give up the practice of paying the election expenses of official candidates for the legislature. The ministers were to be responsible to the legislature and not to the emperor. He appointed Olivier, a liberal royalist, as his prime minister. A new liberal constitution was drafted for the second empire in 1870. It contained all the concessions given by Napoleon III in 1869. In addition to that, provision was made for a second chamber which was not to be under the influence of the emperor. These reforms might have conciliated partially the liberal royalists, but they did not satisfy the legitimists or the republicans.

In France, there was a lot of anti-Prussian feeling. The liberals of France detested Prussia as a reactionary State. The Catholics of France disliked Prussia as an intolerant Protestant State. The patriots of France hated Prussia because that was a source of danger to their country. The French would like to have revenge for the



diplomatic defeat of 1866. Undoubtedly, a war against Prussia would have been popular. However, Napoleon III had no stomach for a war with Prussia. He was already broken in health. Russia had not forgotten the part which France had played in the Crimean War against her and no wonder she was pro-Prussian and anti-French. The Emperor of Austria also had not forgotten the humiliation in Italy at the hands of Napoleon III. The people of Italy had no love for France as Napoleon III had betrayed them at the most crucial stage in their war of liberation. The stationing of French troops in Rome annoyed the Italian patriots as without Rome unification of their country could not be completed. The British statesmen and public opinion suspected the designs of Napoleon III. The southern States of Germany had been won over by Bismarck by a policy of conciliation. No wonder, Napoleon III felt that under the circumstances, a war with Prussia was suicidal. In spite of it, Napoleon III decided to fight against Prussia because there was no other alternative. In the event of a war, there was every possibility of combining all the Frenchmen and also gain some prestige.

Bismarck also believed that a war with France was inevitable because unification of Germany could be completed only after the defeat of France. No wonder, he worked for such a war day and night. A stage came when he was ready to give a blow to France. All that was wanted was an excuse to start the war and that was given by the question of the Spanish Succession. The Spanish throne had already been offered twice to Leopold, a Hohenzollern prince related to the royal family of Prussia, but had been rejected. On the intervention of Bismarck, the throne was once again offered to Prince Leopold and Bismarck tried to make the best of the new invitation. There was a lot of criticism in France of new move which was described as a threat to the very existence of France which was between Spain and Prussia. Napoleon III sent protests to Prussia and Spain and it was announced in Spain that the prince had cancelled his acceptance of the throne. The matter might have ended there, but the French emperor was pressed by his advisers to utilize the occasion to administer an open diplomatic defeat to Prussia. The French ambassador in Berlin Benedetti, was instructed to obtain from the king of Prussia a solemn public promise that he would never allow a Hohenzollern to become a candidate for the throne of Spain. The interview of Benedetti with the Prussian king at Ems was indecisive. It is stated that Benedetti got instructions from France "to obtain from the king revocation of the acceptance of the prince of Hohenzollern...otherwise it is war." William I, the Prussian king was friendly, reasonable and favourable to a peaceful solution. Benedetti got urgent messages to demand a definite and speedy answer. William I wired to Spain and France that the acceptance had been withdrawn but Gramont and the French military party who stood for war, were not satisfied. A draft letter of apology to be got from the Prussian king was also forwarded to the French ambassador. Benedetti pressed for pledges that the throne would never be offered again and the king of Prussia put an end to the interview.



Bismarck was not happy at the prospects of peace on account of the withdrawal of the acceptance of the Spanish throne. However, he got an opportunity when he got the Ems telegram regarding the interview between Benedetti and the Prussian king. He decided to publish the telegram in a shortened form to the press. To quote Bismarck; "*If I do this, it will have the effect of red rag upon the Gallic bull.*" Bismarck, Roon and Moltke were happy at the prospect of war. To quote Roon, "*Our God of old lives still, and will not let us perish in disgrace.*" To quote Moltke, "*If I may live to lead our army in such a war, then the devil may come directly afterward and fetch away the old carcass.*" The telegram was shortened in such a way that to the French it appeared that their ambassador had been insulted and to the Prussians appeared that their king had been insulted.

As regards France, there was a general demand for a war against Prussia. Three Cabinet meetings were held to decide the issue of war or peace. Gramont insisted that, "if you mention a Congress again, I shall throw my resignation at your feet." The result was that France declared war against Prussia. To quote Gramont, "*Guarantees we cannot bring you, but we bring you war.*"

The war was welcomed in both the countries. France was considered to be the aggressor. The southern States of Germany joined Prussia against France. Everywhere in Germany, the songs of the war of liberation were revived and united Germany marched to the front to the strains of *Die Wacht Am Rhein*. While the Germans shouted "*Nach Paris!*" the Parisians cried out "*A Berlin!*" The Marseillaise was sung again. Marshal Le Boeuf proclaimed "that the soldiers of Jena are ready to the last gaiterbutton." However, the French troops had not even the most necessary articles. They had no artillery or baggage, ambulance or magazines. Their training was deficient. Their officers were inefficient and insufficient. Railway accommodation was inadequate and intelligence service was poor. The French had more maps of Germany which they were going to invade than those of France which they were forced to defend. France did not get help from any quarter. Bismarck had already won over Russia by allowing that country to violate the Black Sea clauses of the Treaty of Paris of 1856. Italy was friendly towards Prussia because the latter had helped her to get Venetia in 1866 and Italy also expected to occupy Rome only if France was defeated in the war. Great Britain under Gladstone followed a policy of neutrality.

The Germans started the offensive and defeated the French in the *Battles of Weissenburg, Spicheren, Worth, Gravelotte and Sedan*. The victory of Sedan was a decisive one and after that the French army surrendered and Napoleon III was made a prisoner. This led to the fall of the second empire in France and the proclamation of the Third Republic in September 1870. Bismarck was not satisfied with this and he pressed on to Paris which put up a stiff resistance but after a long siege the city surrendered. The war was ended by the Treaty of Frankfurt of 1871.



It is clear from the above that the foreign policy of Napoleon III, after a striking beginning, proved to be an utter failure. Success was essential to keep hold over France after 1860 and success evaded him. He could not out-manoeuver the enemy, nor hold firm the ally. Neither the Danish nor the Polish nor the Austrian Question brought him credit. The attempt to find a Latin Catholic Empire in Mexico, in which he wasted good years of the sixties while Prussia was going strong, ended in disastrous failure. The strong Anglo-French Alliance of the Crimean War dwindled away by 1864. The *rapprochement* with Russia which Napoleon III cultivated after the Congress of Paris was destroyed by sympathies with the Polish revolt of 1863. When Bismarck performed a service, he secured a friend. Napoleon III gave great gifts to Italy, but forfeited her gratitude. The annexation of Savoy wiped out Magenta. The support of the Papacy lost to him the alliance of Piedmont-Sardinia. In 1866, he alienated Prussia without winning Austria to his side. However, his policy was not as self-seeking as of many other statesmen of Europe of his time. He stood for international peace. He sympathised with national aspirations although those were accompanied by an innkeeper's bill. He puzzled rather than guided Europe and consequently was neither understood nor trusted. His policy was inconsistent and unreliable. To quote him, "I never form distant plans; I am governed by the exigencies of the moment." It has rightly been said that "*Napoleon le Petit*" had not the genius of "*Napoleon le Grand*".

According to Seaman, "One of the most interesting exercises in what might be termed comparative biography is to study the similarities and dissimilarities between Louis Napoleon and Adolf Hitler. In many respects their careers run on parallel lines and a study of it either helps to illuminate one's understanding of the other. They rose to power in a remarkably similar defiance of the laws of probability. They performed the same function of first restoring and then destroying the power of the countries of their adoption, and each destroyed the international foundation on which the Europe of their time was built. In lesser things as in important ones, they are strangely alike. Both were strangers to the people they chose to lead. Hitler spoke German with an Austrian accent, Louis Napoleon spoke French with a German accent. Each had his abortive *putsch* and consequent imprisonment. Strasbourg and Boulogne were to Louis Napoleon what the Munich rising of 1923 was to Hitler. And if Landsberg meant much less to Hitler than Ham did to Louis Napoleon. *The Extinction of Pauperism* combined with the Memoirs of the first Napoleon bore much the same relation to the origins of the second empire as *Mein Kampf* did to the rise of the Third Reich. They were both essentially seedy characters and proclaimed it their looks. Hitler's unkempt hair and his belted raincoat produced an inescapable effect of back-street vulgarity, and nothing can prevent Louis Napoleon from looking, in some of the less flattering photographs of him, like a shady Italian waiter recently dismissed from service in a fourth rate hotel. And if the eyes of Louis Napoleon were rarely visible and those of Hitler inescapable, Louis Napoleon's eyes seem while remaining half-shut,



to have hypnotized the men of his generation almost as effectively as did those of Hitler which were almost always wide open.

"Both had a gang. Both manoeuvred into power with the connivance of politicians who under-estimated their abilities. Both sought to divert the gaze of the masses from politics by a concentration on material prosperity and by a calculated encouragement of public pageantry. The early propaganda of both reveals an adroit use of the device of stealing the slogans of the rival political forces of their day and pretending that they had found the secret of reconciling what the politicians had made irreconcilable. Thus, Hitler stole the nationalist label from his dupes and the socialist label from his enemies and persuaded both sides he was their ally. Louis Napoleon likewise offered France both 'democracy' and 'order', both social welfare and social discipline. He came promising universal suffrage to the masses, imperial glory to the army, Catholic liberties to the clericals, and an open field for profitable investment to the businessmen; just as Hitler simultaneously claimed to be liberating Germany from the monopolistic multiple stores while making it safe for the Ruhr industrialists. Finally one might observe that it was for not dissimilar reasons that the one built boulevards and railways and the other built autobahnen.

"Yet there is an essential difference between Louis Napoleon and most other dictators and usurpers, Hitler included, which if clearly understood, provides the key to his character. Most men of this sort combine great ruthlessness with a daemonic possession. This was not true of Louis Napoleon. He had none of that fire in the belly that makes a man of action such as Napoleon I or Hitler, or even a Mussolini. He had neither drive nor organising ability, nor the gift of steady application to routine administration such as characterised his uncle, or Frederick the Great, or Louis XIV; and his lack of the ability to come to a clear-cut decision about anything is the most pronounced feature of his character. Whenever decision was at last grudgingly and uncertainly wrung from him he could only with difficulty be persuaded from going back on it. The *coup d'état*, the entry into the Crimean War and into the Italian war, the decision to take no action in 1866, and to take action in 1870—he regretted them all as soon as they were made, and endeavoured to go back on all of them, except for the decision of 1870, which proved fatal."

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- |                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
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| Fisher, H.A.L.      | : <i>Bonapartism</i> .  |
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| Forbes, A.          | : <i>A Life of Napoleon, the Third</i> .                      |
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## CHAPTER XIV

### INDEPENDENCE OF BELGIUM

**Union of Holland and Belgium.** In the time of Charles V (1519-55) the Netherlands consisting of 17 provinces was under Spain. However, there was a revolt in the time of Philip II (1555-98) of Spain, and ultimately the seven northern provinces won their independence and came to be known as the United Provinces of Holland and the rest of the 10 provinces remained a part of Spain. The Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 which ended the War of Spanish Succession gave the 10 provinces of Belgium to Austria and the same came to be known as the Austrian Netherlands. During the French Revolutionary War, the Austrian Netherlands were conquered by the French and they remained a part of France for 20 years. Holland was conquered by France and for many years continued to be a part of France.

After the fall of Napoleon in 1814, the ruler of Holland was restored and he gave a new constitution to the people. The Congress of Vienna decided to set up a strong barrier State on the north-east of France and consequently united the Austrian Netherlands of Belgium with Holland.

**Difficulties.** It was the realisation of Pitt's most cherished schemes. However, the statesmen assembled at Vienna ignored certain realities. National and religious differences separated the two halves. For centuries, the two parts had been separated and consequently there was not much in common between the two countries. The people of Holland were Protestants and those of Belgium Catholics. They also differed in the matter of language. The French language was not only the language of the literature of the Belgians, but also the spoken language of the upper classes. Though the Flemish portion of the population was related to the Dutch, Dutch element had not developed itself with distinctness.

According to Prof. Fyffe, the antagonism between Belgium and Holland, though not insuperable, was sufficiently great to make a harmonious union between the two countries a work of great difficulty and the government at the Hague did not take the right course to conciliate its opponents. A commission was appointed to draw up a constitution for the United Kingdom and in spite of the protests of the people of Belgium, both Holland and Belgium were given equal representation in the States-General unmindful of the fact that the population of the Belgium was much more than that of Holland. Although the people of Belgium rejected the constitution, yet the same was enforced. During the next 15 years, the people of Belgium were excluded from official posts which, in most cases, were given to the people of Holland. No wonder, these foreigners were



not welcomed in Belgium. The States-General invariably met in the Dutch territory and never in Belgium. This also was considered to be a grievance. The Dutch language was made the official language for the whole kingdom and this was resented by the people of Belgium. The financial policy of the Dutch government was considered to be unjust to the people of Belgium. Taxes which the people of Belgium disliked were imposed but resisted. Heavy punishments were inflicted on journalists found guilty of seditious writings. The debt burden of the two countries was not equal and Holland was more in the debt than Belgium. As taxation to meet the debt charges was levied uniformly over the United Kingdom the people of Belgium protested. The imposition of new taxes on flour and meat in 1821 added to the trouble. The religious differences separated the two parts completely. At the time of the union, the Catholic bishops of Belgium protested against the grant of religious toleration to the Protestants. The Church in Belgium was determined to retain its control over education, but the government tried to transfer the same into secular hands. The one really irreconcilable enemy of Holland was the Church in Belgium. The Clerical Party in Belgium made an alliance with the political opposition to drive out the Dutch from Belgium.

**Revolt.** For some months before the July Revolution of France in 1830, the antagonism between the Belgians and their government was so violent that no great shock from outside was necessary to produce an outbreak. The July Revolution gave the necessary spark. The performance of a revolutionary opera gave the signal for the beginning of the revolt. The revolt was deliberately planned by Polignac and stirred up by foreign agitators, most of whom were French. The French felt sympathy with the Belgian rebels because they weakened the barrier State and created an opportunity for the annexation of Belgium. The revolt spread from the cities to the countryside.

The king of Holland agreed to set up a separate State for Belgium, but that did not satisfy the people of Belgium. The appearance of the Dutch troops at Brussels destroyed all hopes of peace. There was some inconclusive fighting. On the withdrawal of the troops, a provisional government was set up which declared the independence of Belgium. There was a possibility of the crown prince of Holland being accepted as the head of the newly-created State. However, the violence of the revolt, the activity of French emissaries and volunteers and the bombardment of Antwerp by the Dutch soldiers destroyed all hopes of a peaceful settlement.

There was a danger of all the European Powers being involved in the trouble. The independence of Belgium and the separation from Holland was a violation of the Peace Settlement of 1815 which the European Powers had pledged themselves to maintain. However, there was one relieving factor. Most of the European States had recognised Louis Philippe as the king of France and were inclined to support him on the question of Belgium. The interests of Louis Philippe demanded the maintenance of peace and he knew that he could not succeed against a combination of all the European



Powers if he followed the advice of the revolutionaries and there was a possibility of his losing the throne and his life as well. He was ably assisted by Talleyrand who believed that the crying need of France was to win some ally and thereby end her isolation. With that object in view, Talleyrand went to London as French ambassador. He interviewed Wellington and William IV and assured them that France was not going to use the Belgian revolt for the purpose of adding to her power. He propounded his doctrine of non-intervention as one which ought to govern policy of governments of Europe. So complete an understanding was established between France and England that all talk of the European Powers going on war against France on the question of Belgium ended. The regulation of the affairs of Belgium was submitted to a conference at London. Hostilities were stopped. The independence of Belgium was recognised in principle by the conference before the end of 1830. A protocol defining the frontiers was signed by the powers of January 1831.

However, the matter was far from being finally settled. The problem of providing Belgium with a king had still to be settled. The Governments of Holland and Belgium had still to give their consent to the territorial arrangements drawn up for them. The people of Belgium were inclined to elect the second son of Louis Philippe as their king. Although Louis Philippe outwardly declared his opposition to it, he secretly encouraged the proposal. The result was that his son, Duc de Nemours, was elected king in February 1831. This was something which the powers were not prepared to accept and consequently Louis Philippe refused the crown for his son. The final settlement between England and France was that Leopold of Saxe-Coburg be offered the throne and he should marry a daughter of Louis Philippe. Leopold accepted the crown on the condition that some alterations would be made in the frontiers in favour of Belgium.

The difficulty of arranging the frontier of Belgium arose mainly from the position of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg. In 1814, this Duchy was given to the Government of Holland. In 1830, the people of this Duchy joined hands with the people of Belgium in their revolt and with the exception of the fortress, the whole of the territory passed into the hands of Belgium. The London conference had declared Luxemburg a part of Holland. However, when on the request of Leopold they declared that the question of Luxemburg will be discussed at some other future time, the Government of Holland took up arms and sent 50,000 soldiers to Belgium. Leopold appealed to France for help and a French army immediately crossed the frontiers. The Dutch withdrew and the French troops were also recalled. The London conference took up the question once again and recommended the division of Luxemburg between Holland and Belgium. This was accepted by Belgium but rejected by Holland. The result was that a treaty was made between Leopold and the powers. By the beginning of 1832, the kingdom of Belgium was recognised by all the powers and Palmerston refused to allow France to have any territory from Belgium.



Although the kingdom of Belgium was set up, the problem of overcoming the resistance of the king of Holland had still to be faced. The Dutch king held the fort of Antwerp and refused to listen either to reason or to authority. A French army besieged the fort and the English fleet blockaded the Scheldt river. After a severe bombardment, the fort fell and hostilities ended. Negotiations for peace began once again. The Belgians were not in a hurry to make peace because they had got what they desired. The king of Holland hesitated through sheer obstinacy. This state of affairs continued for years. However, by the Treaty of London, 1839, the independence and neutrality of the kingdom of Belgium was solemnly recognised and guaranteed by all the powers including Holland. It was the violation of this guarantee by Germany in 1914 that was the immediate cause of Britain's entry into the war.

It is to be observed that the attitude of Palmerston during the years of the crisis was one of the patience and wisdom. He showed infinite patience in dealing with the obstinacy of the Dutch and the irritating intransigence of the Belgians. He had the wisdom to admit that the Settlement of 1814 had failed and some other arrangement had to be made in its place.

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## CHAPTER XV

### AUSTRIA-HUNGARY FROM 1815 TO 1918

Austria-Hungary played a prominent part in the overthrow of Napoleon and no wonder Vienna was chosen as the place of deliberations for the resettlement of the map of Europe. Metternich, the Chancellor of Austria, gave to Austrian policy that "vigorous and certain direction which enabled him afterwards to boast himself as the conqueror of Napoleon". Between 1815 and 1918, Austria-Hungary was ruled by Francis I (1792—1835), Ferdinand I (1835-48) and Francis Joseph I (1848—1918).

**Metternich system.** Prince Metternich was born in 1773 and he died in 1859. He was born with a silver spoon in his mouth and entered the diplomatic service of Austria at a very young age. He was able to acquire a lot of diplomatic experience within a short time as he was transferred from one capital to another. When he was hardly 36, he was appointed the Chancellor of Austria and he occupied that position for nearly 40 years when he had to run away from Vienna to England.



Metternich

Metternich was the central figure not only in Austrian and German politics but also in European diplomacy. He was the most famous statesman produced by Austria in the 19th century. He was the prince of diplomats and was thoroughly at ease in the intrigues of the European politics. His vanity knew no bounds. He felt that the world was resting on



his shoulders. To quote him, "My position has this peculiarity that all eyes, all expectations are directed to precisely that point where I happen to be." Again, "Why among so many million men, must I be the one to think when others do not think, to act when others do not act, and to write because others know not how?" He felt that his death would leave behind a void.

Metternich was the enemy of the French Revolution and all that it stood for. He described it as "the disease which must be cured, the volcano which must be extinguished, the gangrene which must be burnt out with the hot iron, the hydra with jaws open to swallow up the social order." According to him, democracy could "change daylight into darkest night."

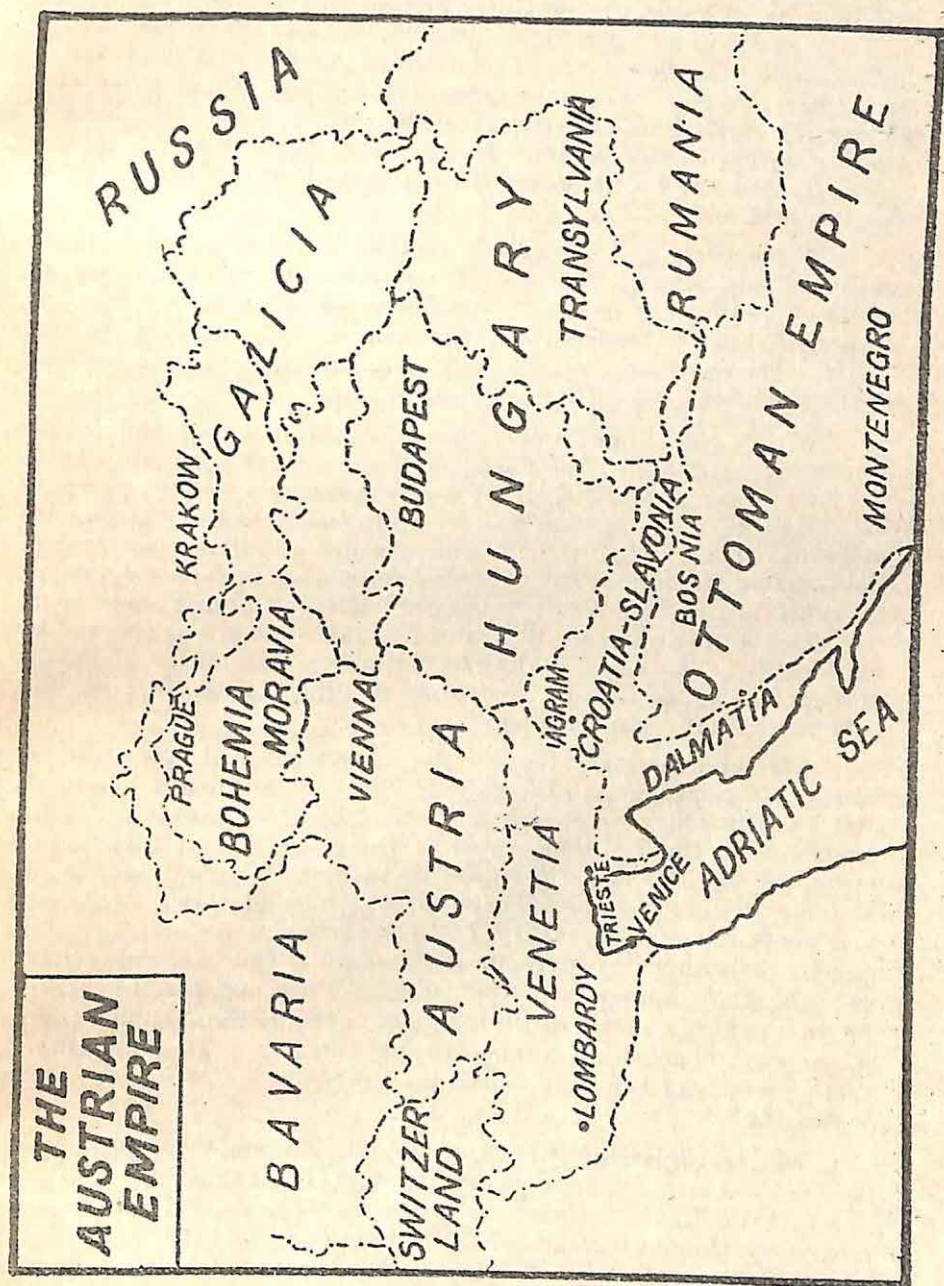
To begin with, he had to play a very difficult role. Napoleon was connected with the royal family of Austria and consequently it was difficult to take action against him. Likewise, Metternich did not want complete collapse of Russia as that was liable to upset completely the balance of power in Europe. No wonder, between 1810 and 1813, Metternich followed the policy of playing off Napoleon and the Czar against each other. When Napoleon attacked Russia in 1812, Metternich promised him help, but at the same time assured Russia that the Austrian troops would not be used against her. The intervention of Austria in the Battle of Nations in 1813 and in the campaign of 1814, brought about the collapse of Napoleon and made Austria the dominant power among the victorious Allies.

At the Congress of Vienna (1814-15), Metternich was given the greatest amount of attention and under him the leadership of Europe passed from France to Austria. He was able to secure as much as could possibly be got for Austria. In exchange for the distant Austrian Netherlands, he got Lombardy and Venetia in Italy. He was able to put the members of the Habsburg royal family on the thrones of Parma, Modena and Tuscany. In this way, he secured effective control over Italy. Likewise, he secured for his country a dominant position in the affairs of Germany. Austria was to be the controller of the German Diet and without her approval nothing could be done. He was able to create a strong barrier on the frontiers of France so that she might not be able to create any trouble in the future.

Metternich stood for the maintenance of the *status quo* in Europe. He wanted to make the Vienna Settlement permanent and for that purpose he entered into the quadruple alliance with Prussia, Russia and Great Britain. It was decided among the Great Powers to meet from time to time "with a view to discuss the problems facing them and thereby maintain the peace of Europe." In 1818 was held the first Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle. An attempt was made to guarantee the territorial *status quo* as established by the Congress of Vienna but the attempt was unsuccessful on account of the opposition of Great Britain. However, in 1820, the protocol of Troppau was made in spite of the opposition of Great Britain. According to that protocol, the European powers were given the



right to interfere in the internal affairs of those States where revolutions took place and those revolutions endangered the safety of



other States. The protocol enabled Metternich to police the whole of Europe and crush liberalism and nationalism wherever it raised its head. It was in pursuance of this policy that Austria was able to crush the revolts in Naples and Piedmont. Likewise, France was



given the mandate to interfere in Spain and restore the Spanish king to absolute power. The era of Congresses ended in 1822 after the Congress of Verona when Great Britain left the Congress on the question of Spain and her American colonies. However, Metternich had secured what he wanted. Thousands of persons were imprisoned, exiled or executed. Arbitrary government of the worst type and thirsty for revenge was meted out to the people. Metternich himself was satisfied with the results. He is said to have observed thus : *"I see the dawn of a better day. Heaven seems to will it that the world should not be lost."*

**Metternich and Germany.** In spite of the wishes and efforts of the German patriots, a loose confederation was created in Germany as that was the only thing on the interests of Austria. The 39 sovereign States of German Confederation could be used by Austria to serve her own ends. Metternich took advantage of the jealousy of the smaller German States against Prussia.

With a view to put a check on the activities of the secret societies in Germany, the Carlsbad Decrees were enacted in 1819. Censorship was imposed on the Press. Universities were to be under State control. A commission was set up to trace out the conspiracies and crush them. The result of this measure was that the liberty of the people was crushed. The patriots had to work under very difficult circumstances. As a result of the July Revolution in France, there was some unrest in some States of Germany but it was crushed by Metternich. This state of affairs continued up to 1848 when the Metternich regime ended. According to Prof. Hayes, "Metternich's hold on Germany was complete."

**Metternich and Italy.** Metternich referred to Italy as merely a "geographical expression". He got for Austria Lombardy and Venetia which were incorporated into the Austrian empire. Members of the Habsburg royal family were to be on the thrones of Parma, Modena and Tuscany. In 1815, Metternich entered into a secret alliance by which Austria was to help the ruler of Naples and Sicily in case of necessity. In 1820, there was a revolt in Naples and its ruler appealed to Austria for help. The Austrian troops were sent to Naples and the ruler was restored absolute power. There was also a revolt in Piedmont in 1821 and the Austrian troops on their way back from Naples crushed that also. To quote Hayes, *"Italy was bound hand and foot to the triumphant reactionary chariot of Austria."*

**Metternich and Spain.** Ferdinand VII was restored in 1815. He followed a reactionary policy and cancelled the liberal constitution of 1812. In 1820, there was a revolt in Spain and the people demanded the restoration of the constitution of 1812. Ferdinand hypocritically agreed but he corresponded with the Great Powers to help him. The reactionary Powers of Europe saw the haunting spectre of the revolution in Spain. The result was that the Congress of Verona of 1822 authorised France to intervene in Spain and restore the Bourbon king. Metternich was happy when the French armies entered into Spain and restored Ferdinand to absolute power.



**Metternich and Russia.** To begin with, Czar Alexander I held liberal ideas and consequently found it difficult to handle. However, the ideas of Alexander underwent a change after 1815. In 1815, there was a revolutionary conspiracy among the officers of the bodyguard of the Czar. In 1819, Kotzebue, who was suspected to be a Russian spy in Germany, was assassinated. In 1820 Duc de Berry of France was murdered. All these factors frightened Alexander and he was converted to the view that all liberal ideas were dangerous. On the occasion of the Congress of Troppau of 1820, he declared publicly that he was a follower of Metternich. He referred to him as his master and asked him to give him any command. From 1820 to 1825, Alexander was completely under the influence of Metternich. It was on account of this fact that Alexander did not come to the help of the Greeks when the latter revolted against Turkish tyranny.

**Metternich and Eastern Question.** The Greeks revolted under the leadership of Ypsilanti and they confidently expected help from Russia. Russia hated Turkey and would like to come to the help of the Greeks who professed the same religion as she did. In spite of the community of interests, Alexander was prevailed upon by Metternich to disown Ypsilanti. The result was that the revolt was put down by the Turks and Metternich had the pleasure of imprisoning Ypsilanti in Austria for seven years. The Greeks also revolted in the Morea and the Aegean Islands in 1821. Once again, Alexander was prevailed upon by Metternich not to help them. Metternich cynically remarked that the revolt should be allowed "to burn itself out beyond the pale of civilization".

**Metternich and France.** After having brought about the fall of Napoleon Metternich tried to encircle France in an "iron ring". With that object in view, Belgium and Holland were combined, the Rhineland was given to Prussia and Genoa was given to Piedmont. Metternich was also not unaware of the fact that the revolutionary ideas had issued from France which could be a source of trouble once again. However, when France paid off the war indemnity in 1818, it was decided to withdraw the allied army of occupation. France was accepted as a member of the Quadruple Alliance which was transformed into the Quintuple Alliance. Metternich was on his guard when a revolution took place in France in 1830.

**Metternich and Great Britain.** Metternich co-operated with Great Britain in the common task of the overthrow of Napoleon. When that was accomplished, Metternich and Castlereagh co-operated in the Congress of Vienna. Great Britain joined the Quadruple Alliance with Austria and other countries for the purpose of maintaining the *status quo*. However, differences arose between the two countries on the question of the right of one country to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. The difference of views was visible in the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818. In 1820, Castlereagh opposed the Protocol of Troppau. Although Castlereagh committed suicide on the eve of the Congress of Vienna,



Great Britain opposed the French intervention in Spain and left the Congress. That led to the break-up of the Congress system. Canning also opposed the Spanish move to re-establish her hold over her colonies in South America. He was assisted by the American Government which enunciated the famous Monroe Doctrine.

**Metternich and Austria.** Metternich followed a reactionary policy in Austria-Hungary. He did all that he could to crush liberalism and nationalism within the country. His conviction was that that was the only policy which was demanded by the circumstances of the Austrian Empire. His was a negative policy and he did not seem to like the role which he was called upon to play. To quote him, "*I have come into the world either too early or too late. Earlier I should have enjoyed the age; later I should have helped to reconstruct it. Today I have to give my life to propping up mouldering institutions.*" Prevention was the keynote of his internal administration. "*Govern and change nothing*" was the beginning and the end of his programme. To quote him again, "*We follow a system of prevention in order that we may not be compelled to follow one of repression.*" We are firmly convinced that any concession a government may be induced to make, strikes at the basis of its existence. Concessions properly so called can only have to do with the rights of sovereignty.....they can only be made by a sovereign at the expense of the capital of his own existence." Metternich summed up his own policy in these words: "As for policy, Austria has none...Our policy is exclusively confined to the maintenance of treaties and of public repose." Francis II, the Austrian Emperor, referred to the policy of his government in these words: "I also have my Estates; I have maintained their constitution and do not worry them, but if they go too far, I snap my fingers at them and send them home". Again, "He who serves me, must teach what I command."

To achieve his objective, Metternich established the censorship of the press. An elaborate system of espionage was maintained throughout the country. The universities were put under the strict control of the government. Foreign travel was discouraged and every effort was made to segregate Austria from the rest of Europe. Education was at a low level and neither industry nor commerce developed. According to Karl Marx, "All around frontier wherever the Austrian State touched upon the civilized country, a cordon of literary censors was established in connection with the cordon of custom-house officials, preventing any foreign book or newspaper from passing into Austria before its contents had been twice or three times thoroughly shifted and found pure of even the slightest contamination of the malignant spirit of the age."

In spite of his strict measures, Metternich had to admit in 1820 that "Public opinion is absolutely diseased. At Vienna, as at Paris, Berlin and London, in the whole of Germany and Italy as well as in Russia and America, our triumphs are rated as so many crimes, our conquests as so many errors, and our projects as so many follies."



Although Austria seemed to follow "the Chinese principle of immobility," there was a slow underground movement going on which baffled Metternich's efforts. The wealth and the influence of the manufacturing and trading middle-class increased. The introduction of machinery and steam power in manufactures upset in Austria, as it had done everywhere else, the old relations and vital conditions of whole classes of society; it changed serfs into free-men, small farmers into manufacturing operatives; it determined the old feudal trade corporations and destroyed the means of existence of many of them. The new manufacturing and commercial population came everywhere into collision with the old feudal institutions. The middle-classes, more and more induced by their business to travel abroad, introduced some mythical knowledge of the civilized countries situated beyond the imperial line of customs; the introduction of railways, finally accelerated both the industrial and intellectual movements. There was a dangerous part in the Austrian States establishments, *viz.*, the Hungarian feudal constitution, with its parliamentary proceedings and its struggles of the impoverished and oppositional mass of the nobility against the government and its allies, the magnates. Pressburg, the city of the Hungarian Diet, was at the gates of Vienna. All the elements contributed to create among the middle-classes of the towns a spirit, not exactly of opposition, for opposition was as yet impossible, but of discontent. A general wish was for reforms, more of an administrative than of a constitutional nature.....The reform plans bore the stamp of an innocuousness almost amounting to political virginity. A constitution and a free press for Austria were things considered unattainable; administrative reforms, extension of the rights of the Provincial Diets, admission of foreign books and papers and a less severe censorship—the loyal and humble desires of these good Austrians hardly do any further."—(*Karl Marx*).

**Estimate of Metternich.** Metternich dominated the politics of Europe from 1815 to 1848 and no wonder we talk of the Metternich era. For a long time, he decided as to how events were to shape themselves in Europe. In 1824, he stated that "they look for me as Messiah." However, Metternich had had to admit that he was fighting for a lost cause. According to Cruttwell, Metternich fought a losing game. According to Hayes, in spite of the efforts of Metternich the old regime was doomed and could not be saved. According to Prof. Alison Phillips, "For a tired and timid generation, he was a necessary man; and it was his misfortune that he survived his usefulness and failed to recognize that while he himself was growing old and feeble, the world was renewing its youth."

According to Prof. H.A.L. Fisher, the Metternich system "has secured for the Austrian statesmen the plaudits of a generation which has recent knowledge of the tribulations of war. Metternich had many attributes of a great political leader, a brilliant and engaging presence, a cool head, a vast comprehension of affairs, a firm and patriotic will. His prestige as a mediator of his country and as the principal artificer of the new Europe was immense; the confidence reposed in him throughout the German-speaking world



almost unbounded. In the counsels of the autocrats, his was the directing mind so that the period between 1815 and 1848 has not unjustly been called the Age of Metternich. Yet this accomplished aristocrat, whose morals were so loose, whose principles were so strict, and whose influence was so wide, laboured under one of the greatest intellectual disabilities which can vitiate the judgment of a statesman. He saw no mean between revolution and autocracy, and since revolution was odious, he set himself to repress that which is the soul of humane life in society, the very spirit of liberty."

According to Henry A. Kissinger, "It was Austria's destiny that in its years of crisis it was guided by a man who epitomised its very essence ; it was its destiny and not its good fortune, for as in Greek tragedy, the success of Clemens Von Metternich made inevitable the ultimate collapse of the State he had fought so long to preserve.

"Like the State he represented, Metternich was a product of an age in the process of being transcended. He was born in the eighteenth century of which Talleyrand was to say that nobody who lived after the French Revolution would ever know how sweet and gentle life could be. And the certitude of the time of his youth never left Metternich. Contemporaries might sneer at his invocation of the maxims of sound reason, at his facile philosophizing and polished epigrams. They did not understand that it was an accident of history which projected Metternich into a revolutionary struggle so foreign to his temperament. For like the century that formed him, his style was adapted better to the manipulation of factors treated as given than to a contest of will better to achievement through proportion than through scale. He was a Rococo figure, complex, finely carved, all surface, like an intricately cut prism. His face was delicate but without depth, his conversation brilliant but without ultimate seriousness. Equally at home in the salon and in the Cabinet, graceful and facile, he was the *beau idéal* of the eighteenth century aristocracy which justified itself not by its truth but by existence. And if he never came to terms with the new age it was not because he failed to understand its seriousness but because he disdained it. Therein too his fate was the fate of Austria."

Again, "The reaction against Metternich's smug self-satisfaction and rigid conservation has tended for over a century now to take the form of denying the reality of his accomplishments. But a man who came to dominate every coalition in which he participated, who was considered by two foreign monarchs as more trustworthy than their own ministers, who for three years was in effect Prime Minister of Europe, such a man could not be of mean consequence. To be sure, the successes he liked to ascribe to the moral superiority of his maxims were more often due to the extraordinary skill of his diplomacy. His genius was instrumental, not creative : he excelled at manipulation, not construction. Trained in the school of eighteenth century cabinet diplomacy, he preferred the subtle manoeuvre to the frontal attack, while his rationalism frequently made him mistake a well-phrased manifesto for an



accomplished action. Napoleon said of him that he confused policy with intrigue, and Hardenberg, the envoy of Hanover at Vienna, wrote the following analysis of Metternich's diplomatic methods at the height of the crisis of 1812: "Endowed with a high opinion of the superiority of his ability.....he loves finesse in politics and considers it essential. Since he does not have sufficient energy to mobilize the resources of his country.....he attempts to substitute cunning for strength and character.....It would suit him best if a fortunate accident—the death of Napoleon or great successes of Russia—were to create a situation where he could let Austria play an important role. Friedrich von Gentz, for long Metternich's closest associate, has left probably the best capsule description of Metternich's methods and personality: "Not a man of strong passions and of bold measures; not a genius but great talent; cool, calm, imperturbable and calculator *par excellence*." (A World Restored, pp. 11-12)

**Revolutions of 1848-49.** The February Revolution in France profoundly affected the fortunes of Hungary. When the news of the French revolution reached Hungary, Kossuth (1802-94) proposed to address to the Austrian Emperor a demand not only for a responsible ministry but for the "fraternization of the Austrian peoples" under the leadership of Hungary. In his speech of March 3, 1848, Kossuth observed thus: "The suffocating vapour of a heavy curse hangs over us, and out of Charnel house of Cabinet of Vienna a pestilential wind sweeps by, benumbing our senses and exercising a deadening effect on our national spirit. The future of Hungary can never be secured while in other provinces (specially in Vienna) there exist a system of government directly opposed to every constitutional principle. It is our task to establish a happier future on the brotherhood of all the Austrian races, and to substitute for the union enforced by bayonets the enduring bond of a free constitution." The speech was printed and sold in thousands in Hungary and Austria. The result was that there were demonstrations in Vienna in March 1848 and Metternich ran away. After making many concessions, the Austrian Emperor also ran away from Vienna to Innsbruck.

As soon as the news reached Italy of a revolution in Vienna and the flight of Metternich, there was a revolt in Milan and the Viceroy ran away. The Austrian troops under Radetzky also withdrew from Lombardy. A Republican Government was set up in Venice. The rulers of Parma and Modena also ran away. Charles Albert, the ruler of Piedmont, declared war against Austria in March 1848. There was a great enthusiasm all over Italy to turn out the Austrians from the country. Contingents came from all over Italy to fight against the Austrians. It appeared that all was lost in Italy.

Austria had her hold over Germany since 1815. In March 1848, there was a revolt in Berlin and the king of Prussia put himself at the head of the rebels. The Frankfurt Parliament consisting of representatives from all over Germany met in 1848 to draft a



constitution for a united Germany. There was great enthusiasm all over the country and the Austrian control over Germany collapsed.

As regards Hungary, Kossuth, the Hungarian leader, demanded a separate parliamentary government for Hungary and the Austrian Emperor granted the same. Hungary passed the famous March laws which abolished feudalism, serfdom and aristocratic privileges.

There was also a revolt in Bohemia. The Czechs had resented the domination of the Germans and after the revolt in Vienna they presented their demands to the Austrian Emperor, but those demands were not conceded by the Austrian Emperor. The Czechs called a meeting at Prague which was attended by the representatives of the Czechs, Silesians, Poles, Ruthenians, Serbs and Croats. The Czechs of Pragu revolted and attacked the palace of the Austrian Military Commander and killed his wife. Peace was purchased by conceding the demands.

There was also another revolutionary movement with its headquarters at Agram. Its object was to unite the Croats, Slovenes and Serbs.

Under these circumstances, the condition of Austria-Hungary was very critical and everything seemed to have been lost. However, partly through his own efforts and partly on account of the mistakes of others, Austria was able to re-establish himself.

As regards Italy, Charles Albert was defeated in the Battle of Custoza in July 1848 and thus Lombardy and Venetia were brought under the control of Austria. In March 1849, Charles Albert again declared war against Austria but was again defeated in the Battle of Novara. The Republic of Rome was crushed by the French troops and the Republic of Venice was also defeated by the Austrian troops. Thus, Italy was once again brought under Austrian control.

As regards Germany, the members of the Frankfurt Parliament wasted a lot of their valuable time in academic discussions with regard to the fundamental rights of the people and the boundaries of the new German State. After a lot of waste of time, it was decided to offer the throne of Germany to the King of Prussia but the latter refused to accept the same on account of the fear of Austria which had already recovered herself from the shock. Thus, the movement for the unification of Germany on a democratic basis collapsed in 1832. After refusing the throne offered to him by the Frankfurt Parliament, the King of Prussia persuaded the four kingdoms of Hanover, Saxony, Wurtemberg and Bavaria to form a union with Prussia. Austria opposed the union and ultimately Prussia had to surrender before Austria in 1850 by the Convention of Olmutz.

As regards Hungary, the problem was a very difficult one. The Hungarian movement aimed at the establishment of Magyar supremacy over all the races within the Hungarian borders. Kossuth declared that "I cannot find Croatia on the map." He refused to give the same independence to the Croats, Rumanians, Slovenes and Serbs which he himself demanded from Hungary. The



result was that there started a movement among these minorities to resist their Magyarization

There were also differences among the leaders of Hungary, particularly between Kossuth and Gorgei. Gorgei was appointed in December 1848 as the Commander of Magyar Army. As the Austrian armies began to move towards the capital of Hungary, the moderates of Hungary, under the leadership of Deak, tried to negotiate with Austria, but Gorgei and Kossuth refused to do so. The capital of Hungary was conquered by the Austrians but the Hungarians recovered it once again.

In March 1849, a new constitution for the Habsburg Empire was announced. It was to centralize everything in Vienna but the various nationalities were allowed to have their provincial diets. The Hungarians did not like the idea of their being put on the same footing as other nationalities and consequently, Hungary declared herself independent of Austria. Kossuth was elected the President to the Hungarian Republic in April 1849. This was a great blunder on the part of Kossuth. He ought not to have openly flouted the authority of Austria. Hungary gained nothing by the declaration of independence but enabled Austria to ask for the help of Nicholas I, the Czar of Russia. The result was that a Russian army of more than 1½ lakhs came to the help of Austria. The Hungarians were defeated. Kossuth had to run away. Gorgei was captured after a brilliant fighting. Although his life was spared, yet the other Hungarian commanders were put to death. A lot of atrocities were committed on the people of Hungary and the Austrian Commander earned the name of "butcher". It is to be observed that Austria got a lot of help from Jellacic who was the leader of the minorities in Hungary. He helped the Austrian forces when they were busy in recapturing Vienna. He defeated the Hungarian forces which were sent by Kossuth to help the rebels of Vienna. He also took part in the Austrian invasion of Hungary. Thus it was that as a result of the differences among the people of Hungary and the narrow nationalism of Kossuth Austria was able to crush the Hungarian revolt and thereby re-establish herself.



Kossuth

**Austria and Italy.** Reference may be made to the war between Austria on the one hand, and France and Piedmont on the other in 1859. Cavour was convinced that his country could be



liberated from the Austrian yoke only with the help of a foreign Power whose military strength was as great as that of Austria. It was with that object in view that he entered into a deal with Napoleon III at Plombières in July 1858. It was agreed between the parties that while Napoleon III was to help Piedmont to liberate Lombardy and Venetia from the Austrian yoke, he has to get Nice and Savoy as his compensation. It was in accordance with that agreement that Napoleon III joined Piedmont in the war against Austria in 1859. The Austrians were defeated in the battles of Magenta and Solferino. However, in July 1859, Napoleon III made the Armistice of Villafranca with Austria. Its terms were ratified by the Treaty of Zurich. Piedmont got Lombardy from Austria and Napoleon did not press his claim for Nice and Savoy. After the withdrawal of the Austrian troops from Lombardy, the people of Tuscany, Parma and Modena revolted and turned out their rulers. Ultimately, by the Treaty of Turin (March 1860), France recognised the incorporation of Tuscany, Parma and Modena into Piedmont and got Nice and Savoy as promised in 1858.

In 1866, Italy entered into an alliance with Prussia and fought on the side of Prussia in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866. Although the Italians were defeated in the Battle of Custozza by Austria, yet they got Venetia after the war as their partner smashed the Austrian resistance.

**Ausgleich or Compromise of 1867.** Reference may be made at this stage to the Compromise of 1867 between Austria and Hungary. It has already been pointed out that the Hungarians were crushed in 1849 by the combined forces of Austria and Russia. After that, a policy of centralisation and absolutism was followed with regard to Hungary. It was officially announced that "the former constitution of Hungary is annulled by the revolution." The system of local government was superseded and administrative and judicial posts were filled by Austrian officials. German was substituted for Magyar as the State language. Hungary was made a vassal State of Austria.

However, such a state of affairs could not continue long. The war of Italian liberation of 1859-60 proved that Austria was not strong enough to maintain the integrity of her Empire. Many Hungarians joined the enemies of Austria and there was the possibility of a revolt in Hungary. It was realised that a State which was being attacked by outsiders could not afford to fight with its own subjects and consequently the necessity of a understanding with Hungary was felt by Austrian statesmen.

There were differences of opinion with regard to the solution of the difficulty. The German Liberals advocated the maintenance of a unitary and centralised government set up by Schwarzenburg. There were others who stood for a federal form of government. Under these circumstances, many trials were made before a solution acceptable to the parties was arrived at.

The October Charter or Diploma of 1860 restored Hungary to the pre-1848 condition. The five administrative districts were abolished. The Hungarian Diet was restored. The system of local



government was also renewed in Hungary. Hungarian officials were appointed in their country. Undoubtedly, the Charter of 1860 paved the way for the reconciliation of Hungary.

However, the Magyars of Hungary were not satisfied with the mere restoration of pre-1848 conditions and institutions. They demanded the enforcement of the March Laws of 1848. On account of the uncompromising attitude of the parties, there was again trouble. The Ministry of Schmerling aimed at centralisation and the maintenance of the territorial integrity of the Austrian Empire and issued in 1861 the February Patent. The Constitution was framed for the whole of the Austrian Empire and Hungary was reduced to the status of a mere province. No wonder, the Patent was rejected by the Hungarian Diet. Hungary refused to send Deputies to the Reichsrath at Vienna. The watchword of Deak, the Hungarian leader, was "the recognition of the laws of 1848." The Hungarians maintained that they had been a separate nation for a long time. They were united with Austria by merely a personal union. The Emperor of Austria became the King of Hungary only when he took an oath to support the fundamental laws of Hungary and was crowned in Hungary with the iron crown of St. Stephen. The fundamental laws of Hungary were centuries old and were merely affirmed by the March Laws of 1848. No change could be made in those laws without the approval of Hungary. They could not be set aside by a unilateral act on the part of the Austrian Emperor. Hungary was a historic State with definite boundaries which could not be altered by the Austrian Emperor at will.

The deadlock continued from 1861 to 1865. In 1865, negotiations were started to resolve the same. Those were interrupted on account of the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 but were resumed in 1867 and result was the Compromise of same year. It is stated that after the Austrian defeat of 1866, Deak was asked as to what Hungary demanded. His reply was : "*Hungary asks no more after Konnigratz than she asked before it.*" The compromising attitude of Deak was helpful to expedite the compromise. Moreover, Austria was turned out from Germany by the Austro-Prussian war and she must find support in some other quarter so that she may be able to stand against Prussia. That was possible only if Hungary was reconciled. The compromise was accepted by Francis Joseph, the Austrian Emperor and the Parliaments of both the countries, Francis Joseph was also crowned as the King of Hungary.

The Compromise of 1867 created a curious type of State which was neither federal nor unitary. It set up the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary. Austria-Hungary was to consist of two distinct and independent States each of which was equal to the other. They were to have the same flag and the same ruler. However, the latter was to be known as Emperor in Austria and King in Hungary. Both Austria and Hungary were to have their separate Parliaments, ministries and administrations. Each was to be completely independent in matters of internal administration. However, provision was made for a joint ministry of three departments viz., foreign affairs, war and finance. There was no common Parliament for



the two countries but provision was made for a system of *Delegations*. Parliament of each country was to select a delegation of 60 members and these delegations were required to meet alternately in Vienna and Budapest. These delegations were really committees of the two Parliaments. They sat and deliberated separately. Each of them used its own language and communicated to the other in writing. Provision was made for a joint session only in the case of a difference of opinion between the two delegations and the matter was to be decided by a majority vote. Such matters as tariffs and currency system were not put under the control of the joint ministry or the delegations. They were required to be regulated by agreements concluded between the two Parliaments for periods of 10 years and that resulted in a lot of unnecessary tension after every 10 years.

It is pointed out that the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary was the only possible solution under the circumstances. Francis Joseph, the Austrian Emperor, was not prepared to make any radical change. The compromise was in keeping with the precedents of the past and was intended to maintain the supremacy of the Emperor. Although many concessions were made to Magyar nationalism, the compromise had its own advantages. It preserved the unity of military and diplomatic services in which the Austrian Emperor was most interested. It guaranteed the supreme direction of those affairs by the Emperor himself. It prevented both Austria and Hungary from becoming separate national States. The administrations in Austria and Hungary were dominated by the nobility and the upper middle classes. The Emperor was allowed to exercise an absolute veto over all proposed legislation. He was empowered to retain ministries even when they had not the support of the majority in Parliament.

After 1867, certain differences arose between Austria and Hungary. Austria was progressively industrialised and consequently the manufacturing, commercial and banking interests became very important and competed with the agricultural interests. On the other hand, Hungary remained overwhelmingly agricultural and consequently the industrial interests did not become strong. However, as a result of the economic disparity between the two parts, there was constant haggling between the two over the proportional contribution which was to be made by each country towards the joint expenses of the empire. The tariff policy of Austria conflicted with that of Hungary and *vice versa*. Austria was in favour of giving protection to industries and establishing free trade in the matter of agricultural products. On the other hand, Hungary was in favour of establishing protection for agriculture and free trade in manufactured goods. Alternately, a compromise was arrived at by which protection was given both to industry and agriculture.

The military reforms of 1868 created bitterness between the two countries. The Hungarian government insisted that the Hungarian troops should be officered exclusively by Magyars and command should be addressed to them only in the Magyar language. Austria did not accept the Hungarian demands and in 1897 Hungary



refused to renew the military agreement with Austria. The Emperor was able to maintain the joint army by means of annual decrees. The German language was continued as the official language of command. In 1907, Hungary renewed the military agreement with Austria on account of the dangerous international situation.

Another source of friction was provided by the establishment of a centralised Austro-Hungarian bank at Vienna in 1878. The Hungarian demanded the establishment of separate national banks and were prepared to put up only with a common superintendence. It was agreed that after 1917, every commercial treaty of the dual monarchy with a foreign nation was to be signed, not merely by the joint minister of foreign affairs, but also by the separate representatives of the Austrian and Hungarian governments.

In spite of its shortcomings, the compromise of 1867 brought certain advantages to both the countries. It was felt that if combined, they could count in the international politics. Their prestige was great and the same was true of their material resources. The joint fiscal arrangements created a wide market for Austrian and Hungarian goods. Thus, Austrian industry got a privileged market in Hungary and Hungarian agricultural products got a privileged market in Austria. Their joint military forces served to maintain the position and reputation of the Habsburgs as a great power. Both Austria and Hungary were afraid of Russia and no wonder they co-operated in supporting a big military establishment.

Commenting on the Compromise of 1867, Watson says : "While it is true to describe the Ausgleich as the logical outcome of the Pragmatic Sanction (1723), subsequent events have nonetheless shown it to rest upon a far more cynical basis than that of a historic evolution. The real motive force which underlies the Dual System is a league between the two strongest races, the Germans and the Magyars, who divided the monarchy between them, and by the grant of autonomy to the two next strongest races, the Poles and the Croats, made them their accomplices in holding down the remaining eight." The Slavs were in favour of a federal form of government instead of the Dual Monarchy. They stood for the autonomy of all nationalities within the Austrian Empire which could lay claim to "historic rights". Bohemia was particularly bitter as she felt that she was entitled to a better treatment. Thus it was that the Compromise of 1867 contained within itself the seeds of future discord. The situation in Hungary itself got complicated after 1867. It is true that Deak acted as a statesman and tried to reconcile the non-Magyar elements in Hungary. He offered the famous 'blank sheet' to the Croats and asked them to fill in as they pleased. Croatia was given "complete autonomy in all matters of administration, justice, religion and education, and Croatian is everywhere the language of the legislature and the executive." Foreign affairs alone remained with the Hungarian Diet to which Croatia was permitted to send 40 members. She was allowed to have her own Diet at Agram.



The law of Nationalities of 1868 attempted to solve the problems of the non-Magyar races in Hungary. While Magyar was made the official language of Hungary in legislature and administration, the use of languages was allowed in schools, courts of law and establishments. It satisfied "the lawful national claims" of the different races in Hungary. However, the Law of Nationalities remained a dead letter from the very beginning. No effort was made to implement its provisions. On the other hand, no stone was left unturned to Magyarise the non-Magyars in Hungary. That was bound to result in bitterness and the ultimate break up of Hungary itself.

The compromise of 1867 was not the real solution of the problems facing Austria-Hungary. The other minorities in Austria-Hungary were jealous of the concessions given to Hungary in 1867. No effort was made to reconcile them after 1867. The result was that discontentment continued to grow among them and ultimately brought about the complete disintegration of the Austrian Empire.

**Austria-Hungary and the Balkans.** The Balkans were of great importance to the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary. That was due to the geographical position of Austria in Europe. She was a land-locked country and stood in need of an outlet to the sea. The Danube river could give Austria access to the sea, but with Constantinople in hostile hands; the advantages of that access were liable to be nullified. Trieste was the Liverpool of the Dual Monarchy and Pola was its Portsmouth. If Trieste went to Italy and Istria and Fiume went to Italy or Serbia or Jugoslavia, the naval and commercial position of Austria-Hungary was liable to become desperate. Her position on the Adriatic was exceedingly precarious. Secure in the possession of Brindisi and Valona, Italy had no difficulty in barring the access of Austria-Hungary to the Mediterranean. Montenegro and Serbia were also the rivals of Austria-Hungary in the Balkans. Montenegro had already gained access to the Adriatic Sea although her coast-line was less than 30 miles in extent. If the dreams of a Yugoslav Empire were realised even partially, the importance of Trieste, Fiume and Pola was bound to be neutralised. These factors were responsible for Austria taking keen interest in the Balkans. Even if she was denied an access to the Adriatic Sea and the Black Sea, she thought of finding an outlet to the Aegean Sea. No wonder, there was rivalry and hostility between Austria on the one hand and Russia and Serbia on the other.

Austria-Hungary began to take keener interest in the Balkans after her expulsion from Germany and Italy in 1866. By the Treaty of Berlin of 1878, Austria-Hungary got Bosnia, Herzegovina and the Sanjak of Novi-Bazzar. Novi-Bazzar not only formed a wedge between the Slaves of Serbia and those of Montenegro, but seemed to invite Austria-Hungary towards the Vardar Valley and so on to Salonica.



Up to 1903, the ruling family of Serbia was subservient to Austria-Hungary. However, in that year King Alexander and his queen were murdered in cold blood and the Obrenovic dynasty to which he belonged, was completely extinguished. The Karageorgevic family came to power. The new family was virile and opposed to Austria-Hungary. The result was that tension between Austria-Hungary and Serbia began to increase. It resulted in the "Pig-War" of 1905-6. This convinced the Serbians that there could be no economic development of their country so long as they did not get a coast-line either on the Adriatic or on the Aegean Sea. Access to the Aegean Sea was out of the question and as regards the Adriatic Sea, access was possible only if she got Bosnia and Herzegovina or some of the harbours of Dalmatia.

The Serbs felt that they could get Bosnia and Herzegovina, but they were completely disappointed when in 1908, Austria-Hungary which had been given the right of merely occupying and administering them by the Treaty of Berlin, annexed them. The action of Austria was like a declaration of war and there was every possibility of such a war between Austria-Hungary and Serbia. Military preparations were made in Serbia but she was persuaded by Russia not to precipitate a crisis as Russia was not in a position to fight against Austria and Germany. Germany also declared her determination to stand by the side of her ally. Serbia asked for compensation in the Sanjak of Novi-Bazaar but she got nothing. On the other hand, she was forced to eat the humble pie and declare that she had no claims to Bosnia and Herzegovina and that she accepted their annexation by Austria. Turkey got £1,200,000 from Austria-Hungary as compensation and accepted their annexation by Austria. Bulgaria got £50,000,000 from Austria. It was in this way that the Bosnian crisis of 1908-09 was ended. However, that left bitter memories among the Serbians who felt that they had been deprived of their chances of getting Bosnia and Herzegovina.

During the Balkan war of 1912-13, Serbia was able to add to her territory and prestige. She was able to strengthen the barrier between Austria-Hungary and Salonica. The Serbian victories during the Balkan wars gave them more of self-confidence and also made them ambitious. Austria could not tolerate the enormous increase in the strength of Serbia and there was every possibility of a clash in 1913. However that was averted. But on 28th June 1914, the Serbians murdered Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria in the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo. Austria gave an ultimatum to Serbia and after the expiry of the stipulated period, Austria declared war on Serbia. Austria was supported by Germany and Serbia was supported by Russia, France and Great Britain. Thus the World War I broke out in 1914. Austria-Hungary was defeated during the war and she was broken up by the Treaty of St. Germain and the Treaty of Trianon.



## Suggested Readings

- |                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| Andrews           | : <i>Historical Development of Modern Europe.</i>       |
| Cecil, A.         | : <i>Metternich, 1933.</i>                              |
| Drage             | : <i>Austria-Hungary.</i>                               |
| Fyffe             | : <i>History of Modern Europe.</i>                      |
| Flenley, R.       | : <i>Makers of the Nineteenth Century : Metternich.</i> |
| Herman, A.        | : <i>Metternich.</i>                                    |
| Kissinger, H. A.  | : <i>A World Restored, 1957,</i>                        |
| Auernheimer       | : <i>Metternich, Statesman and Lover, 1940.</i>         |
| Malleson, C. B.   | : <i>Life of Prince Metternich.</i>                     |
| Sandemans         | : <i>Metternich, 1911.</i>                              |
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| Mahaffy           | : <i>Francis Joseph.</i>                                |
| Pribram, A. F.    | : <i>The Secret Treaties of Austria-Hungary.</i>        |
| Redlich, J.       | : <i>Francis Joseph of Austria.</i>                     |
| Rumbold           | : <i>Francis Joseph and His Times.</i>                  |
| Seton-Watson      | : <i>The Future of the Hungarian Nation.</i>            |
| Steed, H. Wickham | : <i>The Habsburg Monarchy.</i>                         |
| Taylor, A. J. P.  | : <i>The Habsburg Monarchy.</i>                         |
| Thayer, W. R.     | : <i>Throne-Makers.</i>                                 |



## CHAPTER XVI

### UNIFICATION OF ITALY

**Settlement of 1815.** The Vienna Settlement of 1815 failed to unify Italy. As a matter of fact, it was divided into a large number of States under different rulers. Ferdinand I was restored to Sicily and Naples, the Pope was restored to Rome and the Papal States, and Parma, Modena and Tuscany were given to the members of the Habsburg family. Lombardy and Venetia were annexed to the Austrian Empire and Sardinia and Genoa were added to the kingdom of Piedmont. It was on account of the division of Italy into many independent parts that Metternich referred to Italy as a *geographical expression*. Mazzini described the condition of Italy in these words : "Country, liberty, brotherhood all are wrested from them ; their faculties are mutilated, curbed, chained within a narrow circle traced for them by men who are strangers to their tendencies, to their wants, their wishes ; their tradition is broken under the care of an Austrian corporal ; their immortal soul feudatory to the stupid caprices of a man seated on a throne at Vienna."

The restorations of 1815 were followed generally by reactionary or demoralising administrations. Ferdinand I restored the hated police system, the press censorship and the authority of the clergy. He persecuted liberal opinion, gave preference to Royalists and offended the people of Sicily by abolishing the autonomous constitution of that Island. In the case of the Papal States, the Inquisition, the Index and all the paraphernalia of medieval church government were restored. A corrupt and inefficient administration created a lot of discontentment. There was social anarchy in the country. There was a tyrannical government in Modena. In the case of Venetia and Lombardy, a deliberate attempt was made to "Austrianize" the political life of the people. In the case of Piedmont and Sardinia, Genoa smarted under the humiliation of subjection to Piedmont. On the whole, there was excessive provincialism in Italy and everything was dominated by Austria.

The Napoleonic regime had infused new life into Italy<sup>1</sup> and

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1. As a result of Napoleon's rule of Italy, the northern area was well-governed. The kingdom of Naples was under Murat who conceived the bold scheme of uniting all Italy under his rule. During 1814-15, he put his plan into practice and proclaimed the Union of Italy. He was defeated and shot but the ideal that he proclaimed did not die. Murat is still regarded as the earliest modern champion of Italian independence and union.

According to Markham, "In Italy, the administrative unification under Napoleon, partial and inconsistent as it was, the introduction of the Code and conscription, hastened the development of the Risorgimento, signs of which had already appeared before Napoleon's first invasion of Italy. Under Napoleon

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Emmanuel resigned his crown in favour of his brother Charles Felix. There were people who wanted the throne to go to Charles Albert. In the midst of divided counsels, the movement collapsed.

**Lombardy.** In the case of Lombardy, the Austrian yoke was reimposed with great vigour. The rebel leaders were taken to Austria where they had to spend their lives in prisons. The young-men were conscripted for the Austrian armies. The jails of Lombardy were full of political prisoners. All the suspects were thoroughly watched. Torture was employed to get confessions.

**1830.** The July Revolution of 1830 in France also affected the Italian politics. The Papal States were very badly affected. From the Papal States, the movement spread to Piedmont, Parma and Modena. However, the risings were everywhere successful. Pope Gregory XVI asked for the help of Austria. Metternich sent the Austrian armies into Italy and the Papal States were occupied by the White coats. Order was restored and the authority of the Pope was re-established. Francis IV was restored to his throne in Modena and Marie Louise in Parma. However, as soon as the Austrian troops left Italy, fresh revolts broke out and they had to return once again. At this time, France also sent an army to occupy Ancona (1832) and for 6 years Austrian and French troops continued to confront each other in the Papal States.

The insurrections failed because the democratic efforts were disunited and not systematic. The people were not ripe for revolution. Unity was the cry of only a few leaders and not the creed of the masses. However, one thing was clear and that was the weakness of the reactionary States in Italy. They were saved only by the intervention of Austria.

**Risorgimento.** There were many revolts in Italy against the existing conditions and thousands of persons were sent to prisons or in exile. They stimulated the deep and wide movement of thought and feeling which became so important in Italian history that they were given the title of *Il Risorgimento*, the revival or resurrection.

The Risorgimento movement was at bottom a moral one. It was based on the ideal of a free and united Italy. It got strength from the Romantic movement. It reminded the Italians of their greatness in the past. Politically, the revival was patriotic and national. It was a protest against Austrian domination and a demand for unity. It was liberal and democratic. There was a demand for parliamentary form of government, freedom of press, reduction of powers of the church, and the establishment of a republic. It presented the aspirations of the middle classes of Italy to develop themselves economically. It was linked up with the growth of knowledge and science. Such a broad movement could not be incorporated in one single programme. The views and efforts of persons like Mazzini came within its scope.

**Mazzini (1805-72).** Giuseppe Mazzini was the son of a doctor and professor of anatomy in Genoa. From his childhood, he was



influenced by the nationalist movement in Italy. When he was hardly 10, Genoa was put under Piedmont in 1815. This act was very much resented by the people. During the 1820's Mazzini studied the writings of the romantic writers of Italy, France, Great Britain and Germany. His favourite writers were Dante, Shakespeare, Byron, Goethe, Schiller, Scott, Hugo etc. Even when young, he was impressed by the misery of his country. To quote him, "In the midst of the noisy, tumultuous life of the students around me I was sombre, and absorbed and appeared like suddenly grown old. I childishly determined to dress always in black, fancying myself in mourning for my country."



Mazzini

He had a bent of mind for literary life. "A thousand visions of historical dramas and romances floated before my mental eyes." But he gave up that idea for the sake of fighting for his country. He called this as his "first great sacrifice".

He joined the Carbonari not because he approved of its methods but because it was at least a revolutionary organisation. He was arrested in 1830 and imprisoned in the fortress of Savona. He was released after six months. The Governor of Genoa told Mazzini's father that his son was "gifted with some talent" but he was "too fond of walking by himself at night absorbed in thought. What on earth has he at his age to think about? We don't like young people thinking without our knowing the subject of their thoughts."

His vast experience helped him found in 1831 a new organisation known as "Young Italy". This society superseded Carbonari as the centre of nationalist agitation. Its motto was: "God and the People." A member had to take oath: "To dedicate myself wholly and for ever to the task of constituting a free, independent and republican Italy."

Mazzini believed that only the youngmen of Italy could bring about the unification of Italy if they had faith in their mission. To quote him, "*Place youth at the head of the insurgent multitude; you know not the secret of the power hidden in those youthful hearts nor the magic influence exercised on the masses by the voice of youth. You will find among the young a host of apostles of the new religion.*" Mazzini appealed to the martyrs of the Italian cause. He reminded the



given an impulse to union which had been strengthened on many a battle-field. As the restored princes followed a policy of reaction, the democratic and nationalist ideas began to work among the people like a heaven. Patriots were roused to a sense of their country's humiliation and democrats inspired to resist oppression as Italians and not as Sicilians etc. Secret societies began to spread



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Italian troops fought well in their own units, and suffered about 80,000 casualties: their officers returned from the wars imbued with national sentiment. A few writers like Alfieri and Foscolo, forerunners of the Risorgimento, were anti-Napoleon in feeling because he had betrayed their hopes of national unity. From 1811 onwards, Murat inclined towards the Italian party which resented the predominance of French officials, and Napoleon threatened him with deposition. In 1815, during the Hundred Days, Murat declared war against Austria, and issued a proclamation calling on all Italians to fight for national unity and independence."



all over Italy and the *Carbonari* was the most important. It had its mystic rites and symbols, but it concealed and fostered a determined political purpose which was the expulsion of the foreigner and the achievement of constitutional freedom. All classes joined it whether they were nobles, military officers, peasants or priests. However, the liberal and democratic ideas had taken the deepest root among the gentry and the bourgeoisie. The *Carbonari* spread beyond Italy and with the country the black, red and blue of the *Carbonari* became the flag of the revolution.

**Revolt in Naples (1820).** Under the impetus of secret societies, a revolution began in 1820 and was not exhausted for 30 years. The first revolt broke out in Naples. Ferdinand I had pledged himself solemnly to respect the liberal constitution of Sicily at the time of his restoration to the throne in 1815. However, in 1816, he cancelled that constitution so that it may not serve as a model for other States of Italy. The excitement created by the Spanish revolution of 1820 spread to the Italian dominions of the Spanish Bourbons. The people of Naples, supported by the army, demanded a constitution on the model of Spain. Ferdinand granted the demands of the rebels with eagerness. He thanked God that He had given him an opportunity to confer that blessing upon his people. He also ratified the concession in a solemn manner. In the presence of the court and ministers, he proceeded to the altar and took the following oath: "Omnipotent God who with infinite penetration lookest into the past and into the future, if I lie, or if I have had in mind to break the oath do Thou at this instant hurl on my head the lightning of Thy vengeance." The king kissed the Bible, the oath was repeated by the sons and the new constitution was publicly proclaimed.

However, Ferdinand I sent a secret message to the sovereigns assembled at Troppau informing them of his intention "to leave his kingdom and with the help of Austrian troops to resume absolute power." In December 1820, he left for Laibach. As soon as he was safe in Austrian territory, he asked for the help of the sovereign to restore him to absolutism. The result was that an Austrian army was sent to Naples. The troops of Naples ran away. Ferdinand was restored. The constitution was torn up. The rebel leaders were put in prisons or hanged.

**Revolt in Piedmont (1821).** The revolutionary movement was not confined to Naples alone. The whole of Italy at that time was honeycombed with secret societies. The Government of Victor Emmanuel in Piedmont was weak and reactionary and in March 1821, insurrection broke out there. However, there was no hostility to the House of Savoy. The slogans of the people were the following: "Our hearts are faithful to our king, but we wish to deliver him from perfidious counsels. War against Austria; at home a constitution; such are the wishes of the people." When the Austrian armies marched to Naples, the Liberals of Piedmont decided to attack the Austrian troops from the rear. However, the movement was badly led and the plans hopelessly failed. Victor



Italians that they had no citizenship, no country and no national flag. The cries of Young Italy were God, people and Italy. Its methods were education, literary propaganda and revolts.

Mazzini believed that Young Italy must not merely be a body of conspirators. Its main object was to create among the Italians the spirit of self-sacrifice to die for the sake of their country.

Mazzini considered the liberation and unification of Italy as a religion. He was prepared to live and die for it. He was a dauntless leader. He was a man of imagination, poetry, and audacity. He was the master of a persuasive literary style. He had a burning enthusiasm in his heart. All these qualities of Mazzini helped the cause of Italian unification.

Mazzini believed that Austria must be driven out of Italy and the sooner that was done the better. He was not in favour of any foreign help to drive out the Austrians from Italy. To quote him, "*The only thing wanting to twenty million of Italians, desirous of emancipating themselves, is not power, but faith.*"

The great contribution of Mazzini lay in the fact that at a time when the people of Italy considered the liberation and unification of Italy as an impossible dream, he made the same a practical ideal. He was able to create a faith among the people for the holy task. He was able to convert a large number of persons who were fired with the same missionary spirit which he himself possessed for the cause of Italian unification.

High hopes were raised in Italy when Pious IX became the Pope in 1846. He followed a liberal policy and it was felt that he might become the leader of the nationalist and democratic forces in the country. The shouts of *Viva Pio Nono* were heard from democratic lips. Metternich was upset. To quote him, "We are prepared for anything except a liberal Pope. Now we have got one. There is no telling what may happen." Austrian troops occupied Ferrara. Charles Albert of Piedmont was indignant and Great Britain protested. However, the zeal of the Pope slackened very soon. He refused to move forward. In spite of this, in every State in Italy, a new spirit was to be found. The movement was almost universal.

Browning's account of Italy represents the feelings of a common man. He makes the Italian in England say the following :

"However, if I pleased to spend  
Real wishes on myself—say three—  
I know at least what one should be.  
I would grasp Metternich until  
I felt his red, wet throat distil  
In blood through these two hands."

**1848-49.** The year 1848 opened with many problems. Popular agitation was increasing in Naples and Sicily for reforms. The democratic parties in the Papal States, Tuscany and Piedmont were demanding a new constitution which transferred real power into



the hands of the people. In the case of Lombardy and Venetia, the Austrian yoke was becoming intolerable. The movements of 1848-49 were democratic and nationalist.

In January 1848, a revolution broke out in Palermo which demanded reform, Sicilian autonomy and the constitution of 1812. The demands were granted after some resistance. There were demonstrations in Naples and they also got a new constitution. The result was that there were popular demonstrations in favour of a constitution in Piedmont, Tuscany and the Papal States. In March 1848, Piedmont and Tuscany got liberal constitutions which established constitutional government in those States.

The same month news came that there was a revolt in Vienna and Budapest and Metternich ran away to London. The revolution broke out in Milan, the Viceroy ran away and the Austrian troops under Radetzky withdrew. A republic was proclaimed in Venice. The rulers of Modena and Parma also ran away. There was a demand for war to end the Austrian domination in Italy. Cavour appealed in these words: "The supreme hour of the Sardinian monarchy has sounded. There is only one path open to the government, the nation, the king—immediate war," Charles Albert declared war against Austria. Tuscany, Naples and the Papal States sent their contingents. However, after some time they were all withdrawn. Charles Albert was defeated in the Battle of Custoza in July 1848. Lombardy and Venetia came under the control of Austria. The result of Custoza was that the Moderates were discredited and the Extremists under Mazzini came to the front, "*The war of the princes was finished, that of the peoples begun.*"

A republic was proclaimed in Rome under the headship of Mazzini. The authority of the Pope was abolished and the Pope ran away to Naples and appealed to the Powers for help. In March 1849, Charles Albert renewed the war against Austria but he was again defeated in the Battle of Novara. He abdicated and his son Victor Emmanuel II made peace with Austria. After Novara, reaction started in Italy. Sicily was reconquered by Naples. The ruler of Tuscany was restored. Louis Napoleon, the French President, sent an expedition to Rome. Garibaldi fell and the Pope was restored. Venice was also captured by the Austrians in August 1849. Absolutism and reaction triumphed everywhere in Italy except Piedmont which did not cancel the liberal constitution given in 1848. Although the movement of 1848-49 had failed, something had been gained. Those who stood for a republican government for Italy or a government under the Pope, were discredited and things were cleared for the unification of Italy under the monarchy of Piedmont. Moreover, during this movement, the people from all over Italy participated unmindful of the fact whether they belonged to one part of Italy or the other. The people of Italy became conscious of themselves. The movement gave the Italian cause "a dynasty to represent it and a people to defend it."

The failure of the revolts in Italy before the rise of Cavour was due to many causes. Austrian position was very strong in



Italy and it was not possible to oust her without foreign help. However, the motto of the Italian patriots was that they would be able to achieve their independence and unification without any outside help. That was impossible. It is true that as a result of the Carbonari and Young Italy of Mazzini, ideas of nationalism were spreading all over Italy, but still there was provincialism and selfishness among the people. Very few people thought in terms of Italy as a whole. There was no collaboration among the princes of Italy for a Italian unification. As a matter of fact, excepting Piedmont, all others were opposed to it. Austria and Lombardy and Venetia was opposed to Italian unification. The same was the case with the Austrian rulers of Parma, Modena and Tuscany. The Pope was the greatest enemy of Italian unification, because the unification of Italy was bound to deprive him of his territory, capital, income and prestige and he was helped by France and others in his efforts to keep Italy disunited. The Italian patriots had different objectives. Some stood for a Republican Government others for the leadership of the Pope and still others that of Piedmont.

The lack of unity weakened the cause. The patriots pulled in different directions and consequently their divided forces could not achieve much. This was the condition when Cavour came to the front. However, it must be remembered that the failure of the above revolts facilitated the work of Cavour. The cause of Republicanism and that of the headship of the Pope was discredited and thus all the people of Italy could work together for the unification of Italy under the House of Piedmont. Moreover, during these revolts, Piedmont proved herself to be the leader of the people of Italy.

**Cavour (1810-61).** Reference may be made to the work done by Cavour for the unification of Italy. He was both a diplomat and patriot. He reaped what Mazzini had sown. He joined the Piedmontese Cabinet in 1850 and became Prime Minister in 1852 and worked as such till 1861 when he died. Before Cavour, the popular slogan was : "*Italia Fara da se.*" (Italy will fend for herself). The people of Italy believed that they could work out their own salvation without any outside help. However, the failures of 1848-49 had made it clear that it was impossible to drive out the Austrians without the help of a foreign power. Cavour started his work with this conviction that the help of a foreign power was necessary to drive out the Austrians from Italy. That is why he participated in the Crimean War and also secured the help of Napoleon III of France.

Moreover, Cavour was convinced that if Piedmont was to be the leader of Italy, she must be prepared for that task. Piedmont must progress politically and economically. It must be made a model State so that other Italian States may recognise her as their leader. If that was done, the patriots of Italy were bound to accept her leadership. To quote Cavour, "It would gather to itself



all living forces of Italy and will be in a position to lead her to the high destiny to which she is called." As regards the economic development of Piedmont, he encouraged agriculture and industries. By following a policy of free trade, he added to the trade and commerce. He built roads, canals and railways! He reorganised the budget and increased taxation to get more money. He followed a policy of a "free church in a free State." Religion was diverted from politics. The army was reorganised under General La Marmora.

### Intervention in Crimea.

Having prepared his country, Cavour was in search of an opportunity to secure an ally and this he got in the Crimean War. He joined the Crimean War in 1855 on behalf of England, France and Turkey and against Russia. It is true



Cavour

that Piedmont had no interest in the Eastern Question but Cavour wanted an opportunity to raise the status of Piedmont. It was a master-stroke of policy. When the Italian troops complained of mud in Crimea, Cavour wrote back thus: "*Out of this mud, Italy will be made.*" After victory over Russia, the Congress of Paris was held in 1856. It was before that Congress that Cavour was able to condemn the Austrian rule in Italy and raise the Italian question from the level of a local question to that of an international question. Cavour won the sympathy of Europe for this cause, particularly that of Napoleon III.

**Napoleon III and Italy.** Cavour had set his heart to win over Napoleon III of the Italian cause. Napoleon III himself had once been a member of the Carbonari. He was sympathetic towards the Italian cause and was also encouraged by the Liberals of France. However, the Catholics were not in favour of helping Italy because that was liable to lead to the end of the authority of the Pope in Rome. Napoleon III also feared that Austria in Italy may prove to be too strong for him and he himself may be defeated. There was also the possibility of an attack of Prussia when France was fighting against Austria in Italy. No wonder, Napoleon III hesitated. An attempt was made on his life by Orsini, an Italian patriot. Orsini wrote thus from his prison: "So long as Italy is not independent the tranquillity of Europe, no less than that of Your Majesty, is a mere chimera... Deliver my country, and the blessings of twenty-five million citizens will follow you in posterity." Orsini died with the cry of "*Vive L' Italie*" upon his lips. The result was that



Napoleon and Cavour met at *Plombières*. It was agreed there that Napoleon should help Piedmont to drive out the Austrians from Lombardy and Venetia. Naples and Rome were not to be touched. The rest of Italy was to be made into a separate kingdom. Napoleon III was to get Nice and Savoy. Napoleon III was to come to the help of Piedmont only in the case of aggression from Austria.

According to Seaman, "It is therefore incorrect to think of Napoleon III as venturing into Italy because he was blinded by a romantic attachment to the cause of Italian nationalism. He took the action he did because he thought it was compatible with the extension of French influence in Italy. In doing something for Italy he would do something for France as well, and perhaps, if he could, something for the Bonapartes also. On the other hand, it is wrong to think of his intervention as purely a matter of Machiavellian subtlety that misfired. The Man of December was too much a product of his age not to share sincerely the contemporary dream of a free and regenerate Italy; and his entirely personal decision to take the first decisive move whence sprang the creation of an independent Italy has usually been treated with scant justice.

"For in taking the step he did he was behaving in conformity both with the Napoleonic tradition and the Napoleonic legend. The voice from St. Helena told him that the first monarch to espouse the cause of the 'peoples' would become the undisputed leader of Europe. That he should intervene to deliver the Italians from the Austrians was consistent with his self-chosen role as leader of the nationalities; and he clearly felt that in so doing he was placing France and himself and the head of the most powerful political force of the day. He and France, by co-operating with history could secure the mastery of Europe's destiny by a great act of moral leadership which was also a piece of shrewd international statecraft."

There was a period of nine months between the agreement at *Plombières* and the actual outbreak of war and during this period Cavour had to make preparations for war and also find an excuse for the war. He was determined to start the war before Napoleon had time to change his mind. There were military demonstrations and military marches. There were press attacks on Austria. Everything was done to force the Austrians to declare war. The King of Piedmont uttered the following words in the legislature: "We are not insensible to the cry of woe that comes to us from so many parts of Italy." Napoleon III himself declared that his relations with Austria "were not so good as they were". Austria sent an ultimatum to Piedmont demanding immediate demobilization or war. Cavour refused and Austria declared war in 1859. On that occasion Cavour remarked thus: "*The die is cast, and we have made history.*" Napoleon III came to the help of Piedmont. He was described by the Italians as "Our liberator, our saviour, our benefactor." He addressed the Italians in these words: "Use the good fortune that presents itself to you. Your dream of indepen-



dence will be realised if you show yourself worthy of it. Unite in one great effort for the liberation of the country." The Austrians were defeated in the Battles of Magenta and Solferino and driven out from Lombardy. However, Napoleon III changed his mind and stopped the war all of a sudden. He signed the armistice of Villafranca in 1859 with Austria without consulting Sardinia. Austria was to give Lombardy to Piedmont but not Venetia. The rulers of Tuscany, Parma and Modena were to be restored. An Italian Federation was to be formed under the Pope. The Treaty of Zurich ratified the terms of armistice.

According to Taylor, "The war of 1859 was unique in modern history ; it was the only war which did not spring in part from mutual apprehension. Even aggressive wars have usually an element of prevention. Napoleon I had some grounds for thinking that Alexander I was preparing to attack him when he invaded Russia in 1812 ; the Germans had some grounds for feeling 'encircled' when they launched both the First and the Second World Wars in the twentieth century ; even Bismarck could plausibly, and perhaps convincingly, claim that he was merely getting his blow in first against both Austria and France. In 1859 neither France, nor even Sardinia, had any ground whatever for fearing an attack, from Austria and they could not have attacked her, unless she had given them the occasion. Both sides mobilized, not from fear, but to force the other side into war. The only genuine fear of 1859 was Austria's fear of internal revolution ; and even this was much exaggerated." (*The Struggle for Mastery in Europe*, pp. 111-112).

Cavour did not oppose of the action of Napoleon III and asked Victor Emmanuel to repudiate the Treaty of Zurich. However, Victor Emmanuel decided not to do so as the Italians could not force Napoleon III to act according to their wishes. Although Cavour resigned for some time but he returned. When Lombardy was evacuated by Austria, the people of Parma, Modena, Tuscany and Romagna voted for an annexation to Sardinia. Napoleon agreed to this and for that he was given Nice and Savoy. Cavour agreed to do so on account of its political advantages. This is clear from his following remark : "Now we are accomplices."

**Sicily and Naples.** According to Cavour, "*They have stopped me from making Italy by diplomacy from the North ; I will make it by revolution from the South.*" With great caution and skill, he embarked upon one of the most amazing enterprises in the history of Italian union. The people of Sicily revolted and appealed to Garibaldi for help. The latter started with his famous 1,000 "Redshirts" for Sicily. Inwardly, Cavour sympathised with the men of Garibaldi, but outwardly he considered Garibaldi as an unauthorised independent adventurer and he himself maintained strict neutrality. He gave him secretly all the help and tried to meet the protests of the powers against the sending of the expedition. This British Government also adopted a sympathetic attitude. Garibaldi was successful in his mission and he conquered the whole of Sicily. Having done so, he crossed to the mainland and was also



able to defeat the King of Naples. At that time, Garibaldi decided to push on to Rome. If he had done so, there was every possibility of a war with France as French troops were stationed in Rome since 1849. Cavour declared at that time that "*Italy must be saved from foreigners, evil principles and men.*" No wonder, he sent Victor Emmanuel at the head of a big army to forestall Garibaldi. The Papal States were invaded and Umbria and the Marches were occupied. Victor Emmanuel hastened to meet Garibaldi who surrendered all powers into his hands. Naples and Sicily were also annexed to the kingdom of Piedmont. With the exception of the city of Rome and Venetia, the rest of Italy was under the control of Victor Emmanuel II. These were annexed in 1870 and 1866 respectively. The first Italian Parliament met in 1861, but Cavour died soon after. It cannot be denied that Cavour was the real creator of Italy as a nation. According to Phillips, "*Italy as a Nation is the legacy, the life-work of Cavour.*" Others have been devoted to the national liberation, he knew how to bring it into the sphere of possibilities; he kept it pure of any factitious spirit; he led it away from barren Utopias; kept it clear of reckless conspiracies; steered straight between rebels and reactions; and gave it an organized force, a flag, a government and foreign allies." (*Modern Europe*). It has rightly been pointed out that it was the master brain of Cavour which mobilized the inspirations of Mazzini into diplomatic force, which beat the sword of Garibaldi into a national weapon and turned what might have been the political quixotries of ill-guided enthusiasts into instruments of State. To quote another writer, "If there had been no Cavour to win the confidence, sympathy and support of Europe, if he had not been recognized as one whose sense was just in all emergencies; Mazzini's efforts would have run to waste unquestionable insurrections; and Garibaldi's feat of arms must have added one chapter more to the history of unproductive patriotism." It is stated that the last words of Cavour at the time of his death were: "*Italy is made, all is safe.*" Cavour created "*Italy of the Italians.*"

According to Lord Palmerston, "*Cavour left a name, 'to point a moral and adorn a tale.'*" The moral was that a man of transcendent talent, indomitable industry, inextinguishable patriotism, could overcome difficulties which seemed insurmountable, and confer the greatest, the most inestimable benefits on his country. The tale with which his memory would be associated was the most extraordinary, the most romantic in the annals of the world. A people which had seemed dead had arisen to new and vigorous life, breaking the spell which bound it and showing itself worthy of a new and splendid destiny."

**Garibaldi (1807-32).** He was born at Nice in 1807. He was two years younger to Mazzini and three years senior to Cavour. His parents wanted him to become a priest but he had an inclination for sea-life. For many years, he lived a moving and adventurous sailor's life.

He joined "Young Italy" of Mazzini. He took part in the



revolt organised by Mazzini in 1834 in Savoy and was condemned to death. He managed to escape in South America where he stayed as an exile for 14 years. He occupied himself by taking part in the wars in South America with his "*Italian Legion*".

As soon as he heard of the revolt of 1848, he rushed to Italy although he was still under the penalty of death. On his arrival, thousands of persons flocked to the standard of "*hero of Montevideo*" to fight against the Austrians. As that campaign failed, he went in 1849 to fight in defence of the Republican regime in Rome. When that city was about to fall, he managed to escape with 4,000 troops. However, he was pursued by the Austrians who did not give him rest anywhere. The pursuit was under-



Garibaldi

taken both in forests and mountains as if he were some sort of a game. Most of his followers lost their lives. Even his heroic wife, Anita, was killed. Ultimately, Garibaldi managed to escape to America to live once again in exile. However, his exploits full of heroism, chivalry and romance, moved the Italians to enthusiasm and admiration.

In 1854, he came back to Italy and started living on the Island of Caprera. In 1859, he came out of his retirement and collected a large number of volunteers to fight against the Austrians. He was the idol of soldiers from one end to the other end of the country. There were thousands who were ready to follow him blindly.

In 1860, there was a revolt in Sicily. He started in two steamers from Genoa with about 1,150 men. These, "*Red Shirts*" helped Garibaldi to become the master of the Island. He was also helped in his task by the local insurgents. From Sicily Garibaldi moved to the mainland and was able to defeat the forces of the ruler of Naples. In less than five months, Garibaldi had conquered a kingdom of 11 million people.



Garibaldi planned to move on Rome but he was not allowed to do so by Cavour and Victor Emmanuel as by doing so there was a possibility of a clash with France whose forces were stationed in that city since 1849.

When later on Cavour agreed to give over Nice to France as the price of French help against Austria, Garibaldi burst into tears as Nice was his birth place and its handing over to France was to result in his becoming a foreigner in Italy.

**Venetia (1866).** Italy entered into an alliance with Prussia in 1866 with a view to secure Venetia from Austria. When the war started between Austria and Prussia, the Italians also entered the field. However, they were defeated by the Austrian troops, but their entry into the war facilitated the task of Bismarck as Austria was forced to fight on two fronts. No wonder, the Austrians were defeated in the Battle of Sadowa and surrendered. Bismarck did not make any demand on vanquished Austria but merely asked the latter to give Venetia to Italy and the same was done.

**Rome (1870).** The unification of Italy was completed in 1870 when Napoleon III was forced to withdraw the French troops from Rome which were stationed there since 1849. That was due to the fact that Napoleon had to fight against Prussia and it was necessary to collect troops from everywhere.

It was in this way that the unification of Italy was completed in 1870 as a result of the efforts of the Italian patriots, foreign help and the force of circumstances.

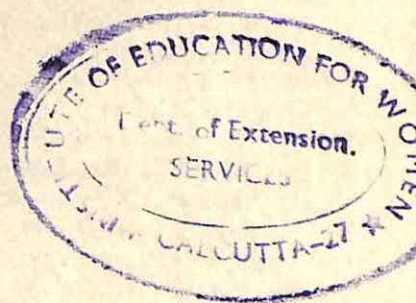
According to Taylor, "The unification of Italy completed what the Crimean War had begun; the destruction of European order. Metternich system depended on Russia's guarantee; once that was withdrawn, the system could be overthrown. Napoleon supposed that a new system, his own, was taking its place. This was to misunderstand the events of 1859 to 1861. Certainly Italy owed most to French armies and to British moral approval, but these could not have been effective without two other factors—Russian resentment against the Treaty of Paris, and Prussian resentment against the Austrian hegemony in Germany. If Russia had followed a policy less-consistently hostile to Austria, if Prussia had carried the war to the Rhine in 1859, Italy could not have been made. After 1861 Russia still aimed at the overthrow of the settlement of 1856; Prussia still aimed at equality, if not hegemony, in Germany. Both continued to work against Austria; this was no guarantee that they would continue to work in favour of France. And, in fact, the leadership of Europe which Napoleon seemed to have gained from the Italian affair was lost within two years over the question of Poland." (*The Struggle for Mastery in Europe*, pp. 124-25).

#### Suggested Readings

- |             |   |
|-------------|---|
| Flenley, R. | : <i>Makers of Nineteenth Century Europe.</i> |
| Garibaldi   | : <i>Autobiography.</i>                       |
| Holland     | : <i>Builders of United Italy.</i>            |



- Johnston, R.M. : *The Napoleon Empire in Southern Italy and the Rise of the Secret Societies, 1904.*
- King, Bolton : *Mazzini.*
- King : *History of Italian Unity.*
- Marriott : *Makers of Modern Italy.*
- Martinengo-Cesaresco : *The Liberation of Italy, 1815-70.*
- Mowrer : *Immortal Italy.*
- Murdock : *Reconstruction of Modern Europe.*
- Orsi, P. : *Cavour.*
- Orsi, P. : *Modern Italy.*
- Smith, B. Mack : *Cavour and Garibaldi.*
- Taylor, A. J. P. : *The Italian Problem in the European Diplomacy (1847-49), 1934.*
- Thayer : *Life and Times of Cavour.*
- Thayer : *Dawn of Italian Independence.*
- Trevelyan, G. M. : *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy.*
- Trevelyan, G. M. : *Garibaldi and the Thousand.*
- Trevelyan : *Manin and the Venetian Revolution of 1848.*
- Trevelyan (Mrs.) : *A Short History of Italy.*
- Zimmer : *Italy o the Italians.*





## CHAPTER XVII

### UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

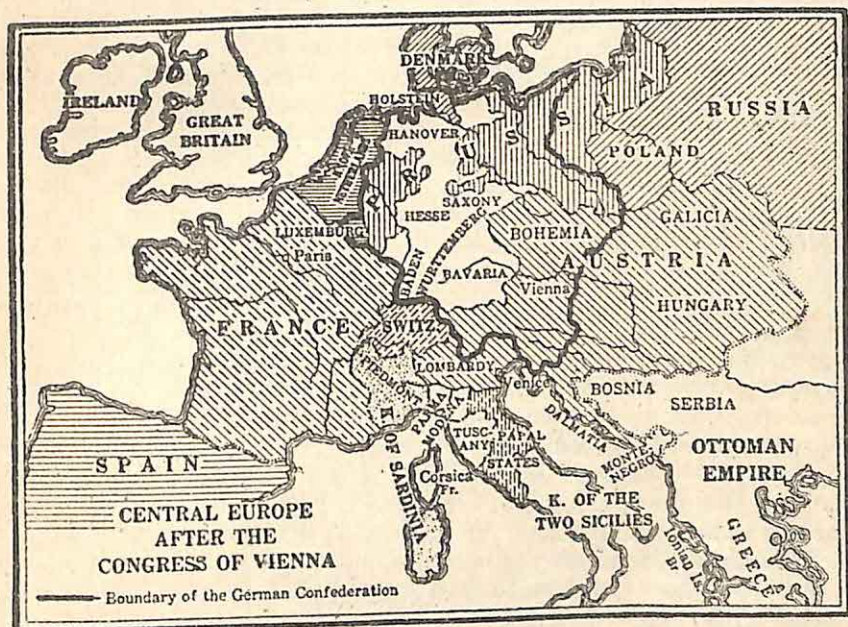
The Vienna Settlement with regard to Germany was hopelessly disappointing from the point of view of German Liberals and patriots. They had been hoping for a unified Germany but instead they got a German Confederation of 39 States. Provision was made for a Federal Diet which was to be presided over by Austria. The ruler of every state was sovereign within his territory and no wonder the sense of self-preservation forced him to oppose the unification of the country and all those liberal movements which were liable to help the cause of German unification. In addition to Austria, there were other non-German elements in the Federal Diet. Hanover, which was under England, was included in the German Confederation and given representation. The Duchy of Holstein which was under the King of Denmark, was also included in the German Confederation and likewise given representation. These foreign elements could not be expected to throw in their weight in the cause of German unity. The Federal Diet was practically given no power over the various States constituting the German Confederation. Austria was the arbiter of the fate of Germany. It was provided by the Federal Act of 1815 that a representative constitution should be framed in every State, but the promise was not fulfilled. Complete reaction set in Germany after 1815. Frederick William III (1797-1840), King of Prussia, could have been expected to lead the patriotic and liberal forces in Germany, but even he fell under the influence of Metternich and consequently joined hands with him to suppress all signs of nationalism and liberalism in the country.

When such was the state of affairs in Germany, the initiative was taken by the universities in that country. Jena became the centre of German liberalism and the university students started a movement which went on growing year after year. The highest ideals of sobriety, chastity and German unity were put before the people. According to Sybel, "The young heroes returning from the war filled the universities with their patriotic indignation, and by the founding of societies of students (*Bruschenschaften*), representing all the universities, they sought to fill all the educated youth of Germany with their enthusiasm for unity, justice and freedom. These societies, for the most part, cherished ambitions which were thoroughly ideal. They did not look to the overthrow of present conditions, but relied upon the training to rising generation. By moral elevation and patriotic inspirations, they hoped to lead the state of the future, to the great goal of national unity. To be sure, their notions of this future state were generally indefinite and were mere unpractical fancies; indeed this enthusiasm rose in some



groups to the pitch of wild fanaticism, so that they were even ready to seize sword and dagger for tyrannicide. Yet such enthusiasts never succeeded in securing in the societies at large any great following for their projects." (*Foundation of the German Empire*, Vol. I, p. 67)

The students' associations began to spread from Jena and within two years, 16 universities came under their control. In 1817,



the students decided to celebrate the tercentenary of the Protestant Reformation and the anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig. At Wartburg, in addition to the common programmes followed by the students at other places, many kinds of things were burnt and some of them were the emblems of militarism, a copy of the Code of Napoleon, a book by Kotzebue, and many other documents. Metternich attached the greatest importance to the celebration. According to him, the proceedings were merely a symbol of the revolutionary unrest prevailing among the people in Germany. When the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle met in 1818, he tried to impress upon the rulers the dangers that lay ahead. Events that took place after 1817 strengthened the hands of Metternich. Off and on, there were revolts in various parts of Germany. In March, 1819, Kotzebue, who was considered to be a Russian spy, was murdered by Karl Sand. Metternich decided to take full advantage of the circumstances. With the approval of the King of Prussia, he called a meeting of the ministers of the important States of Germany at Carlsbad in August 1819. Certain resolutions were passed and those were submitted to the Federal Diet which gave its approval.



**Carlsbad Decrees (1819).** According to the Carlsbad decrees, a special representative of the ruler of the State was to be appointed for each university. He was to reside in the place where the university was situated and he was to exercise large number of powers under the instructions of the ruler. The agent was to see to the strictest enforcement of the existing laws and disciplinary regulations. He was to observe carefully the spirit which was shown by the teachers in the universities in their lectures and report to the government if there were any signs of disloyalty or rebellion. It was the duty of the ruler to remove from the universities or other educational institutions all those teachers who were considered to be abusing their legitimate influence over the students or who spread among the students harmful doctrines hostile to public order or subversive of the existing governmental institutions. Such a teacher was not to be employed in any other university or educational institution. The laws against secret and unauthorized societies in the universities were to be strictly enforced. Those laws applied especially to the University Students' Union (*Allgemeine Burschenschaft*). Those persons who were considered to be members of the secret or unauthorized societies were not to be admitted to any public office. The students who were expelled from one university were not to be admitted into another. No publication which appeared in the form of daily issue or as a serial not exceeding 20 sheets of printed matter, was to go to the press without the previous knowledge and approval of the State officials. The Federal Diet was to have the right to suppress by its own authority such writings as were inimical to the honour of the union, the safety of the individual State or the maintenance of peace and quiet in Germany. There was to be no appeal from such decisions and the governments involved were bound to see that they were enforced. When a newspaper or periodical was suppressed by a decision of the Diet the editor was not to be allowed to edit another similar publication for five years. Provision was made for a central commission of investigation consisting of seven members. Its function was to have a thorough investigation of the facts relating to the origin and manifold ramification of the revolutionary plots and demagogical associations directed against the existing constitution and the internal peace of the union and the individual States. It was also to investigate into the existence of the plots. The Central Investigation Commission was to furnish the Diet from time to time with a report of the results of its investigations.

It is rightly pointed out that by the Carlsbad Decrees, the Emperor of Austria became "the head of an all powerful German police system." Metternich might have gone still further, but his enthusiasm was cooled by the opposition from certain German States. The ruler of Wurtemberg took up the challenge and gave further reforms to his people and put himself at the head of "a purely Germanic league" to resist Austria and Prussia. The result was that the Final Act of Vienna represented a compromise. The independence of the small States was guaranteed. In 1824, the Carlsbad Decrees were made permanent.



**Zollverein.** When such was the state of affairs in Germany, certain forces helped indirectly the unification of the country. A reference may be made in this connection to the Zollverein or the Customs' Union. Before 1818, each district in Prussia had its own customs and there were as many as 67 tariff areas in Prussia alone. These areas stood in the way of trade and unity and consequently Prussia could not compete with Great Britain. On account of the long line of customs houses, there was a lot of smuggling. In 1818, the Tariff Reform Law was passed. By that Act, all raw materials were to be imported free. A duty of 10 per cent was to be levied on manufactured goods and 20% on "colonial" goods. All internal custom duties were abolished. Heavy transit duties on tariff goods passing through Prussia were imposed with a view to compel other States to join Prussia. The result of the reform of 1818 was that Prussia became a free trade area. Internal trade increased and the revenue of the State also showed a rise.

The law of 1818 applied to Prussia alone, but in course of time many other German States joined Prussia. In 1819, Schwarzburg-Sondershausen joined the Union. In 1822, Weimar, Gotha, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Schaumburg-Lippe, Rudolstadt and Hamburg also joined.

However, there was opposition to the Customs' Union from some German States. In 1828, a Customs' Union was set up in the South under the leadership of Bavaria and Wurtemberg. In the same year, another Customs' Union of the middle States was formed. It consisted of Saxony, Hesse-Cassel, Hanover, Brunswick and the free cities of Hamburg in Bremen and Frankfurt.

However, in 1831, Hesse-Cassel joined the Zollverein and the union of the middle States was broken up. In 1834, Bavaria joined the Zollverein for 8 years. The terms of the Union were that the meetings were to be held at Berlin and other places. Bavarian goods were to be given special treatment. In the same year, Saxony also joined. By 1837, most of the States had joined the Zollverein. Whenever the treaties expired they were renewed. Only, Hanover, Oldenburg, Mecklenburg and the Hanse towns remained outside the Zollverein. The main terms of entry into the Zollverein were complete free trade between State and State, uniform tariff on all frontiers and net proceeds to be divided in proportion to population of the States concerned.

It is to be observed that to begin with, Austria was completely indifferent to the Zollverein. Metternich did not attach any importance to commerce and consequently ignored the activities of the Zollverein. However, after the overthrow of Metternich in 1848, Austria made a determined effort to join the Zollverein. Prussia resisted the same and was successful. In 1853, a treaty was entered into between Zollverein and Austria by which certain concessions were given mutually.

The importance of the Zollverein cannot be minimised. According to Marriot and Robertson, "For the first time, Germany became a fiscal and commercial unit. The Zollverein united the



German States in bonds of mutual economic interest; it united them under the leadership of Prussia; and it accustomed them to the exclusion of Austria from the Germanic body." According to Fyffe, "The semblance of political union was carefully avoided, but the germs of political union were nevertheless present in the growing community of material interests." Again, "Patient, sagacious and even liberal in its negotiations with its weaker neighbours, Prussia silently connected with itself through the ties of financial union States which had hitherto looked to Austria as their natural head." The reputation of the Prussian Government no less than the welfare of the Prussian people was advanced by each successive step in the extension of the Zollverein.

According to Dr. Bowring, "The Zollverein has brought the sentiment of German nationality out of the regions of hope and fancy into those of positive and material interests. The general feeling in Germany towards the Zollverein is that it is the first step towards what is called the Germanization. It has broken down some of the strongest holds of alienation and hostility. By a community of interests on commercial and trading questions, it has prepared the way for a political nationality."

**July Revolution and Germany.** The July Revolution of 1830 in France had also its effects on Germany. There were demands for the grant of liberal constitutions and the same were conceded by the rulers of Nassau, Brunswick, Hanover, Saxony and Hesse-Cassel. The rulers of Bavaria, Wurtemberg etc. confirmed the liberal constitutions which they had given after 1815. The net result was that while Prussia remained unchanged, the smaller States got liberal constitutions. However Metternich was able once again to establish his hold over Germany and the Carlsbad Decrees were reconfirmed. The conference was held at Vienna and it was decided to take action against the liberal tendencies of the press and the universities. Provision was made for the establishment of a court to settle the disputes between the rulers and the people of the German States.

**Frederick William IV (1840-61).** During the long reign of Frederick William III (1797-1840), much could not be expected from Prussia. However, he was succeeded by Frederick William IV in 1840. The new King possessed a strong will and intellect. However, his judgment was not as good as his intellectual capacity. To begin with, he released a large number of political prisoners. Mr. Arndt was reappointed as Professor at Bonn and Dahlmann was also given a chair in the same university. The provincial estates were allowed to meet regularly and discuss their affairs freely. The freedom of the press was restored but he refused to grant a parliamentary constitution. In February 1817, Frederick William IV called a meeting of all the provincial estates in Berlin and it came to be known as the united Provincial Diet or States-General. However, the United Diet was dismissed after some time although it attracted a lot of attention.

From 1830 to 1848, there was going on persistent agitation in the smaller States of Germany. The object of the agitation was



two-fold viz., the unification of Germany and the establishment of constitutional and liberal governments in the States. In 1847, a meeting was held and a liberal programme was adopted. Agitation was to be carried for the cancellation of Carlsbad Decrees. Religious toleration, freedom of the press and trial by jury were to be guaranteed. Representative Assemblies were to be set up in every State. Social privileges were to be abolished. A representative assembly was to be provided for the whole of Germany. The standing army was to be substituted by the militia of the people. The army was to take the oath of allegiance to the Constitution and not to the ruler. In the same year, another conference was held. There was a demand for a parliament for the whole of the country.

When the news of the February Revolution reached Germany, the ruler of Baden gave a new constitution to the people and his example was followed by Wurtemberg, Nassau, Brunswick, Weimar, Darmstadt and Hesse-Cassel. The ruler of Bavaria was forced to abdicate and Hanover and Saxony also got liberal constitutions.

So far as Prussia was concerned, there was some trouble in Berlin in March and the King gave a liberal constitution. There was a clash between the people and the troops and ultimately the King of Prussia had to remove the troops from the capital. He also promised to become the leader "of a free and new-born German nation." It was also decided to call a national parliament to frame a constitution.

Heinrich Von Gagern proposed the setting up of a provisional government for the whole of Germany. On 5th March 1848, 50 leaders met at Heidelberg and invitations were issued to the members of the various State legislatures in Germany. On 31st March 1848, about 600 persons attended the meeting at Frankfurt. It was decided at that meeting to set up a legislature of two houses and one executive head of the Federal Government of Germany. The details were to be filled up by a Constituent Assembly of Germany to which representatives were to come from all over the country on the basis of one member for 50,000 of the population. This was done and the popular assembly met at Frankfurt.

*The Frankfurt Parliament* consisted of about 300 members at the beginning but later on, its membership rose to about 550. Heinrich Von Gagern was elected its president. It was dominated by professors and journalists and no wonder a lot of time was wasted on the discussion of abstract principles. The only work done by the Frankfurt Parliament within the first six months was the appointment of a central executive. Archduke John was selected the Imperial Vicar of the provisional government. By the Christmas of 1848, the fundamental rights of the people of Germany were agreed upon. Some of those rights were civil and religious equality, freedom of the press, trial by jury, abolition of special privileges, etc.

There were two schools of thought with regard to the inclusion or exclusion of Austria from Germany. The "little Germans" insisted on excluding Austria but the "great Germans" were in favour of the inclusion of Austria. Ultimately, the former won and



Austria was excluded. Provision was made for a hereditary king and a German Confederation. The throne of Germany was offered by the Frankfurt Parliament to Frederick William IV of Prussia on 28th March, 1849 but the same was rejected on 3rd April, 1849. Many factors were responsible for his decision. He was temperamentally conservative and was not in sympathy with the aspirations of the Frankfurt Parliament. He was not prepared to be "a serf of the revolution". He believed in the Divine Right of Kings and was not prepared to accept the constitution framed by the Frankfurt Parliament. He might have accepted the throne if the same had been offered to him by the princes, but he refused to accept the same from the people. He was not prepared to accept "*the crown of shame*" out of the "*gutter*". Probably the real reason was that the *King of Prussia was not prepared to fight against Austria*. By this time, Austria had recovered herself and if the King of Prussia had accepted the throne offered to him by the Frankfurt Parliament, he would certainly have come into conflict with Austria. That would have meant war and the King of Prussia felt that he was not equal to the task. It was under these circumstances that the throne was refused and with that the work of the Frankfurt Parliament ended. The people of Germany had tried to frame a constitution, but their efforts failed. They wasted the valuable time in the beginning in academic discussions. If they had acted with speed at the beginning, there were greater chances of their success. The failure of the Frankfurt Parliament convinced the Germans that some other method had to be followed to bring about the unification of the country.

According to Hazen, "The Parliament of Frankfurt, on which such hopes had been centred, failed in the end, to some extent because of the mistakes of its members, but chiefly because of the resolute opposition of the princes of Germany, and, in particular, of Prussia and Austria, the two leading German States, neither of which was willing to make any sacrifices for the common good and each of which was jealous and suspicious of the other. It, however, succeeded in drafting a constitution of many high merits, a constitution nobly planned which guaranteed civil liberty to every German, equality before the law, responsible parliamentary control for the central government and for the government of the separate States."

Although the King of Prussia refused the throne offered by the Frankfurt Parliament, he tried to unite the German States under his leadership in another way. His minister, Radowitz prepared the draft of a constitution which was to be the basis of the union. Prussia was to be the president of a college of princes and Austria was to be excluded from it. In March 1850, a German Parliament met at Erfurt. However, Schwarzenberg, the new Chancellor of Austria, was determined to establish the Austrian hold over Germany and consequently was not prepared to allow the activities of the King of Prussia to continue. The King of Prussia was forced to surrender by the convention of Olmutz. He agreed to dissolve the "union" and the German Confederation of 1815 was restored.



Austria was triumphant and reaction set in Germany. In 1850, the King of Prussia gave a new constitution to his people and that remained the basis of the Government of Prussia up to 1918. This state of affairs continued up to 1857.

Although the movement of 1848-49 was a failure, it taught certain lessons to the people of Germany. There could be no unification of Germany so long as Austria was strong enough to oppose the same. That unity could not be achieved by constitutional means. The liberals were not practical men and they talked more of theories and less of the actual problems facing the country. Austria could be turned out from Germany only if Germany had a stronger force than that of Austria and that force could come only from Prussia. The necessity of having a very strong army was realized by all.

Frederick William IV became insane in 1857 and his brother, William I, became the Regent. On the death of Frederick William IV in 1861, he became the King of Prussia.

**William I (1861-88).** William I was a man of parts. He believed in the destiny and mission of Prussia. He was a Prussian to the core. He believed in autocracy. He possessed all the qualities of a soldier. He was a judge of men and could make a choice of servants on whom he could rely.

The humiliation of Prussia at the hands of Austria had convinced William I that if Germany was to be liberated, that could be done only if Prussia came to have a very big army. In 1849, he had observed thus: "Whoever wishes to rule Germany, must conquer it and that cannot be done by phrases." It was with that conviction in his mind that he appointed Moltke as the Chief of the General Staff and Roon as the Minister of War. It is these two persons who started reorganising the Prussian Army and they put forward their proposals for its further development. The Prussian Landtag or Legislature voted the supplies in 1861 for one year, but in 1862, it rejected the same. While William I insisted on the army reforms, the Liberals who had a majority in the Prussian Landtag stood for constitutional reforms. Under the circumstances, a deadlock was



William I



inevitable. It is rightly pointed out that there were three alternatives before the King of Prussia. He could give up the reform of the army. He could abdicate. He could suspend the constitution and send the members of the Landtag home. He was in a fix and did not know what to do. Ultimately, it was decided to invite Bismarck from Paris to handle the situation. It was in these circumstances that Bismarck was appointed the Minister-President of Prussia in 1862. He gave the following assurance to William I : *"I will rather perish with the king than forsake your Majesty in the contest with parliamentary government."*

Bismarck was a "bully and an absolutist". He had no faith in parliamentary institutions. He believed in autocracy and military force. To quote him, *"Not by speeches and resolutions of the majorities are the great questions of the day to be decided, but by blood and iron."* He agreed with William I that the re-organisation of the Prussian army was absolutely essential for the unification of the country. He was prepared to oust the Prussian Landtag if the latter refused to vote the supplies for the re-organisation of the army. He did not care for constitutional methods if those stood in his way for the realisation of his aim. No wonder, he had to rule the country in an autocratic manner for 4 years and got the money from the people without the authority of the Landtag. The money having been got, the programme of the army reform was carried out.

In 1868, Austria summoned a Congress of the German princes to consider proposals "for the reform of the German Confederation". Prussia was also invited. If the move of Austria had been successful, the Austrian influence in Germany would have continued. Bismarck prevailed upon the King of Prussia not to attend the conference and the latter ended in failure.

**Schleswig-Holstein Question.** Reference may be made to the Schleswig-Holstein question which Bismarck exploited to serve his ends. Schleswig and Holstein were two Duchies under the King of Denmark. There was a personal union of these Duchies with the King of Denmark. The Duchy of Holstein was essentially German in blood and was a member of the German Confederation of 1815. Schleswig was populated both by the Germans and the Danes. The people of Denmark wanted to incorporate these Duchies in their country. The people of Germany wanted to include them in the German Confederation. An attempt was made in 1848 to amalgamate the political institutions of the Duchies into those of Denmark. However, the attempt had to be given up on account of the opposition of the Germans, Prussia and the Duke of Augustenburg who had very strong claims on the Duchies. The situation was serious and there was a possibility of war. However, the Powers intervened and a compromise was arrived at by the Treaty of London (1852). Denmark was forbidden to incorporate the Duchies. The Duke of Augustenburg sold his claims to the King of Denmark.

In 1863, a new king came on the throne of Denmark and he published a new constitution which organically incorporated Schleswig with Denmark and bound Holstein with closer ties. This



was clearly a violation of the terms of the Treaty of London. The Schleswig-Holstein question was re-opened once again. The Duke of Augustenburg revived his claims. Bismarck decided to make the best of the opportunity in the cause of German unification. He did not want the Duchies to go to Denmark or to the Duke. He wanted to include them in Prussia. He also wanted to try the newly-organised armies of Prussia and a war with Denmark could have given such an opportunity. He entered into an agreement with Austria to take joint action against Denmark so that ultimately there may be possibility of a quarrel with Austria on the question of the division of spoils of war.

With these objects in view, an ultimatum was given to the King of Denmark demanding from him the cancellation of the constitution promulgated by him. As he refused to do so, both Austria and Prussia declared war against Denmark. The Danes were no match for the combined armies and by the Treaty of Vienna (1864), the King of Denmark surrendered the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein to Austria and Prussia.

Having got the Duchies, there arose the question of their division. The suggestion of Austria was that both of them should be handed over to the Duke of Augustenburg but Prussia refused to do so. Ultimately, it was agreed by the *Convention of Gastein* (1865) that pending a final settlement, Austria was to occupy and administer Holstein and Prussia was to occupy and administer Schleswig. The question of the Duchies was not to be brought before the German Diet. It was pointed out that the Convention of Gastein was a great diplomatic victory for Bismarck. He was able to oust the Duke of Augustenburg altogether and he was also able to create a situation in which there was every possibility of trouble with Austria.

According to Taylor, "The treaty of Gastein, like the treaty of Schonbrunn before it (and the Gablenz proposals of May 1866 after it), has been a subject of endless controversy. Some have seen in it simply a calculated step by Bismarck on the path towards an inevitable war; others have found in it the proof of his desire to re-establish the conservative German partnership of Metternich's days. May be it was neither. Bismarck was a diplomatic genius, inexperienced in war and disliking its risks. He may well have hoped to manoeuvre Austria out of the Duchies, perhaps even out of the headship of Germany, by diplomatic strokes; marvels of this sort were not beyond him in later life. His diplomacy in this period seems rather calculated to frighten Austria than to prepare for war. The only bait he held out to France was that, if Prussia got the Duchies, she would apply 'the national principle' by restoring northern Sleswick to Denmark; all he asked in return was benevolent neutrality." (*The Struggle for Mastery in Europe*, pp. 157-58)

The Convention of Gastein was not favourable to Austria. She was given control over a territory which was hedged in by Prussian territory on both sides. It is rightly pointed out that the Convention merely "papered over the cracks". It was not a



solution of the problem. *Austria felt that her position in Holstein was precarious and she began to encourage the claim of the Duke of Augustenburg. She also decided to refer the matter to the Diet of the German Confederation. Evidently, that was a violation of the Convention of Gastein. Bismarck asked Austria to stop the propaganda in Holstein in favour of the Duke of Augustenburg. Austria refused and the Prussian troops entered Holstein and turned out the Austrians. Bismarck also proposed the reform of the German Confederation on the basis of universal suffrage, but Austria opposed the same. Austria prevailed upon the Diet of the German Confederation to take action against Prussia. Prussia left the German Confederation and declared war against Austria in 1866.*

However, before declaring the war, Bismarck had not only made military preparations but also left no stone unturned to isolate Austria diplomatically. The result was that when the war actually started, Austria had absolutely no ally. Reference may be made in this connection to the relations of Bismarck with Russia, France and Italy.

**Isolation of Austria : Russia.** Bismarck did all that he could to win over Russia and thereby ensure that in the event of a war with Austria, Russia would not join hands with Austria as she had done in 1849 when Nicholas I came to the help of Austria against Hungary. Bismarck was the Prussian ambassador at Petersburg from 1859 to 1862. It was at that time that he tried to win over Russia to the side of Prussia. The Crimean War had broken agreement between Russia and Prussia. Bismarck cultivated personal friendship with Czar Alexander II and thereby brought the two countries together. This deliberate pro-Russian policy was pursued by Bismarck when he was appointed Minister-President in 1862.

In 1863, the Poles revolted against the Czar. Napoleon III was friendly towards the Polish cause and the Liberals of Prussia were also enthusiastic for their cause. However, Bismarck informed the Czar that "Prussia would stand shoulder to shoulder with him against the common enemy". Bismarck could not tolerate the creation of a united Poland which was bound to be an enemy and a rival of Prussia. That is why he opposed the Polish revolt. However, there were stronger reasons for his anti-Polish attitude. Bismarck knew that he had to depend upon the support of Russia in a war with Austria in the future. He decided to make the best use of the opportunity offered by the Polish revolt. He entered into an agreement with Alexander II by which he agreed to take strong action against those Poles who took refuge in Prussia or tried to have recruits in Prussia or in any way used Prussia as a base for their operations. Although Bismarck was condemned for his action, he cared only for the friendship of Russia and nothing else. It was in this way that Bismarck was able to win over Russia to his own side and he knew that she would not side with Austria in the event of a war between Prussia and Austria.



**France.** Bismarck also tried to win over Napoleon III to his own side. While Bismarck was the Prussian ambassador in Paris in 1862, he tried to cultivate good relations with Napoleon III. The latter came to form a very high opinion of Bismarck. In October 1865, Bismarck had an interview with Napoleon III at *Biarritz*. The interview was confidential and no account of it was maintained. However, as a result of the interview, Napoleon III promised the neutrality of France in the event of a war between Prussia and Austria. He agreed to the annexation of the Elbe Duchies by Prussia in the case of victory. In the case of an alliance between Italy and Prussia, he also approved of the giving of Venetia to Italy. Napoleon did not protest against the reform of the German Confederation and the creation of a new State of Northern Germany under Prussian leadership. The question of compensation to France for her neutrality was raised and Bismarck accepted the possibility of petty rectification of frontiers so long as the same was not at the expense of Prussia or Germany. Bismarck seems to have offered what did not belong to him. He seems to have suggested that France could take South-eastern Belgium. The aim of Bismarck was clear. He wanted to secure the neutrality of France but at the same time he did not want to commit himself in such a way that he may have to face any difficulty with regard to compensation to France. It is pointed out that Napoleon III had real sympathy with Bismarck so far as the question of unification of Germany was concerned. He was also in favour of helping Italy to take Venetia. He also thought that if a strong State in North Germany was created, there was every possibility of Austria depending upon France. Napoleon III also thought that there was every possibility of Prussia being defeated and in such a case France would be in a position to establish her hold over the smaller States of Germany. Anyhow, Bismarck had secured the neutrality of France and when the war started with Austria, the latter could expect no help from France.

**Italy.** Bismarck also tried to win over Italy which was the natural enemy of Austria as there were still Italian-speaking areas under the control of Austria. Italy wanted to get Venetia which she could do only with foreign help. A commercial treaty was arranged between Italy and Prussia but Bismarck wanted to have an offensive alliance. Bismarck realised the importance of attacking Austria on two fronts, one from Italy and the other from Prussia. The difficulty in the way of an alliance was that both countries were full of distrust. Each country thought that the other was going to use the alliance as a lever to get concessions out of Austria. In spite of this, a treaty was signed between Italy and Prussia in April 1866 by which Italy was to attack Austria if Prussia started the war within three months. It is rightly pointed out that it was a treaty of "mutual insurance and suspicion". Anyhow, the active support of Italy was ensured against Austria.

It is pointed out that the King of Prussia wrote to Napoleon III in March 1865 and Napoleon III replied with a promise of benevolent neutrality. However, he put forward his claim for



the year." During his stay at Frankfurt, Bismarck tried to win over the rulers of the minor States of Germany. He tried to strengthen the economic ties of Prussia with them. He opposed the intervention of Prussia against Russia in the Crimean War. To quote him, "Prussia must never let Russia's friendship wax cold." Again, "We had absolutely no interest in the Eastern Question that could possibly justify a war with Russia...we should without provocation be attacking our hitherto friend either out of fear of France or for the *beaux yeux* of England and Austria."

In 1859, Bismarck was appointed Prussian Ambassador in Russia and he stayed there for three years. During his stay there, he tried to win over Russia to the side of Prussia. In 1862, he was appointed the Prussian Ambassador in France, but he had hardly occupied that position for a few months when he was summoned in September, 1862, to Berlin to become the Minister-President. He had to tackle a very difficult situation which had arisen on account of the determination of William I, King of Prussia, to increase the Prussian Army and the refusal of the Landtag to vote supplies for the same. It is stated that when his appointment was made in 1862, even King William I was not impressed. He referred to him as a thoroughbred reactionary who smelled of blood. He was given the titles of "a swaggering junker", "a hollow braggart", "a Napoleon-worshipper" and "a town uprooter". However, it was this unimpressive person who performed the herculean job of German unification. Speaking in the Budget Committee only a few days after his succession to power, Bismarck summed up his policy in these words" *It is not by speechifying and majorities that the great questions of the time will have to be decided—that was the mistake in 1848 and 1849, but by blood and iron.*"

It has already been pointed out that Bismarck brought about the unification of Germany by fighting the Danish War of 1864, the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 and the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. He was opposed at the beginning and he had to follow arbitrary methods. However, when his position was vindicated after the defeat of Austria in 1866, the opposition ended and he came to be recognized as a great leader. By 1871, Bismarck could say that Germany was "a saturated State" and his policy after that became one of maintaining peace and avoiding war.

**Internal Policy.** Between 1871 and 1890, Bismarck was the chief figure in the domestic politics of his country and in the international field. During the first few years, he was able to pass a large number of laws for the purpose of welding together the States and the people of Germany.

The legal system of Germany was transformed. Instead of the different systems of laws for the different States, a uniform code of law for the entire German Empire was adopted. Likewise, a uniform coinage replaced the different currency systems of the various States. An imperial railway bureau was set up in 1873 with a view to unify the different railway systems in the various States. The railways were also linked up with the military, postal and



telegraphic organisations of the Empire. The control over banking in the country was put in the hands of the Bundesrat by the Bank Act of 1875. In 1876, the Reichsbank or the Imperial Bank, was established. Compulsory and military service was enforced all over Germany. The peace strength of the German army was fixed at 4 lakhs. Bismarck's view was that the expenses for the maintenance of the standing army should be made a permanent charge on the revenues of the State, but the Reichstag refused to oblige him. Ultimately, a compromise was made by which appropriations for the army were made for 7 years at the beginning and for 5 years afterwards. However, Bismarck was clever enough to get the money for the army by creating a kind of war-scare.

It is true that Bismarck enjoyed the backing of the majority of the legislature consisting of the National Liberal Party and the Free Conservatives, but there were certain elements which were opposed to him. The Progressives were a thorn in Bismarck's side. They were not satisfied with the German Constitution of 1871 and demanded drastic changes in the same on the lines of the British parliamentary system. They were also opposed to the policy of blood and iron of Bismarck. They teased Bismarck by their lengthy speeches in the legislature. A few socialists who were the followers of Karl Marx or of Ferdinand Lassalle, were also opposed to him. The deputies from Hanover known as the "Guells" and led by Ludwig Windthorst, were also opposed to him. They demanded autonomy for their State. One or two Danes from Schleswig were also opposed to him and demanded the giving back of northern Schleswig to Denmark. There were a few Poles from Posen and West Prussia who opposed the anti-Polish policy of Bismarck. The 15 deputies from Alsace-Lorraine consistently opposed Bismarck. Even on the occasion of their first appearance in the Reichstag in 1874 they protested against the incorporation of Alsace-Lorraine into the German Empire. There were certain other groups who stood for the rights of the States and as such were opposed to the centralising tendencies of the Bismarckian regime.

**The Kulturkampf.** ("*Battle for Civilization*"). Bismarck took action against the Roman Catholic Church in Germany and that was named by Virchow as the Kulturkampf. Bismarck had his old enmity with the Roman Catholic Church. The Roman Catholics were the supporters of Austria and the opponents of the Protestant dynasty of Prussia. The Pope had openly prayed for the victory of Austria against Prussia in 1866. The Roman Catholic Church was opposed to the new German Empire. The authority of the Pope within Germany was very great and his influence over the lay people was also extensive. The Catholic party was anti-national and opposed to the politics of Bismarck. It was creating difficulties between Germany and the Kingdom of Italy. It was a State within a State. Pope Pius IX issued the "Syllabus of Errors" in 1864. In 1870 was propounded the doctrine of Papal Infallibility. It was solemnly proclaimed as "a dogma divinely willed that His Church should be endowed for defending faith or moral and that therefore such definitions of the Roman pontiff are



compensation. French politicians like *Thiers* were opposed to the policy of neutrality in the event of a war between Austria and Prussia. A proposal for a congress was made but Austria turned down the same. Bismarck was happy at the prospects of war.

**Austro-Prussian War (1866).** The war between Austria and Prussia was a very short one and that is why it is called the Seven Weeks' War. To begin with, it appeared that Austria would be successful as she had the support of Bavaria, Saxony and the other small States of Germany. However, the Prussian military organisation was so efficient that Austria could not stand it. Moreover, Austria had to fight on two fronts. She had not only to fight against the Prussian attack but also against the Italians who declared war against Austria at the same time as Prussia did. It is true that the Italians were defeated in the Battle of Custozza and also in a naval action off Lissa, but the Italian defeats did not affect the outcome of the war. Austria was defeated by Prussia in the battle of *Sadowa* or *Koniggratz* in Bohemia. After the victory at *Sadowa*, the Prussian troops clamoured for a march on Vienna and they were supported by the King. Bismarck was opposed to such a move and ultimately he had his way. He offered very lenient terms to Austria and the same were accepted by the *Treaty of Prague* (1866). By that Treaty, Austria acknowledged the dissolution of "the Germanic Confederation as hitherto constituted". She also consented "to a new organisation of Germany without the participation of the Imperial Austrian State." Venetia was given to Italy. The indemnity imposed was a nominal one. Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, the free city of Frankfurt-on-the-Maine and the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were annexed to Prussia. The population of the northern districts of Schleswig was to be re-united to Denmark if the people expressed such a wish by a free vote. All the States north of the *Maine* were to join the North-German Confederation under the leadership of Prussia. The Southern States of Germany were allowed to remain independent.

**Effects of the War.** The Austro-Prussian war had far-reaching effects. Austria was excluded from Germany and Prussia emerged as the leader of Germany. The military efficiency of Prussia was also recognised in Europe. She also came to be regarded as a great military power. The success of Bismarck discredited the Liberals of Prussia and consequently the cause of liberalism in Germany was lost. The acquisition of Venetia by Italy took her a step further in the process of the unification of the country. Only Rome was left outside united Italy. The war also had its effects on the Austrian Empire. The loss of Venetia in Italy and her exclusion from Germany forced Austria to come to terms with the Magyars and Hungary. The result was the *Ausgleich* of 1867 between Austria and Hungary. A dual monarchy was set up. Both Austria and Hungary were to be independent in their affairs except in matters of war and diplomacy. Both of them were to have the same ruler who was to be called the Emperor in Austria and King in Hungary. Provision was made for joint delegations of the two countries. The new settlement continued up to 1918.



**Francó-Prussian War (1870-71).** *The unification of Germany was not complete even after the defeat of Austria in 1866. The Southern States of Germany had still to be united and it was not possible to do so with the help of force. If Bismarck had tried to do so, there was every possibility of their being helped by France and that was not proper. Consequently, Bismarck handled the situation cautiously. Between 1867 and 1870, Bismarck followed a policy of winning over the Southern States by a policy of conciliation and help. He gave them money. He gave them military officers to train their armies, but otherwise did not interfere in their affairs. Efforts were made to impress upon them that Prussia was their friend and they had nothing to fear from her.*

Bismarck was convinced that "a war with France lay in the logic of history," and he prepared his country for that eventuality. Military preparations were pushed forward and everything was made perfect. Both Moltke and Roon waited for the day when the war would start with France.

Bismarck also was successful in isolating France diplomatically. Italy was already annoyed with Napoleon III of France as he had betrayed her in 1859. Prussia had helped her in 1866 to get Venetia and no wonder Italy was grateful to Prussia. Moreover, French troops were occupying Rome since 1849 and the unification could be completed only if the French troops withdrew from Rome. That was possible only if France was involved in a war where the military pressure forced her to withdraw them. Consequently, Italy could not be expected to fight on the side of France.

Bismarck was also able to secure the neutrality of Russia. Russia had not forgotten the Crimean War in which France defeated her. Moreover, Bismarck told the Czar that he could repudiate the Black Sea clauses of the Treaty of Paris when he attacked France.

Bismarck had won over Austria in 1866 by giving her very favourable terms. Although the Prussians were victorious he did not allow them to enter the city of Vienna as desired by them. She was not forced to pay a huge war-indemnity. Bismarck could count upon the neutrality of Austria in the event of a war with France.

If Bismarck wanted a war to complete the unification of Germany, Napoleon III also wanted a war with Prussia. It was felt in France that it was not Austria who was defeated in the Battle of Sadowa, but that it was the diplomatic defeat of France. No wonder, France wanted to have revenge for that humiliation. Moreover opposition to Napoleon III was increasing in France and he felt that the only way to win over the support of all the sections of the people of France was by declaring a war against Prussia. It was under these circumstances that the trap was laid by Bismarck and Napoleon III entered the same.

The throne of Spain had been offered twice to Prince Leopold, but the same had been rejected by him. On the persuasion of Bismarck, the offer was renewed once again. There was a lot of



agitation in the French press over the offer. It was pointed out that France would be sandwiched between Prussia and Spain and thus her very existence would be endangered. Although Leopold withdrew his acceptance of the throne, the agitation continued. Napoleon demanded an assurance from the King of Prussia that he would never in future allow the renewal of the candidature of Leopold. Benedetti, the French ambassador, tried to impose himself on the King of Prussia who was at the watering place of Ems. The Prussian King sent a telegram containing an account of his interview with the French ambassador. Bismarck abridged the telegram in such a way that it appeared to the French that their ambassador was insulted and it appeared to the Prussians that their king was insulted. When the news reached France, there was a demand for war against Prussia, and the same was declared.

The most important battle of the war was that of *Sedan* in which Napoleon III was defeated and he surrendered. Although a republic was set up in France, Bismarck insisted on entering Paris. As that was not acceptable to the people of France, a siege of Paris started. There was a stiff resistance but ultimately Paris had to surrender. The war was ended by the Treaty of Frankfurt of 1871 by which France ceded Alsace and Lorraine to Germany. She was also to pay a huge war-indemnity. A ceremony was held in the famous Hall of Mirrors at Versailles in 1871 where the king of Prussia was declared the Emperor of Germany. The Southern States of Germany also joined the German Confederation. It was in this way that the unification of Germany was completed.

According to Hazen, "the Treaty of Frankfurt remained the open sore of Europe after 1871. France could never forget or forgive the deep humiliation of it. The enormous fine could, with the lapse of time, have been overlooked, but never the seizure of the two provinces by mere force and against the unanimous and passionate protest of the people of Alsace and Lorraine. Moreover, the eastern frontier of France was thus seriously weakened."

However, the Franco-Prussian War had other consequences also. It led to the final completion of the unification of Italy. That was due to the fact that when the war started between France and Prussia, French troops were withdrawn from Rome and the Italian troops entered the same. Russia took advantage of the war and repudiated the Black Sea clauses of the Treaty of Paris. The Empire of Napoleon was overthrown in France and a Republic was set up in that country.

About the Franco-Prussian War, Prof. Taylor points out that "though victory over France in 1870 certainly united Germany, the war lacked the deliberation of the war against Austria. Between 1862 and 1866 Bismarck steadily screwed up the pressure, despite occasional and perhaps genuine scruples; unless the Austrians accepted his terms, the repeated crises were bound to end in war. There was no such steady march to war between 1866 and 1870; indeed no alarm disturbed Franco-Prussian relations between the Luxembourg affair in 1867 and the outbreak of war more than three



years later. Nor did Bismarck suffer in these years from the nightmare of coalitions which dominated him later. He dismissed the rumours of French alliance with Austria-Hungary and Italy as 'conjectural rubbish,' which indeed they turned out to be. He was not perturbed by good relations between France and Russia; since these must be based on the abandonment by France of her Polish sympathies, Prussia could always make a third in the partnership. His own policy was more passive than at any time before or afterwards. Though he kept the solid basis of friendship with Russia, this was confined to a common hostility towards Poland; and he never allowed the Russians to draw him into supporting them in the Near East. Ultimately he hoped for a conservative alliance with Russia and Austria-Hungary; like all alliances based on principle, this had the advantage of providing security without having to pay a price for it. But he knew that he would have to wait until Habsburg resentment at the defeat of 1866 had died away." (*The Struggle for Mastery in Europe*, p. 201).

According to Thomson, "There has been considerable disagreement among historians about whether the long sequence of events which culminated in the new German Reich of 1871 can be regarded as one coherent plan, conceived in the mastermind of Bismarck when he came to power in 1862 and then carried out with uncanny insight and dominating will power, according to a precise time-table. Both the enthusiastic hero worshippers of Bismarck and his liberal critics have tended to argue that this was so. There is one remarkable piece of evidence which supports this view. According to Disraeli who met Bismarck at a dinner in London in 1862, shortly before he came to power, Bismarck told him about his whole scheme in the course of half an hour's conversation. Later in the evening Disraeli remarked to Saburov of the Russian embassy in London. 'What an extraordinary man Bismarck is! He meets me for the first time and he tells me all he is going to do. He will attack Denmark in order to get possession of Schleswig-Holstein; he will put Austria out of the German Confederation and then he will attack France—an extraordinary man!' If this tale is true, and both Saburov and the official biographers of Disraeli vouched for it, there would seem to be no doubt that at least the broad design was in Bismarck's mind when he took office.

"But it is so rare in history for even the greatest of statesmen to plan successfully ten years ahead and then to impose their plans on the world, that Bismarck's more recent biographers have cast doubts on whether he can be credited with so much uncanny and prophetic insight. Bismarck, it is argued, was not like Metternich or Alexander I, a system maker. He was a brilliant opportunist, whose course of action always remained undecided and flexible until the last moment and whose policy looks more clear-cut and coherent in retrospect than it was at the time. He was first and always a Prussian nationalist who believed that Russian interests demanded that she should dominate the whole of Northern Germany and exclude Austria from German affairs. His policy towards



Denmark, Austria, and even France was guided unerefore only by the one ultimate test of the interests of the Prussian State. All else was a matter of detail and method, determined by the circumstances of the moment as he, with his profoundly realistic insight into the nature of European politics, understood them. *The unification of Germany was incidental, a by-product of the never-ending pursuit of Prussian interest.*" (*Europe since Napoleon*, pp. 291-92)

### Suggested Readings

- |                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| Clark, C.W.            | : <i>Franz Joseph and Bismarck : The Diplomacy of Austria before the War of 1866.</i> |
| Dawson, W.H.           | : <i>Evolution of Modern Germany.</i>   |
| Dawson, W.H.           | : <i>The German Empire, 1867-1914.</i>  |
| Ergang, R.E.           | : <i>Herder and the Foundation of German Nationalism, 1931.</i>                       |
| Friedjung, H.          | : <i>The Struggle for Supremacy in Germany (1859-1866), 1936.</i>                     |
| Gooch, C.P.            | : <i>Germany.</i>   |
| Headlam                | : <i>Bismarck and the Foundations of the German Empire.</i>                           |
| Henderson, E.F.        | : <i>A Short History of Germany.</i>  |
| Marriott and Robertson | : <i>The Evolution of Prussia.</i>  |
| Oncken, H.             | : <i>Napoleon III and the Rhine : The Origin of the War of 1870-71, 1892.</i>         |
| Priest                 | : <i>Germany Since 1740.</i>  |
| Taylor, A.J.P.         | : <i>The Course of German History.</i>  |
| Valentin, V.           | : <i>1848 : Chapters in German History, 1940.</i>                                     |
| Willoughby, L.A.       | : <i>The Romantic Movement in Germany, 1930.</i>                                      |



## CHAPTER XVIII

### BISMARCK (1815-98)

Bismarck was one of the most fascinating personalities in the history of modern Europe. It is true that there were other factors which contributed to the unification of Germany during the 19th century, but the main credit for uniting it must go to Bismarck. In the words of Prof. Fyffe, Bismarck led a reluctant nation to a goal which he had himself fixed for it. There is no doubt that but for him, German unity might have remained only a dream for a long time to come.

Bismarck was born on 1st April, 1815. His father was a Junker and he got his good physique from him. His mother was the daughter of a distinguished civil servant and the grand-daughter of a professor and it is stated that he got his brain from his mother. Prince Bismarck was educated at Berlin and Gottingen. He was trained for a diplomatic career. He travelled a lot in France and England. He became a member of the Provincial Diet of Pomerania in 1845. He entered the Imperial Diet of Berlin in 1847. In 1849, he was elected a member of the lower chamber of Prussia. In 1851, he was appointed the envoy of Prussia in the Federal Diet at Frankfurt and he remained there for eight years. His stay at Frankfurt profoundly influenced his views on politics. He wrote thus in 1859 about his experience of Frankfurt : "I have brought away as the result of my experience from the eight years of my official life at Frankfurt the conviction that the present arrangements of the Bund form for Prussia an oppressive and at critical times a perilous tie...I see in our connection in the Bund an infirmity which we shall have to repair sooner or later, *Ferro et igni*, if we do not apply timely remedies to it at a favourable season of



Bismarck



*per se* immutable and independent of the consent of the Church." According to this doctrine, the Catholics were bound to obey more the Pope than the State and that could not be tolerated by any ruler. To quote Bismarck, "It is the infallibility of the Pope which threatens the State. He arrogates to himself whatever secular rights he pleases...declares our laws null and void, levies taxes... in a word, no one in Prussia is so powerful as this foreigner." Again, "The struggle is purely political and not one between a Protestant dynasty and the Catholic church; it is not one between faith and unbelief; it is only the re-appearance of the conflict—older than the advent of Redeemer of the world, as old as the human race itself, the same contest for power as Agamemnon waged with his seers at Aulis and which cost him his daughter, while preventing the Greeks from setting sail for Troy; the conflict that raged all through the Middle Ages between the Pope and the Kaisers." Bismarck was assisted by many sections of the German population. The old Catholics under Doctor Dollinger contested the new Papal claim to infallibility and supported Bismarck. The German Liberals condemned the Papal Syllabus of 1864 and supported Bismarck. Virchow, the atheist scientist also supported Bismarck. The Progressives also supported Bismarck.

In 1872, the Jesuits were expelled from Germany and diplomatic relations between Prussia and the Vatican were cut off. In May 1873 and in May 1874 laws were passed by the Prussian Landtag against the Roman Catholics. These laws came to be known as the "May laws" as they were passed in the month of May. They were also called the "Falk laws" after the name of the Prussian Minister of Education. These laws required that every official of the Catholic Church in Prussia, whether he was a bishop or a priest, was to be a German citizen, a graduate of a German public school and German university. He was also required to be duly certified and "authorized" by the government. All the schools run by the Roman Catholic Church were to be under the control of the State. All Catholic preparatory schools for the clergy were banned. All religious education was to be given in the German language and not in any other language. When the Catholics of Prussia protested against the laws and refused to obey them, more drastic legislation was enacted. The "authorized" persons were forbidden from performing the religious functions. The rebellious clergymen were liable to lose citizenship of the country and also could be imprisoned or exiled. The financial aid to the church was liable to be suspended in any diocese whose bishop was rebellious. Provision was made for compulsory civil marriage in every case. Public excommunications were forbidden. Provision was made for taking up of appeal against ecclesiastical punishments. The State was to have authority in the appointment and dismissal of the priests. In 1875, all religious orders were dissolved.

The Pope declared the May laws as null and void and asked the Roman Catholics to defy them. Bismarck was also adamant in his attitude. He categorically declared thus: "*We shall not go to canons, either in body or in spirit.*" This refers to the incident of



1077 when a quarrel took place between Pope Gregory VII and the Emperor Henry IV. The latter had to go to the Italian town of Canossa and make a humiliating surrender before the Pope. What Bismarck wanted to say was that he would not surrender before the Pope.

It is pointed out that the laws against the Catholic Church were enforced with so much of strictness that in one year, 6 Catholic bishops were put in prison and Catholic worship was stopped in 1,300 parishes. By 1877, every German bishop and hundreds of priests were either in prison or in exile. Catholic laymen were also removed from the service of the State.

Catholics of Germany were not discouraged in their opposition to the State by the severity of the legislation against them. Under the leadership of Windthorst, a strong Catholic Party known as the Centre Party, was set up to oppose the government and get the anti-Catholic legislation repealed. With a short time, the Centre Party gained in strength. In the general elections of 1874, its representation in the Reichstag increased from 60 to 90. Windthorst was able to align himself with all the elements opposed to Bismarck and thereby give a lot of trouble to the government. Ultimately, a section of the Conservatives who were otherwise supporters of Bismarck, began to co-operate with Windthorst. When that happened Bismarck decided to call a halt to his policy against the Catholic Church. He also found another danger from the Socialists which he considered to be more serious than that of the Catholics. They were anti-monarchical, anti-militarist, and men, without a country. They were the enemies of family-life and the Empire. Bismarck decided to take action against the Socialists and under the circumstances it was desirable to come to a compromise with the Catholic Church. His work was facilitated by the death of Pope Pius IX and the succession of Pope Leo XIII. The latter was diplomatic and willing to compromise. The new Pope was able to find out grounds of agreement without giving up his theoretical claims. The result was that in 1880, the Prussian Landtag empowered the government to use its discretion in the enforcement of the May laws. Diplomatic relations with the Vatican were restored. In 1886, the most oppressive laws against the Catholic Church were repealed. Bismarck had to admit that Kulturkampf was a failure. Although he did not go to Canossa, yet there is no denying the fact that he had to admit defeat in his conflict with the Church. The only result of the struggle was the strengthening of the Catholic Party in Germany.

**Action against Socialism.** As a result of the Industrial Revolution in Germany, the Socialist propaganda began to spread among the working classes in the country. In the election of 1874, the Socialists got 9 seats in the Reichstag. In 1875, the Social Democratic Party was founded. In the elections of 1877, the number of Socialist deputies increased to 12. Bismarck regarded the Socialist principles as the enemy of the State, the family and civilization. No wonder, he decided to take action against them. His work was facilitated by the unsuccessful attempt made on the



life of the Emperor William I in 1878. Bismarck held the Socialists responsible for the murderous attempts. A new legislature was elected to which were returned a majority of the supporters of Bismarck. A law was passed by which the circulation of Socialist books, pamphlets and newspapers was forbidden. The police was given the power to break up the meetings of the Socialists and also suppress their publications. The trial and punishment of the Socialist offenders was removed from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts to those of the palace. The laws against the Socialists were passed for four years at the beginning but they were re-enacted later on. As a matter of fact, when Bismarck resigned in 1890, the laws against the Socialists were still in force. However, the more the Socialists were oppressed by the government, the stronger they became. Their popularity went on growing as they were considered to be martyrs. Their representation in Reichstag also went on increasing. It is pointed out that the Social Democratic Party won 12 seats in 1881, 24 in 1884, 11 in 1887 and 35 in 1890. The laws against the Socialists were withdrawn after 1890 and after that they won 44 seats in 1893, 56 in 1898, 81 in 1903, 43 in 1907 and 110 in 1912.

**Social Legislation.** According to Prof. Hayes, Bismarck was the pioneer among the European statesmen to take action on behalf of the workers. His object was two-fold. He wanted to remove the grievances of the workers and thereby weaken the socialist propaganda. Secondly, he wanted strong recruits for the army and that was possible only if the Government paid attention to the condition of the workers. In 1883, a bill was passed which ensured the workers against sickness. In 1884, the employers were forced to insure their employees against accidents. In 1887, laws were passed which limited the labour of women and children, fixed the minimum number of working hours for employees in various industries and provided for the regulation and supervision of factories and mines by the Government. Sunday was declared a holiday. In 1889, provision was made for the insurance of workers against invalidity and old age. The premium was to be paid partly by the State, partly by the employer and partly by the employee. It is rightly pointed out that this socialist legislation went a long way in making Germany one of the leading countries of the world in the industrial field.

**Policy of Protection.** Bismarck was probably the first important statesman of the 19th century who set aside the principle of free trade and followed a policy of protection. With this object in view, Bismarck gave up his alliance with the National Liberals and joined the Centre Party. By an act of 1879, a wall of high tariffs was created against foreign imports to protect the German farm-products and domestic manufactures. High duties were also levied on tobacco and sugar with a view to remove the complaint of the agrarian classes that the Act of 1879 was very much favourable to the urban industries. The result of the policy of protection was that the infant industries of Germany were protected and after the lapse of some time were able not only to stand on their own



legs but also compete in every nook and corner of the world. The Government was also to get a lot of money. A great impetus was given to the industrial development of the country. Moreover, the tariffs strengthened the Government and unified the Empire.

**Imperialism.** At the beginning, Bismarck was opposed to the policy of acquiring colonies and developing the German navy. That was due to the fact that he did not want to come in competition with England. His view was that there could be no war between the two countries so long as Germany remained a land rat and Great Britain a water rat. That was one of the reasons why Bismarck did not accept the French offer in 1871 to take some French colony instead of Alsace and Lorraine. However, he had to change his policy later on. The merchants of Bremen and Hamburg wanted new markets for the surplus goods and a source of supply of raw materials. Missionaries wanted colonies to convert people to Christianity. The patriots demanded colonies to add to the glory of their country. There was also the problem of surplus population of Germany which was migrating to the U.S.A. It was felt that Germany must acquire colonies to find homes for the surplus population of Germany which was otherwise being lost to the nation on account of their migration to independent States. The pressure of these factors was so very great that Bismarck had to adopt the policy of colonial expansion. Merchants and missionaries led the way.

In 1879, a German trading company got some privileges in the Island of Samoa. In 1882, the German Colonial Union was formed. Within a very short time, the commercial companies of Hamburg, Bremen and Lubeck got some concessions and established their trading stations in South West Africa, Togoland, Cameroon, East Africa, the Marshall Islands, a part of New Guinea and the islands named the Bismarck Archipelago. In 1884-85, laws were passed by which protectorates were established over these commercial outposts. In 1886, the Government gave subsidies to the German steamers which were playing between Germany and the protectorates. Before his retirement in 1890, Bismarck took steps to transform the protectorates into Crown colonies. These colonies were administered by the German officials and policed by German troops.

**Policy towards Poles, Danes and Guelfs.** Bismarck hated the Poles on account of their Catholic religion. He tried to force upon them the use of the German language. Laws were passed to crush nationalism among them. He also transferred the farms of the Poles to the Germans. A similar action was taken against the Danes of Schleswig. He also took action against the Guelfs of Hanover. He was not prepared to allow the People of Hanover to have their autonomy. A secret fund known as the "reptile fund" was set up to crush conspiracies among the Germans of Hanover and also to harass them.

A similar policy was followed by Bismarck in Alsace-Lorraine. He did all that he could to Germanise that territory. He allowed a large number of Frenchmen to migrate to Alsace and Lorraine and



settle there. A lot of money was given to the University of Strassburg with a view to make it the centre of German intellectual life and cultural influence. Bismarck failed in his object as the people of Alsace-Lorraine were not reconciled to the German rule. They always followed a policy of non-co-operation. The Government pressure merely added to their fanaticism and their determination to become independent.

**Foreign Policy of Bismarck.** By 1870, Bismarck had won for his country national unity by his policy of blood and iron. Germany was a satiated country and Bismarck did not stand for any further extension of its territory. However, he was determined to maintain the *status quo* in Europe. There were certain difficulties in the way of his following such a policy. Unlike his generous policy towards Austria in 1866, Bismarck's attitude towards France was rather stiff. After the French defeat at Sedan in 1870, Bismarck refused to give easy terms to France and after a long siege of Paris, he imposed a very humiliating treaty on France. France was not only forced to pay a huge war-indemnity amounting to five milliard francs, but she was also made to give up Alsace and a part of Lorraine. The annexation of Lorraine was an error of the first magnitude. Lorraine was French in blood, speech and sentiments. Metz could only be held by the bayonet and in the effort to hold it, Europe was transformed into an armed camp. It has rightly been pointed out that after Sedan, the Battle of Marne (1914) lay in the logic of history. The people of France were determined to get back Alsace and Lorraine. The German annexation of those territories was described as the snatching away of children from the breast of the mother, and no wonder the people of France stood for a war of *Revanche* to get back those territories. Bismarck knew full well the sentiments of the Frenchmen and did his utmost to provide against the French danger. No wonder, he tried to quarantine France or put her in cold storage. The main object of Bismarck's Foreign Policy was to isolate France diplomatically so that she may not be able to get an ally with whose help she may try to get back Alsace and Lorraine. For that purpose, Bismarck maintained good relations with Austria, Russia, Italy and England. Bismarck described his own policy in these words: "The Foreign Policy of the German Empire since 1871 has been the maintenance of peace and the prevention of anti-German coalitions, and the pivot of this policy is Russia." He also explained his philosophy of alliance to the Russian ambassador in these words: "You forget the importance of being a party of three on the European chess-board ..... Nobody wishes to be in a minority. All politics reduce themselves to this formula: try to be *a trois* in a world governed by five powers."

According to Brandenburg, "In spite of the efforts to isolate France, Bismarck's policy towards the latter was in no sense hostile. He wished to prevent France from disturbing the peace and from undoing the terms of the Treaty of Frankfurt, and he endeavoured to establish as friendly relations as possible between Berlin and Paris. He went so far as to assure France of Germany's active



support in all questions where their mutual interests did not conflict and to consent to her conquest of Annam and Tonquin. He encouraged France in her occupation of Tunis and repeatedly drew her attention to Morocco as a suitable field for her colonial activity. He hoped that a successful colonial policy would in some measure satisfy the French love of prestige, and that the new colonial empire would in time provide compensation for Alsace-Lorraine, so that possibly in the course of a few decades the thought of revenge might die out. He himself well knew that this was but a slender hope. Nevertheless he intended to leave nothing undone that could tranquillise and conciliate.

"Recognition of the fact," he writes, "that Germany not merely means to retain Metz and Strassburg, but also grudges France the possibility of finding compensation for the Rhine frontier in colonial successes, of the fact that France finds Germany opposing her on all her paths, would very considerably strengthen the party in France that stands for revenge and national hatred, and would hasten the outbreak of a new French War; and I fail to discern what benefit would accrue to us from eventual victory. Even if we were victorious such a war would be great calamity."

"He felt he could not be responsible for increasing the probability of its outbreak by supporting the ambitions in Morocco which Italy was then cherishing. These were prophetic words, for it was our interference against France in Morocco that two decades later helped to bring about the triumph of the revenge policy in Paris. The clear apprehension of the state of affairs led Bismarck to conclude that we ought to support France's claims in Egypt and in the Congo against England, and he acted accordingly."

**The Three Emperors' League.** In 1873, Bismarck set up the *Three Emperors' League*. By means of this, he was able to bring together Austria, Russia and Germany. It was not a treaty of alliance but it indicated the cordial relations between the three Great Powers. It emphasized the common interests of the three Emperors. It also implied that Austria had forgotten her humiliation in the Battle of Sadowa and was prepared to accept expulsion from Germany. The Three Emperors' League was a great achievement of Bismarck but it was difficult to maintain the same. During the war-scare of 1875, Russia told Germany frankly that she should not depend upon her neutrality in the event of a German attack on France. That showed that Bismarck could not depend upon Russia and no wonder he decided to cultivate intimate relations with Austria.

**Austro-German Alliance.** The Three Emperors' League completely broke down in 1878 after the Congress of Berlin. According to Dr. Gooch, "The outstanding result of the Congress of Berlin in the realm of the high politics was the estrangement of Russia from Germany." The Russian Press condemned Bismarck and there was an open demand for an attack on Germany. The sentiments of the Russian people can be judged from the following statement of a Russian: "The Congress (of Berlin) is a conspiracy against the Russian people in which the Russian representatives have



taken part. The diplomacy of St. Petersburg is more dangerous than Nihilism. It is a disgraceful treachery to the historic mission of Russia and has lost for ever the respect and affection of the Slavs. Russia has been crucified by her own statesmen. A fool's cap and bells have been set upon her head." Bismarck did not like his criticism in the Russian press and decided to enter into an alliance with Austria, whom he had obliged in 1887. Bismarck had to meet a lot of opposition from William I, the German Emperor, but ultimately he succeeded in entering into alliance with Austria. The famous Austro-German Alliance was signed in 1879 and that secret alliance brought the two countries together in their common opposition to Russia. The alliance was renewed again and again and was still in existence in 1914 when the World War I started.

**Dreikaiserbund.** It cannot be maintained that Bismarck's choice of Austria in preference to Russia in 1879 was final and the wire between Berlin and St. Petersburg was permanently broken. Bismarck was never a man of one line of argument. Although "the public telegraph between Berlin and St. Petersburg might be broken", the "private wire" could be restored and no wonder he was able in 1881, to restore the *Dreikaiserbund* or the Three Emperors' League.

According to Prof. Taylor, "The new League had little in common with the League of 1873. That had been a last gesture of conservative resistance. But Metternichian fear of upheaval was no longer enough to bring rulers together. After all, it was ninety years since the execution of Louis XVI, more than sixty since the defeat of Napoleon. The memories of 1848 were fading—they counted for something with William I and Francis Joseph, for nothing with Alexander III. Even Marx's International, fear of which had played some part in the League of 1873, was dissolved. There was social and political unrest in plenty; but its consequences were different. Both Napoleon III and Bismarck had used foreign war to distract attention from domestic opposition. Formerly only a strong government could risk war; soon there would come a time when only a secure government could remain resolutely at peace. Bismarck regarded the League of the Three Emperors as a triumph for conservatism, but he was alone in this view; for the Russians and Austrians alike it was a move in foreign policy. Metternich had been able to tide over the differences between Austria and Russia for more than thirty years merely by playing on the fear of revolution; Bismarck had to offer them both concrete advantages.

"The treaty of 1881 was therefore a practical agreement about the Near East, without even a monarchical flourish. Its only general principle was a pact of neutrality if one of the three empires was involved in war with a fourth Power. Since there was no immediate likelihood of a war between Germany and France, this was a promise that Germany and still more, Austria-Hungary would not join England. The only limitation was in regard to Turkey: there neutrality would apply only if there had been agreement beforehand. This was an unnecessary precaution: the Russians had no intention of going to war with



Turkey. Further, the three Powers recognized 'the European and mutually obligatory character' of the rule of the Straits and would insist that Turkey enforce it. This was the essential security against a British expedition to the Black Sea which the Russians had been seeking all along: it was the one thing that mattered to them. Since a Russian garrison at the Straits was impossible, this was the next best thing. The Russians gained still more. The Austrians promised not to oppose the union of the two Bulgarias and thus cut themselves off from England, for whom division of Bulgaria had been the essential achievement of 1887. In return the Russians recognized Austria-Hungary's right to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina, a concession that they had been ready to make ever since 1876.

"The League was a victory for the Russians and perhaps for Bismarck. Germany was freed from having to choose between Russia and Austria-Hungary in the Balkans. Russia got security in the Black Sea in exchange for a promise of peaceful behaviour which her internal weakness compelled her to keep in any case. It was not so easy to see the advantage for Austria-Hungary, as Haymerle insisted. By supporting the Russian interpretation of the rule of the Straits, she committed herself to an eventual breach with England; yet she owed her Balkan position to the co-operation with England in 1878. She got in exchange merely Russian promises which she regarded as worthless. Andrassy and Haymerle had made the alliance with Bismarck in order to secure German backing against the Russians; instead Bismarck had used the alliance to force Haymerle into an unwelcome agreement with them. He was indeed hard put to it to discover practical arguments with which to persuade Haymerle; and a curious result followed. To justify the League, Bismarck had to invent Italy as a Great Power; and then had to take his own pretence seriously. In February 1880 when Haymerle had argued that England should be brought into the Austro-German alliance in order to keep Italy quiet, Bismarck had answered that Italy was of no importance. A year later he was arguing that the great use of the League of the Three Emperors was to prevent an alliance between Italy and Russia. When the League had been made, Haymerle continued to press for greater security against Russia; Bismarck would not give this. As a substitute, he had to offer Austria-Hungary security on her Italian frontier; this theoretically would free Austrian troops for the defence of Galicia. Thus the League of the Three Emperors, which was a pact of friendship with Russia, led in a roundabout way to the Triple Alliance, which was implicitly a pact against her. Again, "The League of the Three Emperors, like the Holy Alliance before it, was a fair-weather system. Though designed to prevent an Austro-Russian conflict in the Balkans, in fact it worked only so long as there was no conflict. It gave Europe an impressive semblance of stability between 1881 and 1885; and was perhaps even of some real use to Russia during the dispute with Great Britain over Penjdeh. But it could not survive the strain of new Balkan troubles." (*The Struggle for Mastery in Europe*, pp.270-72 and p.304.)



The League broke down during the Bulgarian crisis when the interests of Austria and Russia clashed. On the occasion of that crisis, Bismarck declared that "In Bulgaria, I am Russian". He took up the cause of Russia and refused to support Prince Alexander of Bulgaria.

In 1887, he made the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia. According to this treaty, if one Power found itself at war with a fourth Power, the others were to observe benevolent neutrality and try to localise the war. In agreement with Germany, Russia declared her firm resolution to respect the interests of Austria arising out of the Treaty of Berlin. Any modification in the territorial *status quo* of Turkey in Europe was to be accomplished only by virtue of a common agreement. It has rightly been pointed out that "the new friendship of Germany and Russia prevented an Austro-Russian war and a Franco-Russian coalition."

**Triple Alliance.** In 1882, Bismarck entered into the *Triple Alliance* with Italy and Austria. The formation of the Triple Alliance is usually attributed to Bismarck. It is pointed out that Bismarck encouraged France to capture Tunis which was desired by Italy. The object was to create one more enemy for France and also to win over Italy. When France established her protectorate over Tunis in 1881, Italy decided to join the Austro-German alliance. However, this view is not accepted by Prof. Fay. According to him, Bismarck encouraged France to "*pluck the ripe Tunisian fruit*" and also encouraged her in other colonial adventures with a view to win over her friendship and also to help her to forget the defeat of 1871. According to Gooch, the Triple Alliance originated with Italy. Earlier in 1882, Italy asked for a treaty of alliance with Austria. She wanted to strengthen her position and gain support for future ambitions. Bismarck was not very eager about an alliance with Italy as she was an untrustworthy ally and her resources were also not large. However, Bismarck gradually agreed to admit Italy into an alliance on account of certain advantages. The danger of Italy joining France would be avoided. There will be no necessity for Austria to maintain troops on the Italian frontier in the event of a war with Russia. France would be forced to keep her troops on the Italian frontier in the event of war with Germany. In May 1882, the Triple Alliance Treaty was signed. This treaty was to last for five years and certain changes were made in 1887. However, it was renewed many a time after 1887 and the Triple Alliance existed even in 1914 although by that time Italy had practically gone to the opposite camp. The Triple Alliance was essentially defensive in character and was primarily intended to preserve the peace of Europe.

**Rumania.** In 1883, King Carol of Rumania visited Germany. Bismarck sounded Austria "whether it would be desirable and possible to extend our League of peace with Italy to the East and thereby lead in firm paths the policy of Rumania and eventually also that of Serbia and the Porte." Austria agreed to the proposal and in October 1883 was signed a purely defensive treaty of alliance



with Rumania. The treaty was to be secret and last for five years with an automatic extension for three years if not denounced by any of the parties.

**England.** Bismarck maintained friendly relations with England. A cardinal principle of his foreign policy was to "endeavour to avoid losing England's goodwill". England, like Germany, desired the maintenance of peace and was prepared to collaborate not only with Germany but also with other Powers. Bismarck rightly pointed out that there was no reason for a war between "a land rat and a water rat." He stated in 1885 that he could not see any reason for war between the two countries "unless a Cabinet of inconceivable character should be in power in England, a Cabinet which neither exists nor which is ever likely to exist, and which criminally attacks us." Such a government never came to power in England. Bismarck appointed his son as German Ambassador in London and offered twice to enter into an alliance with England, but the offer was not accepted. With a view to avoid any conflict with England, Bismarck discouraged the growth of the German Navy and German Colonies.

Bismarck was an exceptionally skilful fisherman in troubled waters. Anglo-Russian and Anglo-French rivalry often gave him weeks of excellent and profitable sport. At times, he poked up the ever-smouldering embers of Anglo-Russian rivalry in Asia, but he did not allow the same to burst into a blaze as a war between England and Russia was bound to effect Powers and there was every likelihood of Germany and her allies being involved in the same. His system of alliances and counter-alliances might have collapsed under the strain. Consequently, he did not take the things to extremes. He also wanted the Anglo-French rivalry to continue and not to end in an *entente cordiale*. He was determined to maintain the balance of power. An alliance between England, France and Russia was bound to create a serious rival for the Triple Alliance.

In 1888, Bismarck declared that "*We Germans fear God and nothing else in the world.*" However, that was not true. Bismarck himself admitted that he was haunted by the spectre of coalitions although he himself was responsible for the same. He had humiliated a high-spirited nation like France and with a view to check her from having her revenge, he transformed Europe into an armed camp. He ought to have known that force alone could not guarantee a settlement which was passionately resented by the people. It is true that Bismarck succeeded temporarily in isolating France but he neither conciliated her nor disarmed her. As a matter of fact, he built up a combination against her and that forced her to look for allies. The Franco-Russian Alliance of 1894 was the natural outcome of that policy.

The German-Austro-Russian triangle created by Bismarck was full of contradictions. The relations between Austria and Russia could never be cordial. That was particularly so after the Congress of Berlin which gave to Austria Bosnia, Herzegovina and the Sanjak



of Novibazar and thus introduced her into the Balkans. Austro-Russian rivalry in the Balkans became intensified during the 1880's and reached its height on the occasion of the Bulgarian crisis. Bismarck had to face a very difficult situation on account of the differences between Austria and Russia on the question of Bulgaria. It is true that he backed Russia on the question of Bulgaria and thereby averted a clash between Austria and Russia, but the difficulty of reconciling Russia and Austria must have become evident to Bismarck. In 1888, Bismarck was forced to publish the Austro-German Treaty of 1879 which pledged Germany to help Austria against Russia. Thus it was that Russia came to know that she had been tricked by Bismarck and there is no doubt that even before 1890 when Bismarck resigned, Russia had already begun to drift towards France. A genius like Bismarck could make black look like white for some time, but not for ever. Austro-Russian collaboration was impossible and even a juggler like Bismarck could not make the two countries work together.

It is pointed out that the foundations of the Triple Alliance were weak. There was no place in it for Great Britain. It is true that when Bismarck retired in 1890, the relations between England and Germany were cordial, but England had already started feeling that it was dangerous to remain alone.

Critics point out that although Bismarck "had secured Russian neutrality in case of Austrian attack upon Germany, Austrian neutrality in case of Russian attack, Italian support against a French attack and Austro-Italian assistance against a combined Russian and French attack," yet the system was so very complicated that only Bismarck could work it out. He alone could throw five balls in the air and manage them skilfully. No wonder the system created by him collapsed after his disappearance from the scene. That was the tragedy of his foreign policy.

According to Grant and Temperley, "A general survey of the Bismarckian policy between 1870 and 1890 shows that it was primarily inspired by the idea of keeping France in order and enabling Germany to develop her new possessions and her enormous resources undisturbed. He encouraged Italy and England to rival France in colonial development so as to divert her attention from Alsace-Lorraine. He secured Germany against France by alliance with Italy, and against Russia by alliance with Austria. The problem Bismarck could not solve was how to remain on good terms or in alliance, both with Austria and with Russia at once. The impossibility was made manifest in 1888, when he published to the world the German-Austrian Treaty of 1879, which pledged him to protect Austria against Russia. Russia knew, though the world did not, that the 'Reinsurance Treaty' pledged Germany to be neutral if Russia was at war with another Power (i.e., Austria). Genius can make black look like white for a time, but not for ever, and Russia at last knew in 1888 that the great diplomatic artist had tricked her. That he could have continued to trick her in the future seems highly improbable. Bismarck was bound more tightly to Austria-Hungary



than to Russia, and the truth was out at last. It is true that Russia had not finally severed her connection with Germany when Bismarck fell in 1890. And it is probably true that his puny successors drove Russia into opposition more quickly than he would have done. But that the ways of Russia and Germany lay apart from 1888 seems morally certain. Indeed there is a reason to believe that Bismarck himself recognised the fact and was looking for compensation elsewhere."

Critics point out that Bismarck was responsible for the war of 1914. He set the ball rolling and the process was completed in 1914. He created an alliance with Austria in 1879 and the same was transformed into the Triple Alliance in 1882 when Italy joined it. His alliances were bound to result in counter-alliances and ultimately that led to the division of Europe into two armed camps which was one of the important causes of the war of 1914. Moreover, by humiliating France in 1870-71 Bismarck also sowed the seeds of the war of 1914. The French were determined to get back Alsace and Lorraine and no wonder after Sedan, the Battle of Marne lay in the logic of history. Bismarck's policy of blood and iron was bound to result in a race for armaments among the European nations and militarism was one of the important causes of the war of 1914.

**Fall of Bismarck.** From 1871 to 1890, Bismarck was supreme in the affairs of the State. The relations between Bismarck and William I were cordial throughout except on the question of an alliance between Germany and Austria in 1879. Bismarck took pride in the fact that he was the most faithful servant of William I. After the death of William I in March 1888, Emperor Frederick succeeded him. However, his reign did not last for more than three months and he was succeeded by William II the same year. Soon after his accession to the throne, the conflict between the Emperor and the Iron Chancellor started and resulted ultimately in the resignation of Bismarck in March 1890.

Many reasons have been given for the resignation of Bismarck. The new Emperor was a young man and was determined to do everything himself. He was not prepared to play second fiddle to anybody. Under the circumstances, he could not tolerate the complete control of Bismarck over the affairs of the State. To quote him, "I discovered that my ministers regarded themselves as Bismarck's officials." If this was the attitude of William II, Bismarck felt that he had the monopoly of power in the State and was not prepared to share the same with anybody. He considered himself the maker of Germany and felt insulted when William II tried to share the secrets of the State with the Chancellor. Bismarck had trained his son, Herbert Bismarck, in the affairs of State and the latter was working as Foreign Secretary since 1886. Bismarck himself thought that he would be succeeded by his son. Herbert Bismarck had capacity and considerable power of work and he tried to prove that *he was not only a chip of the old block, but the old block itself*. He tried to copy the brutality, coarseness and dictatorial insolence of his father. His manners were insufferable. People were prepared to put up with



Bismarck but not with that of his son who had yet nothing to his credit. All that created bitterness.

During 1888 and 1889, Bismarck was away from Berlin for most of the time. He spent his time at the country-house and most of the business of the State was transacted from there. His absence from the capital was not due to his old age alone. His view was that his work could be carried on by his son as Foreign Secretary under his supervision and direction. Bismarck failed to realize the fact that it was absolutely essential to be near the young Emperor and that there was every possibility of differences arising between them on account of his absence. Bismarck lost touch with the personalities, ministers and the forces of politics and thereby was put at a great disadvantage. Criticism against the Chancellor began to grow and there was a demand for a change.

Before William II, the German Emperor left everything into the hands of Bismarck and they were prepared to hear from him

whatever he considered fit to communicate to them. Beyond that, they did not bother themselves. However, William II was determined to play a different role. Instead of getting lessons from the Iron Chancellor, William II was determined to see and learn everything for himself. He not only saw every part of Germany but also visited St. Petersburg, Vienna, London, Athens and Constantinople. His personal contact with foreign statesmen enabled him to think independently about the foreign policy of Germany. Bismarck resented the journeys of William II and expressed his disapproval of them. When William II came to know of it, he himself got bitter against him.



Dropping the Pilot.

Liberals, the Lutheran Conservatives, the industrialists, the anti-Semites and the soldiers "Demigods" were opposed to him. Waldersee, Moltke's successor as Chief of the General Staff, intrigued against him in high places. No wonder, Bismarck's opponents enjoyed his conflict with the young Emperor.

That real cause of conflict between Bismarck and William II was that while the former was determined to maintain his control



over the affairs of the State, the latter was determined to snatch away the same. According to the Grandduke of Baden, "The real question was whether Bismarck or the Hohenzollern dynasty should reign." To quote William II himself, "There is only one master in this country and I am he. I shall suffer no other beside me." Again, "I see in the people and the land which have descended to me a talent entrusted to me by God, which is my duty to increase. Those who will help me I heartily welcome ; those who oppose me I shall dash to pieces."

Bismarck was pressed again and again to resign and ultimately he submitted his resignation on 20th March, 1890. William II accepted with profound regret the request of the Iron Chancellor to be relieved of his offices. He referred to his "imperishable services" and conferred upon him the title of Duke of Lauenburg and Colonel-General with the rank of Field-Marshal in the army. The *Punch* summed up the matter in these words : "The Pilot who had steered the ship through so many storms and so many shoals was dropped."

**Estimate of Bismarck.** According to G.B. Smith, "As a statesman, Bismarck is one of the greatest figures in German history. Though imperious, he was yet prudent and he was accustomed to boast that he had opened up a new era in diplomacy by always telling the truth. He had great faults, however, being jealous towards rivals and vindictive and unscrupulous towards his foes. He was not an orator in the sense usually understood, but when the occasion was great, he could wield the mother tongue with vigour. By establishing the independence of Germany, he brought to maturity the fruits of the wars of liberation. The Chancellor wielded a personal power in Europe which was without precedent in the nineteenth century. In him was typified the Prussian race at its highest and strongest. In private life, he was a man of warm affection, his wife and children being always to him objects of tenderest devotion. His letters to his wife prove it.....Without him, his country would have been a second-rate Power."

According to Prof. A. Phillips, "Bismarck was a statesman of the school of Machiavelli, sharing to the full his contempt for those brain-spun fogs of fancy which are apt to obscure the path of practical politics. Yet there is in his character none of the Italian suppleness. Its main trait was in fact rather brutal forthrightness, as though he could afford to be frank, his goal being so clear, and his power to reach it beyond dispute. And this impression he was able to produce, because he knew so well how to calculate the means to his end, to gauge the obstacles in his path ; above all, when to keep silence and when to speak. Apart from Bismarck's character and his general sympathy with the King's ambitions for Prussia, his whole recent training had marked him out for the position he was now called upon to fill...Bismarck had none of Metternich's shallow contempt for public opinion as a factor in politics. It was a blind and easily gullible monster, but strong and serviceable, if properly bridled and dangerous if unduly irritated. Nothing but 'urgent necessity' should make him float German public opinion."



According to Sir J.A.R. Marriott, "In the history of the nineteenth century, Bismarck will always claim a foremost place ; in the sphere of diplomacy no one except Cavour could dispute his claim to the first place. That he was a great patriot will be denied only by those to whom patriotism is an exploded superstition..... Germany must be made not by the merging of Prussia in Germany, but by the merging of Germany in Prussia. That was Bismarck's supreme aim, and that was his remarkable achievement. The end was reached by methods which no plain man can prove, by diplomacy which was the masterpiece of bluff and duplicity and by overwhelming force unscrupulously applied."

According to Sarolea, "Bismarck was realistic and materialistic. He did not indulge like Talleyrand in visions of a distant future, in dreams of a German Oceana.....Bismarck's ambition was to control the continent, to establish a Napoleonic Empire in Europe."

According to Seaman, "In considering Bismarck's aims and methods in Germany it has long been customary to compare with him Cavour ; and it is certainly instructive to realize that they both sought to limit the Nationalism they claim to be fulfilling. Yet it is perhaps even more illuminating to compare him with Napoleon III. The constitution of the German Empire was much the same sort of transparent confidence trick as the constitution of the Second 'Empire' in 1852. There was first the lie involved in the world 'Empire'. Both France after 1852 and Germany after 1871 were called Empires to disguise the fact that they were not Empires. The Second Empire did not give France back her control of all Western Europe and the Bismarckian Empire did not give William I an Empire over all the Germans. The Second French Empire was nothing like the First French Empire. It was very little bigger than the French kingdom under the Bourbons or under Louis Philippe. In the same way to describe as 'the German Empire' a region which excluded of deliberate purpose all the Germans of Austria and Bohemia was just the sort of falsehood that Hitler might have had in mind when he said that the bigger a lie was the more likely people were to believe it. From 1871 to 1914 all the world's atlases solemnly described as 'The German Empire' what was in reality a Prussian Empire ; and all the world's history books have gone on gravely describing as the 'unification' of Germany what was in reality the division of it.

"The unification of Germany was the one thing Bismarck was determined to prevent, because his whole purpose was the preservation of Prussian power against the rising tide of Liberalism and Radicalism. The demand for real German unity had been made clearly enough in 1848 ; but by the revolutionaries, and that in itself was enough to damn it. Bismarck was, therefore, fighting both Liberals and Radicals in Germany between 1862 and 1871, just as Napoleon III fought the same forces in France between 1848 and 1851. From 1862 till just after Sadowa the Liberals were opposed to him because he was acting in defiance of the Prussian Constitution. But just as, beneath the surface, the Liberals in the Second Republic wanted Louis Napoleon as their ally against the Reds, so



in Prussia the Liberals wanted Bismarck as their ally against the rest of Germany. Many French Liberals forgave Louis Napoleon the *coup d'état* in the interests of internal security. Most Prussian Liberals forgave Bismarck his illegal collection of taxes from 1862 to 1866 because he had created the North German Confederation, and won a decisive military victory for Prussia.....

"In the final assessment, Bismarck's outstanding achievement is to have imposed his personality on half a century of history. The State he created, and the means he devised, for preserving it thereafter, were of his own unaided making. He had no collaborators; only agents, and willing and unwilling accessories. He had no spiritual or moral roots in the Europe in which he worked and triumphed. He destroyed the past, but feared the future which he built on its ruins; and for the deeper aspirations of his contemporaries he had nothing but contempt. This is perhaps most strikingly illustrated in his suggestion in 1890 that the Empire he had created should be dissolved and reconstituted without consulting anybody but the princes; and solely because he thought he could then govern it more autocratically than he was doing already. He stood, therefore, for no principles. His whole political existence was devoted to the task of putting Prussia into a position of predominance and of keeping it there, preserved inviolate against the possibility either of decline or advance. He created a Great Power and willed it not to behave like one because it would create problems he did not want to have to deal with. To give Prussia the mastery of Germany was in the end to make Prussia the agent of Germany as a power with world-wide ambitions: yet he held those ambitions in check throughout his career. Never before had the Germans possessed a State-machine capable of action against their hereditary Slav enemies. Bismarck gave them such a machine, and tried with inexhaustible ingenuity to prevent their using it for that purpose. In much the same way he created a Great Power and supposed it would not wish to assert itself by demanding oversea colonies, he yielded to the demand as if to the importunities of silly children."

### Suggested Readings

- |                  |   |  |
|------------------|---|--|
| Bismarck         | : | <i>Reflections and Reminiscences.</i>                        |
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| Eyck, E.         | : | <i>Bismarck and the German Empire.</i>                       |
| Gooch, C.P.      | : | <i>History of Modern Europe (1878-1919).</i>                 |
| Robertson, C.G.  | : | <i>Bismarck.</i>   |
| Taylor, A.J.P.   | : | <i>Bismarck, The Man and the Statesman, 1955.</i>            |
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## CHAPTER XIX

### GERMANY FROM 1890 TO 1914

**William II (1888-1918).** The most important man in Germany in post-Bismarckian era was William II. He came to the throne



William II

in 1888 after the short reign of his father Frederick III. At the time of his accession, he was a young man of 29. He had a lot of energy and possessed high ambitions. He was determined to make Germany one of the greatest Powers of the world. He believed in a policy of "*World Power or Downfall*". He was vain and impulsive. According to H.A.L. Fisher, "The new autocrat became at once a vital and disquieting force in European society. That he had some admirable and even brilliant qualities was at once apparent. His outlook of affairs was bold and spacious; his curiosity eager and comprehensive; his industry vast; his memory for detail powerful and exact. He was pious, dutiful, patriotic and

sometimes, especially when he spoke of the sea, would rise to heights of moving eloquence. But with these shining qualities were mingled others of a baser alloy, an egregious vanity, an ungovernable temper, a love of theatrical ostentation which exposed him to ridicule, and a vein of malevolence which merited contempt. There was no flattery so base that he would not exploit it, no barbarity so extreme that he would not in a spasm of fury invest it with imperial authority. A nervous exaltability and impulsiveness, whether it gave a certain zest and charm to his companionship, always made him dangerous as a ruler, so that, after experience of many alarms and excursions, his ministers began to ask themselves in trepidation whether the headstrong and loquacious master of Germany was not in fact deranged in mind."

According to Grant and Temperley, "Had William II been a



Frederick, the Great, he would have known, like him, how 'to move millions with inhuman harmony.' He could have forced their energies in almost any direction that he chose, and commanded their unquestioning allegiance. But harmony could only be secured if the purpose of the ruler was steady, unremitting, remorseless and fixed. Such a purpose was wholly lacking in the fickle, brilliant and easily swayed Kaiser. His religion, though sincere, led him towards absolutism. Yet he had much fear of the people, and assiduously courted them. At heart perhaps pacific, his reckless and impulsive public praise of his army and of war, his amazing private indiscretions to foreign diplomats, frequently produced the worst impressions and led to situations full of danger. He would always be a hero to himself and did not like contradiction or opposition in others. His admirers compared him (with his knowledge) to Siegfried or to Achilles, and his nostrils snuffed the incense of a truly Byzantine flattery. His nerves were unequal to a crisis as was shown in 1908, when the storm of wrath had arose against him for his *Daily Telegraph* indiscretion made him speak of abdicating and reduced him to a state of pitiable collapse."

**Proclamations.** On his accession to the throne in June 1888, William II issued proclamations, to the army, the navy and the people. As regards the army, he declared thus: "These are days of sore trial and affliction in which God's decree has placed me at the head of the army, and it is with deep emotions that I first address myself to my army. We belong to one another." In his address to the navy, he gave an assurance that he stood for its growth. He issued the proclamation to the people three days after. In his speech from the throne, William II remarked thus: "As regards the foreign politics I am determined to keep peace with everyone, so far as it lies in my power. My love for the army will never lead me into the temptation to endanger the benefits which the country derives from peace. Germany is in no need of fresh military glory, nor does she require new conquests."

It has already been pointed out in the previous chapter how the new Emperor came into conflict with the Iron Chancellor and ultimately forced him to resign in 1890. After that, he became his own Chancellor and during the rest of his reign he had his own way and the ministers had merely to carry out his final decisions. However, reference may be made to the four Chancellors of his reign after 1890.

**Chancellor Caprivi (1890-94).** Bismarck was succeeded by Caprivi as Chancellor in 1890. Bismarck himself had referred to him as his successor in 1878 in these words: "I have often wondered who could be my successor; today I have seen him." In 1890, he himself suggested his name.

When Caprivi took office, he admitted his political inexperience. William II gave him the assurance in these words: "I will assume responsibilities for affairs." William II wrote thus to the Austrian Emperor about Caprivi: "He is the greatest German after Bismarck loyal to me and firm as a rock."



Caprivi was hated by the Prussian aristocracy and he himself was attracted towards businessmen. He was friendly inclined towards Great Britain. It was during his time that Heligoland was exchanged for Zanzibar in 1890. The German tariff system was put on the basis of reciprocity. The Reinsurance Treaty with Russia was allowed to lapse and it was during his period that the Franco-Russian alliance materialized. His dismissal was demanded by the Prussian conservatives and he resigned in 1894.

**Chancellor Hohenlohe (1894-1900).** Caprivi was succeeded by Hohenlohe. He was 75 at the time of his appointment in 1894 and he was merely a figurehead in the affairs of the State. The actual conduct of the State affairs was in the hands of William II and Bulow (who was the Foreign Secretary at that time). Germany concentrated during this period on trade and investments overseas. William II declared thus in 1895: "The German Empire has become a world Empire."

In 1897, two German Christian missionaries were murdered in China. Germany took advantage of this and got a lease for 99 years of about 200 square miles of territory in China. In 1899, Germany purchased from Spain the Caroline Islands in the Pacific. During 1899-1900, Germany got the two largest Islands of Samoa. In 1900, Germany participated in the action against the Boxer Rising in China. In 1899, German bankers got from the Sultan of Turkey some concessions for the building of railways up to Baghdad. German settlers were established in Brazil. German investments and trade in South Africa began to increase.

Germany began to take more interest in the growth of her navy. William II outlined the German policy in these words: "Germany's future lies upon the water." Again, "The ocean is essential to Germany's greatness." In 1898, the first law concerning the German navy was passed and in 1900 was passed the second. In this way, German navy went on growing. During all this period, William II was assisted by Tirpitz who was put in charge of the department of navy in 1897 and who continued to occupy that position up to 1916.

**Bulow (1900-09).** After the retirement of Hohenlohe in 1900, prince Bulow, who was already associated with William II, was appointed the Chancellor. It was during his regime that the British efforts to enter into an alliance with Germany failed. The Entente Cordiale between England and France was also made during his regime. The first and second Morocco crises of 1905-6 and 1908 also took place during his regime. He also sent William II to Tangier in 1905 to show that Germany was interested in Morocco and would not allow France to swallow the same. The Bosnian crisis of 1908-9 also took place during his regime. The German navy continued to develop. German goods began to penetrate into every nook and corner of the world. Germany followed a world policy and she began to demand a "*place in the sun*".

It is stated that when Bulow became Chancellor, he offered the Foreign Office to *Holstein* who haughtily refused the same.



This 'mystery-man' sitting in his 'poison-shop' inspired a large number of articles in the press. He was responsible for countless diplomatic intrigues. His power was so great that he was sometimes able to overawe the Chancellor or the Foreign Office of the time. He did not care even for the Emperor and called him a mad man or a fool. The Emperor called him a 'mad hyena' in private but had not the courage to face him in public. He gave interviews to foreign ambassadors without the knowledge of the Chancellor or Foreign Minister. It is pointed out that most of the wrong decisions in foreign policy were due to him. This was particularly so when Germany refused to accept England's overtures in 1898 and 1901. German attitude over Morocco in 1905 was also due to his influence.

He threatened many a time to resign his job in the German Foreign Office but neither the Emperor nor the Chancellor had the courage to accept the same on account of the fear that he would start a press campaign against them. However, they took courage in 1906 and he was relieved of his job.

**Bethmann Hollweg (1909-17).** Bulow was succeeded by Bethmann-Hollweg. It was during his regime that the third Morocco crisis took place in 1911. An honest attempt was made to come to an agreement with England on the question of naval competition but as William II backed Tirpitz, the Chancellor was helpless. No wonder, the Haldane mission failed in 1912. The Morocco question was amicably settled and Germany got some compensation in the form of some French territory in Africa.

Tension between Great Britain and Germany continued to increase and ultimately it resulted in the war of 1914.

**Anglo-German Relations (1890-1914).** During the later half of the 19th century, the relations between Germany and England were friendly. Germany was not suspected as a rival by Great Britain. On the occasion of the Franco-Prussian War public opinion in England regarded Napoleon III as a danger and not Bismarck. The Iron Chancellor made it a cardinal principle of his policy to keep on good terms with the British Government. He was not prepared to do anything which might result in the alienation of Great Britain. That was one of the reasons why he refused to develop the German navy and acquire colonies for his country. He knew it full well that Great Britain would not tolerate the building of a strong navy by Germany as that was liable to threaten the very existence of that country. On more than one occasion, Bismarck suggested to Disraeli and Salisbury the formation of an alliance between the two countries. He remarked thus in 1889: "The peace of Europe can best be secured by the conclusion of a treaty between Germany and England." However, Salisbury refused to enter into an alliance with Germany. Bismarck appointed his son Herbert as the German Ambassador in England. Frederick, the son of William I, was married to the daughter of Queen Victoria and this must have brought the two countries together. In England, a theory was prominent at that time that the ancestors of England came from the North of Germany. All these factors brought the two countries together.



Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary of Great Britain proposed to Herbert Bismarck the transfer of the Island of Heligoland to Germany with a view to strengthen the friendly relations between the two countries and in 1890, a treaty was signed by which Germany recognized the British protectorate over Zanzibar and the basin of the upper Nile up to the border of Egypt as within the British sphere of influence. Great Britain promised to urge the Sultan to sell the coastal strip to Germany. Germany also got the Island of Heligoland which was very near to her and could be developed for naval fortification. The deal was criticised in both the countries, but Salisbury and Caprivi defended the same. The contention of Salisbury was that Heligoland was of no strategic value to Great Britain. It could be captured by Germany at any time in the event of a war with that country. To quote him, "We have made an agreement which removes all dangers of conflict and strengthens the good relations of nations who, by their sympathies, interests and origin, will always be good friends." Zanzibar was to be the key of an empire in Eastern Africa. According to Stanley, Great Britain exchanged a trouser-button for a suit of clothes. The contention of Caprivi was that Germany could not surrender Zanzibar as she had never owned it. Moreover, there was no possibility of acquiring the same as the British position was stronger there than that of Germany. To quote him, "We must ask ourselves how much colonising strength we possess, how far the available money and human resources will go. Germany has too many irons in the fire. It is no use having her hands full of things which she cannot make use. The worst thing that could happen to us would be to give us the whole of Africa, for we have got quite enough as it is." William III approved of the deal in these words: "Without a battle, without the shedding of a tear, this beautiful island has passed into my possession. We have acquired it by a treaty freely concluded with a country to which we are related by blood. I drink to the illustrious lady to whom we are indebted for the transfer." However, Bismarck criticised the deal on the ground that Germany would have got the island without paying the price she actually paid.

William II professed feelings of great friendship for Great Britain from time to time. When the Prince of Wales visited Berlin in 1890, the Kaiser put on the uniform of an English Admiral and referred to the brotherhood of arms at the Battle of Waterloo (1815) and expressed the hope that the British Navy and the German Army would keep the peace of the world. During his visit to England in 1891, William II remarked thus: "I have always felt at home in this lovely country, being the grandson of a queen whose name will ever be remembered as a noble character and a lady great in the wisdom of her counsels. Moreover, the same blood runs in the English and the German veins. I shall always, so far as it is in my power, maintain the historic friendship between our nations. My aim is above all the maintenance of peace. Only in peace can we bestow our earnest thoughts on the great problems, the solution of which I consider is the most prominent duty of our time."



Friendly relations between the two countries were thus maintained. William II crossed to Cowes every summer and the members of the English royal family were always welcomed in Berlin. The German Chancellor declared thus in 1893: "I fully agree that the aim of our policy is gradually to win England for an official adhesion to the Triple Alliance." Towards the end of the same year, agreements relating to the delimitations of the Kilimangaro district and the hinterland of the Cameroons were amicably settled. The boundaries of Togoland were also amicably fixed.

However, according to Dr. Gooch, "The sky began to darken in 1894 and Anglo-German relations were never to regain the confidence and intimacy of the opening years of the reign of William II." The bad blood between the two countries was created by the partitioning of Africa. A treaty of 1894 between Great Britain and the Congo Free State leased the Bahr-el-Ghazel district to King Leopold of Belgium for life. In return, Great Britain got a strip of territory west of Tanganyika for the proposed Cape to Cairo Railway and telegraph line. The British Government had no right to give Bahr-el-Ghazel to Leopold and the British acquisition of the territory west of Tanganyika was opposed to the terms of the Congo-German Treaty of 1884. Germany protested and Great Britain gave up that strip of territory. However the incident left an unpleasant memory.

On the occasion of the opening of the Kiel Canal in 1895, William II invited all the Great Powers. According to Gooch, "The host had a friendly welcome for all his guests; but his warmest words were reserved for Great Britain." He observed thus on that occasion: "Ever since our fleet was established, we have tried to form our ideas in accordance with yours and in every way to learn from you. The history of the British Navy is as familiar to our officers and seamen as to yourselves. I am not only an Admiral of the Fleet, but the grandson of the mighty Queen. I hope you will express our heartfelt thanks to Her Majesty for her graciousness in sending you here."

At this stage, a change was noticed in the manner of William II. His behaviour became objectionable. He tried to dominate. He called his uncle "an old peacock". Besides this personal factor, many other factors complicated the situation. A section of the British press began to criticise William II and advise him to be considerate like his grandmother. Lord Salisbury was not friendly towards Germany. His views on the question of Armenia were different from those of Germany. He was convinced that Turkey could not be reformed and consequently he stood for its partition. However, the policy of William II was one of maintaining the integrity of Turkey and establishing the most friendly relations with that country.

The situation in Africa complicated the position. President Kruger of Transvaal had visited Germany in 1885 and asked for help from Bismarck, but the latter had refused to do so. However, things changed after the resignation of Bismarck. Germany began



republican form of government, "*it is the form of government which divides us least!*"

This fact is made clear if we refer to the various sections which advocated the cause of monarchy in France. Those sections were the Legitimists, the Orleanists and the Bonapartists. The Legitimists supported the cause of the Count of Chambord, the grandson of Charles X. The Orleanists supported the cause of the Count of Paris. The Bonapartists advocated the cause of Napoleon III or his son. Although the Monarchists had a majority in the National Assembly, they were not able to have their own way to set up a monarchy in the country on account of the differences among them. In 1873, Thiers was made to resign as he was showing a tendency towards republicanism.

Many efforts were made to write a monarchical constitution for France. The Count of Chambord had no children and it was decided that the Count of Paris should give up his claims in favour of the Count of Chambord who should succeed as Henry V of France. As the Count of Chambord had no children, Count of Paris was to succeed him. The compromise having been secured it seemed certain that monarchy would be restored in France and negotiations started for that purpose. Negotiations were successful on all points except on the question of the flag. The Count of Chambord openly declared that he was not prepared to accept the Tricolour flag of the revolution. To quote him, "Henry V could never abandon the white flag of Henry IV." His contention was that if he was to be the king of France, he must not sacrifice his principles and the flag. He was not prepared to be the king of the revolution. The negotiations failed on account of the stubbornness of the Count of Chambord.

In spite of this defeat, the Monarchists did not lose heart. Their view was that either the Count of Chambord would change his mind or he would die and be succeeded by the Count of Paris who was willing to accept the Tricolour flag of the revolution. Under the circumstances, the Monarchists started playing delaying tactics. Their object was to gain time so that they may be able to attack when the iron was hot. After the resignation of Thiers, Macmahon was made the President. The term of his office had not been fixed so far and the same was fixed for 7 years in 1873. The Monarchists hoped that within the next 7 years they would be able to carry their point.

As the National Assembly was following a policy of delay, it did not seriously address itself to the task of framing the constitution. In this way, months and years were passed. However, during this period, Gambetta was carrying on a vigorous campaign in favour of republicanism in every nook and corner of the country. To meet the danger of republicanism, the National Assembly passed a law in 1875 by which the mayors of all the Communes in France were to be appointed directly or indirectly by the ministry and not by the local Council as before. This was intended to give the ministry control over the local affairs. Busts representing the Republic were



removed from all public buildings. The name of Republic was omitted from all public documents. Republican newspapers were prosecuted and harassed. It is estimated that in one year, more than 200 Republican newspapers were suppressed. Instead of being disheartened, the Republicans continued their propaganda with more and more vigour.

At that stage, the Bonapartists became aggressive in the country and won a number of elections. The danger of a Bonapartist restoration changed completely the political situation in the country. A number of Orleanist members of the National Assembly were prepared to prefer Republicanism to Bonapartism. As their own chances were slender, they joined hands with the Republicans in the National Assembly. It was the combination of the Republicans and the Orleanists that enabled the National Assembly to frame a Republican constitution in France and the same was done in 1875. The Republican constitution was adopted by a majority of only one vote (353 to 352).

**The Constitution (1875).** The constitution of 1875 used the word Republic only once. It provided for a President to be elected for 7 years. Provision was made for a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. The Republicans were in favour of direct elections to the Senate, but as a result of a compromise, provision was made for indirect elections through an electoral college. The Chamber of Deputies could be dissolved by the President with the consent of the Senate. France was to have a parliamentary form of government. The ministers were to be jointly and severally responsible for the general policy of the government and individually for their personal acts.

The constitution of 1875 was a compromise between the opposing forces. The Monarchists in the National Assembly felt that they had introduced sufficient monarchical elements in the constitution to curb the aggressiveness of democracy and to facilitate the restoration of monarchy at some convenient time. The Republicans accepted the constitution as there was no other alternative to it. Some radical Republicans condemned the constitution as a mockery. It was described as "a dose prepared for a convalescent country".

**Dangers to Third Republic.** Although a monarchist National Assembly was forced to write a Republican constitution on account of the curious circumstances, the Third Republic in France had to meet many dangers. It took many years before it could be said to be placed on a stable footing.

(1) Under the constitution of 1875, elections were held in 1876. The Monarchists got a small majority in the Senate and the Republicans got a large majority in the Chamber of Deputies. President Macmahon appointed a Republican ministry but insisted that the departments of war, navy and foreign affairs were not under the control of the legislature. The Monarchists started a vigorous agitation against the Republicans and they were supported



to take more and more interest in South Africa and Kruger could hope to get help from Germany. In 1894, two German war-ships were sent to Delagoa Bay as a demonstration against British interference. The German consul in Pretoria declared in January 1895 that Germany was determined to support the Transvaal in its effort to maintain political equilibrium. Naturally Great Britain protested but Germany maintained that she was doing only that which was necessary to safeguard her own interests. The British Government was asked to put a check on the activities of Jameson and Rhodes.

**Kruger Telegram.** Both Great Britain and Germany were in opposite camps in South Africa and were trying to put a check on each other. There could be a clash at any time between the two countries. On 30th December, 1895, Jameson's troops crossed Mafeking. The German Ambassador informed the British Government that the attack was on Transvaal would not be tolerated. The raid failed and Jameson and his companions were arrested. When William II heard the news of the failure of the raid, he sent the following telegram to President Kruger: "I heartily congratulate you on the fact that you and your people, without appealing to the aid of friendly Powers, have succeeded in your unaided efforts in restoring peace and preserving the independence of the country against the armed bands which broke into your land." The President sent the following reply: "I express to Your Majesty my deepest gratitude for Your Majesty's congratulation." William II wrote thus to Nicholas II: "I hope all will come right, but come what may I will never allow the British to stamp out the Transvaal." The Kruger telegram had a very unfortunate effect on the Anglo-German relations. The *Morning Post* wrote thus: "The nation will never forget this telegram and it will always bear it in mind in the future orientation of its policy." Lord Salisbury observed thus in 1899: *The raid was a folly, but the telegram was even more foolish.*

In spite of this the relations between the two countries were friendly for a brief period and that was due to certain circumstances. Great Britain was opposed to Russia and France both in Asia and Africa. In 1898, England and France were on the verge of a war on the question of Fashoda. Great Britain was also opposed to Russian penetration in China and was determined to check the same. The Triple Alliance Powers supported Great Britain against Russia and France and that brought the two countries together. William II sent a telegram of congratulation to the British Government on the occasion of the victory of Atbara. In 1898, the Duke of Devonshire and Chamberlain arranged an interview with the German Ambassador in London and a proposal for an Anglo-German alliance was put forward. However, there was no response from the other side in spite of the fact that the offer was made thrice. William II seemed to be more interested in maintaining friendly relations with Russia than in entering into an alliance with England. His feeling was that Great Britain was trying to find "a constitutional army to fight for their interests". Much could not be expected under these circumstances. However, in October 1898, Great Britain and Germany entered into a secret treaty by which they divided the Portu-



guese colonies into sphere of influence. But nothing came out of it as Portugal recovered from her financial difficulties. Mr. Rhodes visited Berlin in 1899 and William II extended to him a hearty welcome. Germany promised to allow Rhodes to carry the telegraphic wires through German East Africa. Mr. Rhodes was so much pleased with the interview that he referred to William II as "a big man, a broad-minded man." Mr. Rhodes asked William II to send a number of Rhodes's scholars to the Oxford University every year. According to Dr. Goch, "This visit was one of the factors in the Kaiser's friendliness to Great Britain during the Boer War."

When the Boer War started in 1899, the world opinion seemed to be on the side of the Boers and Great Britain was considered to be the bully. In 1900, Russia and France proposed intervention in the Boer War, but William II refused to do so. He also refused to meet Kruger when the latter ran away from Transvaal, although he was warmly greeted in Paris. In 1899, William II paid a visit to England and he was given a hearty welcome. Chamberlain availed of this opportunity to discuss the possibility of an Anglo-German reconciliation and co-operation. He referred to the "natural alliance" between the two countries. To quote him, "At bottom, the character of the Teutonic race differs very slightly indeed from the character of the Anglo-Saxon race." Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria declared thus: "In this war I am on the side of England." When Queen Victoria died in 1901, William II went to England and shared the grief of the royal family. Englishmen were very much impressed by his attitude on that occasion. It appeared as if there was a possibility of bringing the two countries together. Both Great Britain and Germany co-operated with each other on the occasion of the Boxer Rising in January. Waldersee, a German was selected the Commander of the Peking Legation as a result of the backing of Salisbury. Germany also promised to support England in her efforts to check the Russian influence in China.

In 1901, Chamberlain proposed to discuss with the German Government all the outstanding disputes between the two countries and thereby prepared the ground for an alliance with that country. Although William II was favourably inclined, Prince Bulow refused. The British Government asked Germany to collaborate with her to oppose the fortification of the settlement of Tientsin in China by Russia but the latter refused to do so. In March 1901, Germany proposed that if she guaranteed the British Empire, the latter should join the Triple Alliance and also bring Japan with her. However, the negotiations were to take place at Vienna. Lord Lansdowne, the British Foreign Minister, refused to do so. The view of William II was that Great Britain wanted to use the German sword against Russia. The same was the view of Waldersee. William II referred to the Ministers of King Edward VII as "unmitigated noodles." Such an atmosphere was not congenial to an alliance between the two countries and no wonder Chamberlain gave up all hopes by June 1901. To quote him, "*If the people in Berlin are short-sighted, there is no help.*" It was under these circumstances that Great Britain entered into an alliance with Japan in 1902.



In 1902, it appeared that the relations between the two countries were going to improve. Lord Roberts and Brodrick accepted an invitation to attend the manoeuvres of the German Empire. William II also refused to meet the Boer generals who came to Germany to collect funds. He also visited England. In 1903, Germany and England co-operated in the blockade of Venezuela. However, there was again a set-back on account of the question of the Berlin-Baghdad Railway. The public opinion in England demanded that the British Government should not agree to co-operate with Germany. That was bound to endanger the very safety of the British Empire in India. In 1904, Great Britain made the Entente Cordiale with France. She also supported France on the occasion of the Algeiras conference in 1906. The Anglo-Russian convention of 1907 created misgivings in the minds of William II as he began to feel that the Triple Alliance was not a match for the Triple Entente. Great Britain also supported France on the occasion of the Morocco crises of 1908 and 1911. There was also going on a naval competition between the two countries. Germany under William II and Tirpitz was determined to defeat England in the field of naval development. The British Government was not prepared to allow itself to be beaten. The result was that the relations between the two countries became strained to the maximum. Lord Haldane visited Berlin to come to some agreement with Germany on the question of naval development. However, his mission failed and ultimately in 1914, the two countries fought in opposite camps.

#### Suggested Readings

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|--|---|
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| Schmitt                                    | : <i>England and Germany.</i>                   |
| Tower, C.                                  | : <i>Germany of Today.</i>                      |

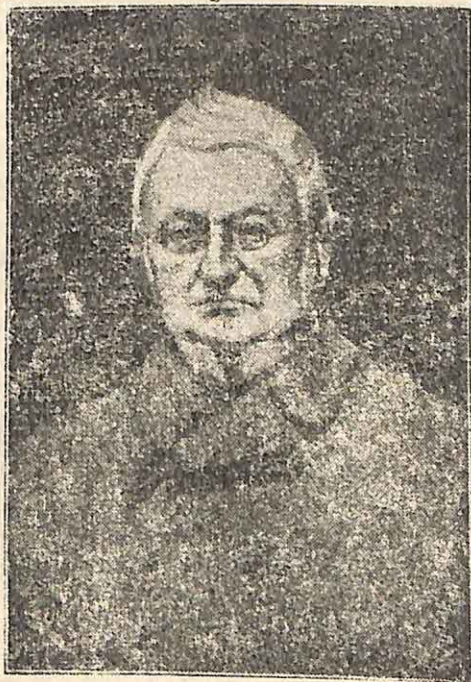


## CHAPTER XX

### FRANCE FROM 1870 TO 1914

After the surrender of Napoleon III at Sedan in September 1870, the condition of France was deplorable. A republican government was set up in Paris and it was declared to fight the Germans. The cry was raised : "We will not yield an inch of French soil nor a stone of French fortresses." Metz with the army of Bazaine was still unconquered and the French felt that they could not still defend Paris. While the Prussian armies marched towards the French capital, Thiers went on a tour of the capitals of Europe with a view to secure foreign help against Prussia. Paris was besieged by the Prussian troops and Gambetta went out of Paris in a balloon to arouse the countrysides and thereby secure help for the Parisians against the Prussians. The result was that volunteers from all over France marched towards Paris to rescue the Parisians. Volunteers came also from abroad, including such persons as Garibaldi, his sons and Kitchener.

However, in spite of all the enthusiasm and the resistance, Metz fell and Bazaine also surrendered. After a siege of 4 months and the bombardment of four weeks, Paris also surrendered. Thiers tried to secure lenient terms from Bismarck and he left no stone unturned to achieve his objective. Regarding the interview between Thiers and Bismarck, Jules Favre wrote thus : "I still see him pale and agitated ; now sitting, now springing to his feet ; I hear his voice broken by grief, his words cut short, his tones suppliant and proud. I know nothing grander than the sublime passion of this noble heart bursting out in petitions, menaces, prayers, now caressing, now terrible, growing by degrees more angry in the face of the cruel refusal." Bismarck was in an uncompromising mood and addressed thus to Thiers : "We have no guarantees of permanence either from you or



Thiers



from any government that may come after you." The reply of Thiers was in these words : "Well, let it be as you will, these negotiations are a pretence. We appear to deliberate, we have only to pass under your yoke. We ask for a city absolutely French, you refuse it to us ; it is to avow that you have resolved to wage against us a war of extremity. Do it. Ravish our provinces, burn our homes, cut the throats of our unoffending inhabitants—in a word, complete your work. We will fight to the last breath ; we shall succumb at last, but we will not be dishonoured." The preliminaries of peace were signed at Versailles in February 1871 and were confirmed by the treaty of Frankfurt of May 1871. France had to surrender Alsace-Lorraine including Metz and Strassburg but excluding Belfort. She also agreed to pay a war indemnity of £200,000,000 within three years and during that interval, a German army of occupation was to remain on the French soil and was to be supported by France.

**The Paris Commune (1871).** Although the war with Germany was ended, France was not destined to have peace and she had to face immediately a crisis at home. The trouble arose in the form of the revolt of the Paris Commune which is considered to be a great epoch in the history of socialism. It was an attempt to put into actual practice the ideas and ideals of Karl Marx with the help of military force.

It is to be observed that although a Republic was proclaimed in Paris, the same was not sanctioned by the country at large. A National Assembly was elected to ratify the terms of the Treaty with Germany and it chose Thiers as "Chief of the Executive" for the transitional period. The National Assembly was controlled by the Monarchists and there was a danger of the overthrow of the Republic and the restoration of monarchy. Paris which was republican in spirit and had returned republican candidates even in the time of Napoleon III, was not prepared to allow the Republic to be overthrown. Certain acts of the National Assembly added to the distrust. The National Assembly decided to shift the capital of France from Bordeaux to Versailles and not to Paris. This was insulting to the people of Paris who had suffered terribly at the hands of the Prussians to save the honour of the country. The prosperity of Paris was likely to be affected by the shifting of the capital to Versailles. No wonder, this move was resented by the property-owners, merchants and workmen. During the period of the siege of Paris, the payment of rents, debts and notes had been suspended by a decree of the government. There was a general demand to continue the suspension order as the economic condition of the people after the ending of the siege was miserable. They were not in a position to pay at once. There was a lot of unemployment. Unfortunately, the National Assembly refused to continue the suspension order and ordered the payment of all such debts to be made within 48 hours. As the people could not pay within 4 days, more than 1½ lakhs of Parisians were exposed to legal prosecutions. This involved a lot of hardship to the business world.



A majority of the workmen were without employment and their only source of income was their remuneration as members of the National Guard. The National Assembly suppressed the National Guard except in the case of those who secured certificates of poverty. The National Guard included most of the able-bodied male population of Paris. It had defended Paris during the siege and the arms were left in the hands of the members after the conclusion of war. As soon as the siege was raised, the rich and well-to-do members of the National Guard left Paris in large numbers to rejoin their families. It is only the poor who continued to be the members of the National Guard and the National Assembly deprived them of their franc and a half a day. These people were armed, suspicious, discontented and wretched. They were inflamed by the rumours that the Republic was in danger.

Paris was also full of Anarchists, Jacobins and Socialists. The Socialists had a large following among the working classes. Among the restless, discontented and poverty-stricken masses of Paris, the Socialist leaders worked with great success. There arose out of the confusion of the time the idea of the Commune. It was proposed that in the future political set-up of the country, more emphasis should be put on the Communes. While they should be given more powers, the sphere of the State should be circumscribed. In other words it was a demand to decentralise the administration in a country which was completely centralised. It was felt that if the suggestion was accepted, many French cities or Communes which had republican sympathies, should be liberated from the control of the central government which was monarchist in spirit. There was every possibility of bringing about an economic and social revolution in the Communes.

The discontentment in Paris expressed itself through the National Guard which selected in February 1871 a committee of 60 members to regulate its activity. With a view to prevent any action being taken against Paris and the Republic by the National Assembly, the National Guard removed some cannon to one of the strongest points in the city of Paris. The National Assembly was not prepared to tolerate that and consequently tried to recapture the same on 18th March, 1871. However, it failed in its objective. The authority of the government was defied by the members of the National Guard and the people at large. The spirit of revolt spread all over the city and it developed into a war between Paris on the one side and the National Assembly at Versailles on the other. Two of the generals of the Versailles government were captured and shot by the rebels. The government forces were withdrawn from Paris by Thiers and the city was left entirely in the hands of the rebels who secured complete control over the same.

On 26th March, 1871, elections were held in Paris for the General Council of 90 members to serve as the government of the Commune. Ministers in charge of various departments were appointed. Republican calendar of the revolution and the red flag of the Socialists were adopted. All the Socialists did not



subscribe to one ideology and many of them differed from one another. Paris denied the charge that it was trying to disrupt the unity of the country. It was maintained that it was merely trying to abolish the kind of unity "imposed on us up to this day by the Empire, the Monarchy and Parliamentarism," which was "despotic, unintelligent, arbitrary and onerous centralisation." The Paris Commune intended to abolish the old system of "militarism, exploitation, stock-jobbing, monopolies and privileges to which the proletariat owes its servitude, and the fatherland, its misfortunes and its disasters." An appeal was made to the people of France to help them in their cause. "Let her be our ally in this conflict which can only end by the triumph of the communal idea or the ruin of Paris".

The Paris Commune could succeed only if it was able to overthrow the Versailles government. Troops were sent out from Paris to break up the National Assembly. They were unsuccessful in their attempt, and were captured and shot. In revenge, the Paris Commune ordered the arrest of many prominent men in Paris who were ordered to be kept as "hostages".

Men like Thiers were very unhappy at the prospect of a civil war in the country. It was humiliating to find Frenchmen fighting against Frenchmen, particularly before the eyes of the German soldiers who were still on the French soil. Thiers tried to remove the suspicion that any attempt was being made to destroy the Republic. A law was passed on 14th April, 1871, by which the powers of the local bodies were enlarged. However, he made it clear that he was not prepared to weaken the authority of the government and the unity of the country and was also determined to crush the rebels of Paris. For a time, the work of Thiers was a difficult one. However, after some time, an army of 1½ lakhs of men were prepared to deal with the Paris Commune. A regular siege of Paris was started. There was a lot of bitterness and ferocity on both sides. The siege lasted from 2nd April to 21st May, 1871. After that, there was fighting in the streets of Paris for a week which is termed as "the bloody week". During these seven days, Paris suffered much more than she has suffered from the bombardment of the Germans for a week. There was wholesale burning and slaughter. According to Henotaux, "Everything was burning; there were explosions everywhere. A night of terror; the Porte Saint Martin, the Church of Saint Eustacha, the Rue Royale, the Rue de Rivoli, the Tuileries, the Palais-Royal, the Hotel de Ville, the left bank from the Legion de Honneur to the Palais de Justice, and the police office were immense red braziers, and above all rose lofty blazing columns... from outside, all the forts were firing upon Paris... The gunners were cannonading one another across the town, and above the town. Shells fell in every direction. All the central quarters were a battlefield. It was a horrible chaos: bodies and souls in collision over a crumbling world." The Paris Commune shot its hostages. However, on 28th May, 1871, the last of the rebels were shot down.

After the victory, the Versailles government had its revenge



on the rebels. The latter were punished right and left. Many of them were shot on the spot. According to Hanotaux, "The number of men who perished in this horrible fray, without any other form of law, is estimated at 17,000. The cemeteries, the squares, private or public gardens saw trenches opened in which nameless corpses were deposited without register and without list, by thousands." Arrests and trials continued for years. Up to 1875, more than 43,000 persons were arrested and a large number were denounced. The prisoners were tried by courts-martial and given severe punishments. It was so late as 1879 that an amnesty was given as a result of the efforts of Gambetta. A lot of class-hatred was created in the country. Regarding the Paris Commune, Prof. Fyffe remarks thus : "When, after a siege of six weeks in which Paris suffered far more severely than it had suffered from the cannonade of the Germans, the troops of Versailles at length made their way into the capital, humanity and civilization seemed to have vanished in the orgies of devils. The defenders, as they fell back, murdered their hostages, and left behind them palaces, museums, the entire public inheritance of the nation in its capital, in flames. The conquerors during several days shot down all whom they took fighting, and in many cases put to death whole bands of prisoners without distinction. The temper of the army was such that the government, even if it had desired, could probably not have mitigated the terrors of this vengeance. But there was little sign anywhere of an inclination to mercy. Courts-martial and executions continued long after the heat of combat was over. A year passed, and the tribunals were still busy with their work. Above ten thousand persons were sentenced to transportation or imprisonment before public justice was satisfied."

**Work of National Assembly (1871-75).** The National Assembly which was elected in the beginning of 1871 to ratify the treaty of Germain continued to sit up to 31st December, 1875. It not only ratified the Treaty of Frankfurt but also crushed the revolt of the Paris Commune. Having accomplished that, the National Assembly addressed itself to the work of national reconstruction. The problem of paying the war-indemnity was a very urgent one and consequently Thiers raised a large loan and thereby paid off the whole of war-indemnity in two years. The result was that the German troops were withdrawn from the French soil and Thiers came to be called "the Liberator of the Territory". The French army was reorganised on the model of the Prussian army. A law of 1872 provided for compulsory military service throughout the length and breadth of the country.

The National Assembly had to address itself to the task of framing a constitution for the country. Thiers was originally a believer in constitutional monarchy but he was not afraid of a republican government as well. With the passage of time, he came to believe that a Republic was the only possible form of government for his country. To quote him, "*There is only one throne and there are three claimants for seat on it.*" "Those parties who want a monarchy do not want the same monarchy." As regards the



by the clergymen of France. The Republicans resented the interference of the clergymen in the politics of the country and Gambetta condemned that action in these words: "Clericalism—that is our enemy." The Roman Catholic church came to be considered as the most dangerous enemy of the Republic. The enemies of the Republic persuaded Macmahon to believe that he was not bound to follow the advice of the ministry and he could have a policy of his own. On 16th May, 1877, Macmahon dismissed the Republican ministry which enjoyed the confidence of the Chamber of Deputies and appointed a new ministry which was largely composed of the Monarchists under the Duke of Broglie. The Senate agreed to the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies and fresh elections were ordered. The Republicans were determined to oppose the moves of Macmahon. It was contended by them that the President had no right to have a policy of his own. He could not dismiss a ministry which enjoyed the confidence of the legislature. Macmahon's contention was that he had that right and "if the Chamber did not approve, it remained for the people to decide between him and it." There was a bitter contest for political power between the President and the Senate on the one hand and the Chamber of Deputies on the other. The contest was won by the Chamber of Deputies.

When elections were held for the Chamber of Deputies, the Broglie ministry left no stone unturned against the Republicans under Gambetta. Republican officers were removed and reactionaries were appointed in their places. The machinery of the State was used to crush the Republican newspapers. Gambetta declared that after the people had given their verdict, by means of a general election, President Macmahon must "either submit or resign". He was prosecuted and condemned to three months' imprisonment and a fine of 2,000 francs. Official candidates were put forward by the Monarchists and were supported by the officers and the ministry in power. The clergymen also helped the Monarchist cause. In spite of all this, the Republicans swept the polls. They secured a majority of over a hundred in the new Chamber of Deputies. President Macmahon "submitted" and appointed a Republican ministry.

When one-third of the members of the Senate were elected in 1871, the Republicans secured a majority in the Senate also. When both the Houses became Republican, the position of President Macmahon became very difficult. The legislature demanded the retirement of certain generals of the army on account of their anti-Republican leaning. Macmahon refused to do so on the ground that the army must be kept out of party politics. However, he himself resigned on 30th January, 1879. Jules Grevy, a Republican of long standing, was elected the new President. Thus for the first time since 1871, the Republicans came to have their control over the Senate, Chamber of Deputies and the President. As a token of Republican victories, the seat of the French Government was shifted from Versailles to Paris in 1880.



It is true that the Monarchists still continued to have some following but they did not count much on account of their dissensions. The Count of Chambord died in 1883 and the hopes of the Legitimists ended. The Count of Paris did not assert himself much and the Bonapartists lost their incentive after the death of Napoleon III and his son.

However, if the danger from the Monarchists was over, the Third Republic in France had to face other difficulties.

(2) After the death of Gambetta in 1882, there was no commanding personality in French politics. The result was that ministerial changes took place very frequently. Politics seemed to be a game of getting offices and not pursuing mature politics of State. There was a lot of discontentment within the country. Many people did not approve of the policy of secularising education. There were others who did not approve of the colonial policy. The people felt that the parliamentary institutions in France had failed and only a dictator could handle the situation. A scandal was found in the household of President Grevy himself. Wilson, his son-in-law, was found to be using his influence for the purpose of trafficking in the bestowal of places in the Legion of Honour. President Grevy defended the action of his son-in-law and was ultimately forced to resign. Undoubtedly, this brought a bad name to the Republican regime.

(3) There was another scandal connected with the Directors of the Panama Canal Company. Some of the ministers and legislators were found guilty of corruption and the opponents of the Republic got another opportunity to attack the same.

(4) **Boulanger.** When such was the state of affairs in France, General Boulanger appeared on the scene. He was a dashing figure on horseback. He was an attractive speaker and he tried to exploit the public discontent to make himself a hero. In 1886, he was appointed the minister of war and he was able to win over soldiers by improving their conditions of life in the barracks and by advocating the reduction of the required term of service. He controlled many newspapers who tried to boost him up. He talked of France having revenge against Germany. He posed as the rescuer of the Republic and demanded a total revision of the constitution. His programme was vague but he aimed at the increase of the powers of the President and the decrease of the powers of the legislature. He advocated the direct election of the President.

For three years, the personality of Boulanger was a storm-centre. Discontented persons of all shades of opinion, whether they were monarchists, imperialists or clericals, flocked to him with a view to use him to overthrow the Republic. Various parties contributed funds towards the elections of Boulanger and he became a candidate for Parliament from many vacancies. During the five months of 1888, Boulanger was elected a member of the Chamber of Deputies from six constituencies. In January 1889, he was elected from Paris itself by a majority of over 80,000.



Boulanger was at the height of his popularity and he could have struck. However, he let the opportunity slip. The Republicans also closed their ranks in the face of a common danger. The result was that the ministry summoned Boulanger to appear before the Senate sitting as a High Court of Justice to meet the charge of conspiring against the safety of the State. Instead of facing the charge, Boulanger ran away to Belgium and he was convicted in his absence. In his absence, his followers disappeared. Two years after, he committed suicide. The collapse of Boulanger strengthened the Republic, proved its vitality and discredited its opponents. The idea of a revision of the constitution was also discredited.

(5) **Dreyfus.** The Dreyfus affair also endangered the safety of the Republic for some time. Alfred Dreyfus was a Jew and a



Alfred Dreyfus

captain in the French army. He was arrested in October 1894 on a charge of betraying the military secrets of the country to a foreign power. He was tried by a court martial, found guilty and sentenced



to imprisonment for life. In January, 1895, he was publicly degraded in a most dramatic manner in the courtyard of the Military School before a large detachment of the army. His stripes were torn from his uniform. His sword was broken. In spite of all these humiliations, Dreyfus asserted his innocence and shouted "*Vive la France!*" He was deported to a small, barren and unhealthy island off French Guiana in South Africa called Devil's Island and kept there in solitary confinement. There was a general feeling that injustice had been done in this case.

Colonel Picquart was subsequently appointed the head of the Intelligence Department and he came to the conclusion that the document on the basis of which Dreyfus had been convicted was a forgery which was committed by Major Esterhazy. With a view to maintain the prestige of the army, the French Government tried to hush up the matter and Picquart was transferred. Colonel Henry was appointed in his place. However, there was a lot of agitation all over the country. Men like Emile Zola, Clemenceau and Anatole France took up the cause of Dreyfus which was opposed by the monarchists, the clericals and the army. The question was not merely the innocence or guilt of Dreyfus, but it involved bigger issues. The enemies of the Republic tried to discredit the Republic by insisting on the guilt of Dreyfus.

The supporters of Dreyfus continued their agitation for his re-trial, but it was opposed by the vested interests. However, Colonel Henry admitted that one of the documents on the basis of which Dreyfus had been convicted, was forged by himself. After making that confession, Henry committed suicide in 1898. The confession of Henry strengthened the hands of the supporters of Dreyfus and the government was forced to order a re-trial. However, in the second trial also, Dreyfus was found guilty. His sentence of imprisonment was reduced to 10 years on account of the extenuating circumstances. President Loubet exercised his power of pardon in favour of Dreyfus and he was set at liberty.

In spite of this, the supporters of Dreyfus were not satisfied. In 1906, he was tried for the third time and on that occasion was declared to be completely innocent. As a result of that verdict, Dreyfus was promoted to a very high rank in the army and he became the symbol of the cause of Republicanism.

According to Hazen, "The Dreyfus case, originally simply involving the fate of an alleged traitor, had soon acquired a far greater significance. Party and personal ambitions and interests sought to use it for purposes of their own and thus the question of legal right and wrong was woefully distorted and obscured. Those who hated the Jews used it to inflame people against that race, as Dreyfus was a Jew. The clericals joined them. Monarchists seized the occasion to declare that the Republic was an egregious failure breeding treason, and ought to be abolished. On the other hand there rallied to the defence of Dreyfus those who believed in his innocence, those who denounced the hatred of a race as a relic of barbarism, those who believed that the military should be subordi-



nate to the civil authority and should not regard itself as above the law as these army officers were doing, those who believed that the whole episode was merely a hidden and dangerous attack upon the Republic, and all who believed that the clergy should keep out of politics.

"The chief result of this memorable struggle in the domain of politics was to unite more closely Republicans of every shade in a common programme, to make them resolve to reduce the political importance of the army and of the Church. The former was easily done by removal of monarchist officers. The attempt to solve the latter much more subtle and elusive problem led to the next great struggle in the recent history of France, the struggle with the Church."

According to Prof. Chapman, "As everyone knows who reads the history of France between 1870 and 1914, the Dreyfus case lies in his way, a vast and distracting maze, *una selva oscura*. It cannot be avoided. Unhappily much legend is attached to the Dreyfus affair. To accept the conventional reading of a clerico-military conspiracy is to swallow the propaganda of the Dreyfusards. No conspiracy existed in military circles, none in clerical. The arrest of Deroulede and his allies in August 1899 was no more than the spectacular method of a shaky and nervous government of rallying opinion to its side. This consideration led me back to a re-examination of the evidence from the beginning. It soon became apparent that much more is to be said for the War Office than has generally been admitted that anti-semitism played little, perhaps no, part in the arrest of the unhappy victim or in his trial, that the accusations against the secular Church and, save the Assumptionists against the religious Orders have the flimsiest foundations. In short, the conventional story is overlaid with propaganda put out by partisans on the both sides." (*The Dreyfus Case*, p. 9).

It is to be observed that after the defeat of the anti-Dreyfusards, the position of the Third Republic became stabilized and it did not meet any danger from any other quarter.

**Anti-church Policy (Ultramontaniam).** The anti-church policy of the Third Republic was due to many causes. The clericals had identified themselves with the royalist cause. When there was a struggle between the Monarchists and the Republicans, the Clericals joined hands with the Monarchists. Even on the occasion of the Dreyfus affair, the Clericals supported the anti-Dreyfusards. They also supported Boulanger. Gambetta, the popular leader of France, had pointed out the danger to the Third Republic from the church in these words: "Clericalism, there is the enemy." According to Combes, "Clericalism is, in fact, to be found at the bottom of every agitation and every intrigue from which Republican France has suffered during the last thirty-five years."

French politicians wanted to take away the control of the church over the educational system of the country. It was intended to inoculate with Republicanism every French boy and girl. Ferry, the French Minister of Public Instruction, passed many laws by



which an attempt was made to remove the Catholic influence from education. Those laws prescribed compulsory attendance at some school for all children. Parents could still send their children to free schools run by the church, but if they did so, they had to support their schools out of their own funds. However, a complete system of public or national schools was established which was finalised and directed by the Republican Government. No religious instruction was given in those schools and only those laymen could teach in those schools who were accepted by the government. Gambetta's view was that the Prussian school master had won the last war and the French school master must win the next. Many Catholic clergymen condemned the public schools as Godless and atheistical. The government also hit back and ordered the dissolution of the Society of Jesus and its expulsion from France. All laws against the religious congregations of monks and nuns were revived. The government ordered the dissolution of those congregations which were not authorised by itself. Their members were also forbidden to run schools. It was also provided that all marriages were to be performed by civil ministries in order to give them validity. Another law empowered the civil courts to grant divorces and cancel marriages. The Catholics protested but submitted.

In October 1900, Premier Waldeck-Rousseau made a speech at Toulouse which resounded throughout France and foreshadowed a policy of great importance. According to him, the real danger confronting France arose from the growing power of the religious orders of monks and nuns. "In this country whose moral unity has for centuries constituted its strength and greatness, two classes of young people are growing up ignorant of each other until the day when they meet, so unlike as the risk not comprehending one another. Such a fact is explained only by the existence of a power which is no longer even occult, and by the constitution in the state of rival power." What he intended to say was that the youth of France was divided into two classes whose outlook upon life, whose mental processes, and whose opinions concerning politics and morals were so different from one another that the moral unity of the nation was destroyed. That was partly due to the astonishing and dangerous growth of religious orders of congregations whose influence was highly harmful. The orders were the rivals of the State. They had grown in wealth and numbers. Between 1877 and 1900, the number of nuns increased from 14,000 to 75,000 in unauthorised orders. The number of the monks was in the neighbourhood of 190,000. Their property was valued at about 50 million francs. The same property was worth more than a billion francs in 1900. The accumulation of wealth in the hands of the church was a source of great danger. There was opposition to teaching and preaching by the church. The church was declared the enemy of liberty.

In 1901, the *Law of Associations* was passed by which no religious order was to be allowed to exist in France without a definite association by the Parliament. The orders were to submit themselves to continuous regulation by the State. Although there



were loud protests against the law, the same was vigorously enforced. The view of Combes was that "Clericalism is in fact to be found at the bottom of every agitation and every intrigue from which republican France has suffered during the last 35 years." Many refused to ask for authorisation from Parliament and there were others which were refused the authorisation even when they asked for the same. Thousands of monks and nuns were forced to leave their institutions and the latter had to be closed. Many of them left France and got shelter in Spain, Belgium, Great Britain and the U.S.A. Combes boasted that he not only exiled and silenced the critics of the Republic but also deprived the church schools of their best teachers.

Another law was passed in 1904 by which all teaching by religious orders, even by those authorised, was to cease within 10 years. The State was to have a monopoly of education of the young and consequently was to be in a position to teach them the principles of republicanism and liberalism. About 500 teaching, preaching and commercial orders were suppressed. Although Catholics condemned the law as the very negation of liberty, the same remained on the statute book.

The Republicans were not contented with this and were determined to go ahead with their programme against the church. For about a century, the relations between the church and the State in France were regulated by the Concordat of 1801. The Bishops and Archbishops were appointed by the State with the consent of the Pope. The Bishops appointed the priests with the consent of the State. The State paid the salaries of the priests and the bishops. The church recognised the confiscation of its property by the State. There were many Frenchmen who wanted to put an end to the Concordat of 1801. Their view was that religion was a private affair and the State had nothing to do with the same. The State had no right to tax people for the support of a church in which many had no belief or interest. It had no right to favour one denomination over another or over all others. It must be neutral towards all creeds and churches. Matters were precipitated when President Loubet of France paid an official visit to the King of Italy at Rome in April 1904. It was well known that such a visit was bound to offend the Pope who since 1870 had refused to recognise the King of Italy and had requested the Catholic sovereigns not to visit him. Pope Pius X protested the Catholic powers of Europe against what he called "a grave offence to the Sovereign Pontiff." Jaures demanded "reprisals" for what he called foreign interference in the political affairs of France. The result was that Delcasse, the French Foreign Minister, recalled the French ambassador to the Vatican. Since June, 1903, a preliminary committee had been studying the problem and trying to draft the measure which was intended to separate the church from the State. The law was finally passed on 9th December, 1905. It abrogated the Concordat of 1801. The State was not to pay in future the salaries of the clergymen and was also to have no hand in their appointment. Clergymen who had served for many years, were to be given pensions. Young



clergymen were to be given some compensation. The Church property which had been vested in the nation since 1789, was still to be at the free disposal of Roman Catholic church. However, the same was to be managed by Associations of Worship which were to vary in size according to the population of the community. Provision was made to prevent associations from amassing more than a given amount of wealth by legacies, gifts or otherwise.

The law was not universally condemned by the Catholics of France. There were many who believed that the church should adapt itself to the new circumstances. 74 Bishops decided to give a trial if certain alterations were made in the character of the Association of Worship.

However, a crisis was precipitated by the Pope who condemned the law of 1905 unreservedly. He declared that the fundamental principle of the separation of church and State was "an absolutely false thesis, a very pernicious error." He denounced the associations of worship as giving administrative control not "to the divinely instituted hierarchy, but to an association of laymen." That was a violation of the principles on which the church was based. The decision of the Pope was final and decisive for all Catholics and there was no scope for any compromise. There was the danger of all the Catholic churches in France being closed down and the government was not prepared to go to that extent. Briand decided to apply the law of 1881 which regulated the holding of public meetings. Although that law was concerned with secular meetings, the same was applied to religious meetings. It was announced that priests might make use of the churches after merely filing the usual application which covered the whole year. That compromise was also rejected by the Pope.

Another law was enforced in January 1907. By that law, most of the privileges guaranteed to the Roman Catholic Church by the law of 1905 were abrogated. As regards public worship in the churches, their use was to be gratuitous and regulated by contracts between the priests and prefects or mayors. Those contracts were to safeguard the civil ownership of the buildings, but worship was to go on in them as before.

According to Prof. Seignobos, "By this separation of church and State, France broke with the European tradition of Concordats by which the State officially recognised its religion; she adopted the American system which leaves the churches to be organised by the private initiative. This was a revolution in the ecclesiastical regime of France."

**Labour Legislation** Some important labour legislation was enacted in France during the 1890's. The "great act" of 1892 regulated the employment of women and forbade the employment of children under 13 years of age. It also laid down that workers were not to be made to work for more than 10 hours a day. There was to be a holiday once a week, preferably on Sundays. The interests of the minors were also safeguarded. Another Act of the same year provided for a machinery for voluntary arbitration in industrial



disputes between employers and employees. Another Act was passed in 1893 which enabled the government to supervise the hygienic conditions in the factories. The government was also to see that measures were adopted for the safety of the workers in the industrial establishments. Another Act of the same year ensured free medical attendance for all workers and their families. An Act of 1898 laid down that employers were to pay compensation for personal injuries sustained by the employees.

**Colonial Policy.** France had already made some progress in the field of colonial development in the time of Louis Philippe and Napoleon III. During the regime of Jules Ferry, a vigorous colonial policy was pursued. In 1881, a protectorate was established over Tunis. Italy protested but had ultimately to keep quiet. In the time of Napoleon III, France had occupied Cambodia and annexed Cochin-China. Under Ferry, Tonkin was conquered and a protectorate was established over Annam. Ferry also laid the foundations of French Congo and sent an expedition to Madagascar. The work started by Ferry was continued by his successors. The result was that Madagascar was annexed in 1896 and Morocco was recognised as within the French sphere of influence in 1904. France also made acquisitions in Senegal, Guinea, Dahomey, Ivory Coast and the region of the Niger. It is true that Germany protested against French penetration into Morocco and precipitated the crises of 1905-6, 1908 and 1911, but Morocco was practically made a part of the French Empire by 1912. Germany was reconciled by the grant of some compensation to her. Thus, France came to have a colonial Empire which was second in the world only to that of Great Britain.

**Foreign Policy.** It is to be observed that from 1871 to 1890, France was diplomatically isolated. That was due to the deliberate policy of Bismarck who left no stone unturned to keep France isolated. Bismarck created the Three Emperors' League which continued to exist up to 1878. In 1879 he entered into an alliance with Austria-Hungary. By the entry of Italy in 1882, the same was transformed into the Triple Alliance. He revived the Three Emperors' League in 1881 and the same continued up to 1887. In 1887, he entered into the Reinsurance treaty with Russia and the same continued up to 1890. France could not have an alliance with England as there was going on a lot of colonial rivalry between the two countries. The relations were so much strained that on the occasion of the Fashoda incident of 1898, there was the possibility of a war between the two countries. Although Bismarck had succeeded in keeping Russia on his own side up to 1890, things changed after his resignation. The result was that France and Russia entered into a military alliance in 1893. The Dual Alliance continued up to 1914 although its importance became negligible during the Russo-Japanese War and the years that followed it. The Dual Alliance of 1893 ended the diplomatic isolation of France and enabled her to face the future with confidence and hope. There was no major change in foreign affairs till 1898 when Delcasse became the Foreign Minister of France. On account of the importance



of his achievements, it is desirable to refer to his work at some length.

**Delcasse (1898-1905).** The foreign policy of Delcasse is associated with the reconciliation of France with England and Italy. When he entered the Quai D' Orsay in June 1898, there was bitterness between France and England and there was going on a great colonial competition between the two countries. When he left the Foreign Office in 1905, England and Italy were friends of France. That was due to the industry, patience and devotion of Delcasse.

*Reconciliation with England.* Captain Marchand had been sent by the French Government to forestall the English in the so-called Egyptian Sudan and thereby add to the French power. Even a change of government in France did not result in any change in the policy. The result was that Marchand reached Fashoda and hoisted the French flag. Kitchener met Marchand and asked him to retire from Fashoda as that was within the jurisdiction of Egypt. There was a lot of argument but all that was of no avail. Ultimately, the English flag was hoisted a few hundred yards away and Marchand was allowed to send a report to his government and get instructions from the same.

It is stated that when Delcasse became the Foreign Minister of France, he took steps in the direction of reconciliation of England. When Kitchener won the battle of Omdurman and entered Khartum, Delcasse offered his sincere congratulations on his victory "despite the differences about Egypt of the two governments." Delcasse also expressed his desire to settle all cases of differences between the two countries by discussion. However, he was informed by the British Government that there was nothing which could be discussed. Even on the day before the meeting of Kitchener and Marchand, an important interview took place between Delcasse and the British ambassador in Paris. During the interview, Delcasse told the British ambassador that the French Government had never recognised the British sphere of influence in the Upper Nile and as a matter of fact had protested against it. The Bahr-Ghazal has long been outside the influence of Egypt and France had as much a right at Fashoda as the English had at Khartum. The British ambassador



Delcasse



told Delcasse that his government was not prepared to compromise and consequently the situation seemed to be serious. On another occasion, Delcasse told the British ambassador that he was prepared to discuss the question in the most conciliatory spirit, but he could not evacuate Fashoda without discussion or conditions. The stand taken by the French Government created a storm of opposition and resentment in England where the people demanded that France must be taught a lesson and England must not submit. Lord Rosebury announced that the British Government was not prepared to sacrifice anything and was prepared to fight out. The Chancellor of the Exchequer also spoke in a similar tone. Chamberlain announced the calling of the reserves. A cartoon in the *Punch* indicated the impatience of the man in the street in England. "What will you give me if I go away?" asked a Frenchman. "I will give you something if you don't", replied John Bull.

The British Government demanded an unconditional evacuation of Fashoda and Dr. Gooch is of the opinion that the British Government got it done by means of a threat of war. The French left Fashoda and the episode ended peacefully. The sagacity and moderation of Delcasse saved the situation. If Delcasse had been as violent as people on the other side of the channel were, there would have been trouble. Such "a conflict would have involved sacrifices disproportionate to the object." France had already one enemy in Germany and she could not afford to have another. To quarrel with Great Britain was to play into the hands of Germany and thereby destroy all chances of recovering Alsace and Lorraine. The French fleet was weak and Great Britain could have taken possession of the whole of the colonial empire of France. It was this conviction that forced Delcasse to defy those Frenchmen who stood for a war with Great Britain.

According to Taylor, "Fashoda and its aftermath was for the French a crisis in political psychology, for the British not even that. They carried the day with the normal peace-time strength; the extra cost of Fashoda to the British admiralty was £13,600. This economy was, of course, illusory. The true 'battle for Egypt' had been fought in 1798, and the French never meant to renew it. Fashoda was a triumph for 'splendid isolation'. The British had become indifferent to the continent of Europe and the Balance of Power (or so they thought); therefore, they could build an invincible navy and dominate the Mediterranean. Fashoda, moreover, made 'splendid isolation' more secure. The British did not need the diplomatic support of other Powers in the Egyptian question, once they put it on a military basis; and with their troops close to the Suez canal they worried less than ever about a Russian occupation of Constantinople. At any time after 1898 the British could say of the opening of the Straits what the Committee of Imperial Defence said in 1903: 'it would not fundamentally alter the present strategic position in the Mediterranean.' Fashoda finished off what remained of the Mediterranean entente. Great Britain needed neither Italy nor Austria-Hungary. Italy, deprived of



British protection, had to seek reconciliation with France. Austria-Hungary enjoyed an illusory security so long as Russian attention was concentrated on the Far East, once Russia turned back to the Balkans, Germany could no longer find a third party on whom to shoulder off the defence of Austria-Hungary, and a Russo-German conflict became well-nigh inevitable." (*The Struggle for Mastery in Europe*, pp. 382-83).

After the retirement of Marchand from Fashoda, negotiations started between the two countries and ultimately a settlement was made in 1899 regarding the respective spheres of France and England. By this, Great Britain recognised the right of France to expand from West Africa towards the Sahara and the interior. The settlement was the work of Delcasse and Salisbury who showed a lot of patience at the time of the crisis.<sup>1</sup>

When the crisis was over, Delcasse suggested through the French ambassador in London to settle the other outstanding points of dispute between the two countries. Lord Salisbury did not show any enthusiasm and said that they must wait and that waiting took four years (1899-1903).

According to Dr. Gooch, the idea of a *rapprochement* between England and France was born on the day of Delcasse's appointment as Minister for Foreign Affairs in June 1898. Though originally an Anglophobe, he informed the first visitor at the Quai D'Orsay of his intention to establish cordial relations with England. The decision to evacuate Fashoda cleared the ground. However, the Boer War created bitterness between the two countries on account of the anti-British attitude of the French newspapers and the public. In spite of the difficulties, the pioneers of reconciliation did not give up hope. In 1900, the British Chamber of Commerce expressed its desire to hold its meeting at Paris and Delcasse approved of the same. The English attended the meeting in large numbers. In 1903, King Edward visited France and he was welcomed by the French. The same year, Delcasse and President Loubet made a return visit to London. It was in this atmosphere of trust and friendship that negotiations started between the two countries for the settlement of their respective claims. It was decided that while England was to have a free hand in Egypt, France was to have the same in Morocco. Likewise, the question of Newfoundland Fisheries was amicably settled. France gave up the right to the shores and she was given

1. It is pointed out that the Fashoda crisis paved the way towards a closer accord between England and France. Prince Bulow refers to a conversation between a French ambassador and an Italian colleague. The Italian asked the French ambassador: "What effect Fashoda would have on French relations with England?" The French ambassador replied: "An excellent one. Once the difference about the Sudan is settled nothing stands in the way of a complete Entente with England." Bulow's own comment was in these terms: "There was disappointment in Paris because England would not, for the sake of French friendship, sacrifice any of her interests in the Sudan and on the Nile. But France was ready in any case, though with clenched teeth, to pay this price or even a higher one for England's friendship. The defeat in the Fashoda affair was set down in the debit account of the French policy of revenge, and finally resulted in renewed hatred of Germany rather than hostility towards England."



concessions in West Africa. The questions of Siam, Madagascar and the New Hebrides were also settled.

Both Lord Lansdowne and Delcasse were satisfied with the friendly settlement of the outstanding disputes between the two countries. Answering his critics, Delcasse maintained that in Newfoundland, France had abandoned privileges which were difficult to maintain and in no way necessary, while the essential right of fishing in territorial waters was preserved and the right of purchasing bait and drying nets was also not denied. In West Africa, the British concessions were of considerable importance. The Niger-Chad frontier was improved. To quote Delcasse, "Under our influence, Morocco would be a source of strength for our North African empire. If subject to a foreign Power, our North African possession would be permanently menaced and paralysed." There was not much of sacrifice in the case of Egypt which had already been lost in 1882.

**Italy.** While Delcasse was busy in improving relations with Britain, he was also trying to conciliate Italy. In 1900, he secured the consent of Italy to the French exploitation of Morocco by telling Italy that she could develop her interests in Tripoli. In 1901, an Italian squadron visited Toulon. In 1902, the Italian Government assured the French Government that the Triple Alliance was not aimed at France and she gave a guarantee that she would not fight against France. In 1904, President Loubet visited Rome and the two countries were brought together.

Delcasse also took steps to settle things with Spain regarding Morocco.

A Franco-Spanish treaty was signed on 6th October, 1904 by which Spain formally adhered to the Anglo-French Convention of April 1904 and thereby acknowledged the predominant interest of France in Morocco. She also accepted from France and England a guarantee of Moroccan independence.

**Morocco.** Having settled with Italy and Spain the question of Morocco, Delcasse sent a mission in December 1904 to the capital of Morocco. Morocco was to be developed under the auspices of France and the French were to help in the training of police, building of roads and telegraphs and the founding of a State Bank. The Sultan of Morocco accepted the suggestions of the French Government. Everything seemed to be progressing smoothly when all of a sudden a check came from Germany. Formerly, the attitude of the German Government was that she had only commercial interests in Morocco, but now the German Government changed its mind. William II went to Tangier and made a declaration that the German Government would not allow the subjection of the Sultan of Morocco to any Power. He also declared that the German Government was determined to defend the independence of the Sultan at all costs. Naturally, those declarations were resented in France.

The Germans regarded Delcasse as their enemy No. 1 and no wonder they wanted him to go. The German Government demanded



that a conference of the powers concerned should be summoned to discuss the question of Morocco. Delcasse was not prepared to submit to this German demand. He felt that Germany was merely trying to vilify France by making unreasonable demands. He was supported by the President and Prime Minister of France. On the other hand, the German Government insisted that Delcasse must be dismissed and a conference must be called. The German press clamoured that it was not France which wanted to fight against Germany but it was the personal enmity of Delcasse which was responsible for the conflict. There were rumours of an ultimatum being given by Germany to France and the French feared that their army was not ready. Delcasse stated that Britain had made an offer of 100,000 men to support France. However, Dr. Gooch points out that the so-called "British Offer" existed only in the imagination of Delcasse. As a matter of fact the British Government had given no such guarantee. The British Government had merely given a warning that in case any unfriendly act was done, Great Britain was not to remain indifferent. Such a warning against aggression was different from a solemn undertaking to help France. Probably Delcasse's mistaken interpretation of the British official attitude was due to the statements of certain highly-placed Englishmen who expressed their individual convictions. The contention of the French Prime Minister was that even if the so-called British offer was accepted, that would mean war with Germany. At that stage Bulow, the German Chancellor, informed the French Government that he was not going to have any dealings with Delcasse. It was this ultimatum which was responsible for the resignation of Delcasse and the French acceptance of a conference to deal with the question of Morocco.

During this period, one factor played a very important part. France used to depend upon her friendship with Russia on account of the Franco-Russian alliance. However, in 1905, Russia was very weak on account of her reverses in the Russo-Japanese War. Moreover, William II was making special efforts to win over Russia. So in the Russo-Japanese War, the Germans helped the Russians as much as they could. In 1905 was signed the Bjorko Pact by William II and Nicholas II. France submitted to the German demand for conference because she could not trust her Russian ally and she was also not sure of any military help from England. The British Government also advised the French Government to accept the idea of a conference on Morocco. However, it cannot be denied that the French surrender cost her the services of a brilliant and selfless statesman who had done so much to enhance her prestige and strengthen her position in Europe. Lord Lansdowne wrote thus to a friend: "The fall of Delcasse is disgusting and has sent the Entente down a number of points in the market." It was the most humiliating incident that had occurred in France for many years. In spite of his fall, with the exception of Austria, all Powers voted against Germany in the Algeiras Conference in 1906. "Algeiras was a German defeat" and Delcasse had contributed not a little to it.



Even after retirement from the foreign office in 1905, Delcasse remained a prominent figure in French politics for a long time. He belonged to no party but was welcomed because of his friends. When he became the Minister of the French Marine, he followed a policy of concentrating the French Fleet in the Mediterranean.

In 1914, he was sent as French ambassador to Russia. With his pro-Russian views, he was the most suitable person for bringing the two countries nearer each other. It is well-known that he had played an important part in 1904 on the occasion of the Dogger Bank incident. Without him, there might have been a clash between England and Russia.

The question has been asked as to how far Delcasse was responsible for the Entente Cordiale of 1904. It is true that it was the British Government which intimated in 1904 to the French Government that Edward VII would be happy to visit Paris on his way back from the Mediterranean, but the French Government responded favourably. It was the visit of the King and the welcome that was given to him that prepared the way. The same year Delcasse and President Loubet visited London. It was on that occasion that negotiations started between the two countries. It is maintained that it was Delcasse's sagacity and public spirit which led him to "grasp the hand which the British Government held out to him." It is true that in 1903, the British Government took the initiative, but Delcasse had already taken the initiative in that direction in 1899 after the settlement of the Fashoda incident. However, Lord Salisbury had replied thus to Cambon: "I have the greatest confidence in M. Delcasse and also in your present government. But in a few months time they will probably be overthrown and their successors will do exactly the contrary. No, we must wait a bit." It is clear that while the British Government rejected Delcasse's offer in 1899, the latter accepted the British offer in 1903, although he could have rejected likewise. The change in the British attitude was due to the fact that England had tried to win over Germany and had failed. After entering into alliance with Japan in 1902, France was approached by the British Government with a similar objective.

It is stated that Lord Lansdowne was shocked to find in March 1904 that Delcasse had not communicated to the French Cabinet the negotiations that were going on between the two countries. That was due to the fact Delcasse was not sure of their effect on the colleagues of his Cabinet. When the negotiations reached the final stage, he communicated the same to the Cabinet. It shows that he worked secretly at his object till he became sure of his success. In spite of the many ministerial changes in France from 1898 to 1905, Delcasse managed to remain in the foreign office and consistently followed a policy of winning over England and Italy.

The Germans regarded Delcasse as their arch-enemy because it was contended that he aimed at the encirclement of Germany. However, there does not seem to be any truth in the accusation.



The fact is that Declasse was a great patriot and he wanted to strengthen the position of his country by winning over England and Italy to her side. It was only in that way that France could hold her own against Germany. We may conclude with the following remarks of an eminent writer : "*In spite of his limitations, he remains by general consent, the outstanding figure of the Third Republic in the field of foreign affairs.*"

**Morocco Crisis of 1905.** It was on three occasions that the question of Morocco came to the front and there was every likelihood of a war between Germany and France. On all these three occasions, England backed France and consequently Germany had to give way.

Reference has already been made on the first Morocco crisis of 1905-6. It has already been pointed out that after the *Entente Cordiale* of 1904, Delcasse sent a French mission to Morocco with a view to establish French control over the country. Although outwardly the object was merely to help the Sultan of Morocco to develop his country and improve his administration, the ultimate effect would have been the establishment of French control over the country. Although on previous occasions Germany had stated that she had no interest in Morocco, a change was visible in her attitude. The German Emperor went to Tangier and declared that Germany would not allow the establishment of French control over Morocco. Germany also demanded the dismissal of Delcasse and the summoning of a conference to deal with the question of Morocco. Delcasse was forced to resign in 1905 and Algeciras Conference was held in 1906. Excepting Austria-Hungary, all other Powers including Italy voted with France and against Germany. The result was that Germany came out of the Conference empty-handed. It was recognised that while Germany had economic interests, France had political as well as economic interests. According to Dr. Gooch, the Conference of Algeciras did not improve the relations between Germany and France or the internal conditions of Morocco. The kernel of the treaty was that power was given to France and Spain to provide police for 8 ports under Swiss Inspector, but recruiting and instruction proceeded very slowly and was never fully carried out. Prince Bulow considered the results of the Algeciras Conference to be satisfactory although Germany did not get all that she desired. To quote Bulow, "We succeeded in preserving the sovereignty of the Sultan and in securing international control of the police organisation and the Morocco National Bank, thus ensuring the open door in Morocco for German economic interests as well as for those of all other countries...The decisions of the Algeciras Conference bolted the door against the attempts of France to compass the 'Unification' of Morocco. They also proved a bell we could ring at any time, should France show any similar tendencies again." However, according to impartial observers, the Algeciras Conference was a diplomatic rebuff to Germany. The Conference was held with the definite object of breaking the *Entente* between England and France. The actual result of the Conference was not the breaking but the strengthening of the *Entente*. Bulow himself admitted this fact in



these words : "We have no thought of attempting to separate France and England. We have absolutely no idea of attempting to disturb the friendship of the Western Powers. Cordial relations between Germany and England are in perfect consonance with *Entente*, if the latter combination follows pacific purposes."

**Casablanca Case (1908).** The second Morocco crisis of 1908 was related to the Casablanca incident. On 25th September, 1908, the German Consul at Casablanca tried to assist the deserters from the French Foreign Legions to escape. However, the deserters were captured and the German secretary and the soldiers who were escorting them, were roughly handled by French soldiers. The German Consul was blamed by the French authorities for the violation of international law by helping the deserters. On the other hand, the French authorities were blamed by Germany for having violated the rules of international law with regard to the privileges of the Consuls. There was a lot of excitement both in Germany and France. However, matters were not precipitated and both the countries agreed to submit the dispute to arbitration. The verdict of the arbitrators was that both sides were partly in the wrong. Both Powers were happy at the peaceful disposal of the dispute. The other European Powers were also happy as they were busy with the Turkish Revolution of 1908 and the Bosnian crisis of 1908-9. As there was the possibility of trouble in the Balkans, much importance was not attached to Morocco. Germany realised that it was not possible to check French control in Morocco without a war.

There were negotiations between Germany and France with regard to Morocco and the result was the *Franco-German Agreement of February 1909*. Germany was promised equality of economic opportunity in Morocco and she recognised the special interests of France and promised not to interfere with them.

Certain factors expedited the negotiations between the two countries. One of them was the possibility of a conflict between Austria and Serbia on the question of Bosnia and the other was the anxiety of Bulow to come to a settlement with England with regard to the naval programmes of the two countries. Bulow felt that negotiations with Germany could succeed only if the relations between France and Germany were not strained. The anxiety of England with regard to Morocco could be removed only if Germany and France shook hands on the question of Morocco. King Edward VII was to visit Berlin and Bulow decided to complete the negotiations before the arrival of Edward VII so that the credit of the success may not be given to the King. The Agreement of 1909 was enthusiastically supported in the French Press and Bulow as congratulated upon it. One important result was the establishment and maintenance of cordial relations between France and Germany for two years (1909-11).

**The Agadir Crisis (1911).** The Franco-German Agreement of 1909 established friendly relations between the two countries and for some time no difficulty arose with regard to Morocco. However, disorders in that country gave the French a pretext for a steady



extension of their police and military control. The sultan was forced by an ultimatum to accept a loan which brought him under the complete control of France. It was becoming clear that under the changed circumstances the independence of the Sultan could not be maintained and equal opportunities in the economic field could not be guaranteed to the Germans. The Chieftains of Morocco did not like the French methods of control and consequently there was a revolt in Fez, the capital of Morocco. It was declared that lives of Europeans were in danger. Captain Marchand was murdered in Morocco and the French Government decided to send troops to Fez to save the lives of Europeans. It was declared that troops would be withdrawn as soon as order was restored in Fez.

Kiderlen, the German Foreign Minister, neither gave his approval nor put in any formal protest. His views on Morocco have been summarised in these words: "Three years have shown that the independence of Morocco, as contemplated in Algeciras Act, cannot be maintained in the face of native rebellion and imperialistic pressure from France and Spain. Sooner or later Morocco will inevitably be absorbed by these two neighbours. It is unlikely that a walled city like Fez can be captured by the natives and the revolt seems to be on the ebb. But the French fear for its safety and are preparing to send an expedition. This they have a right to do, and one must await the development of events. But if they march to Fez it is hardly likely that they will withdraw; even if French public opinion approved withdrawal, it would be regarded by the natives as a sign of weakness. This would lead to new uprisings and new French military expeditions. The course of events show that the provisions of the Act of Algeciras cannot be carried out. A Sultan who can only assert his authority with the aid of French bayonets cannot maintain the independence which was the purpose of the Algeciras Act. Germany must recognize these facts and readjust her policy in accordance with them. After the French have been in Fez awhile, we shall ask in a friendly way when they expect to withdraw. When they say that they cannot withdraw we shall say that we understand this perfectly, but we can no longer regard the Sultan as a sovereign independent ruler as provided by the Act of Algeciras; and since this is a dead letter, the Signatory Powers regain their freedom of action. It will do no good to protest against the French absorption of Morocco. We must therefore secure an object which will make the French ready to give us *Compensations*. Just as the French protect their subjects in Fez, we can do the same for ours at Magador and Agadir by peacefully stationing ships there. We can then await developments and see if the French will offer us suitable compensation. If we get these, it will make up for past failures and have a good effect on the coming elections to the Reichstag."

The French Government informed the German Government that it was ready to negotiate on the question of compensation. Kiderlen desired to have the whole of French Congo. Cambon, the French Ambassador in Berlin, felt that no French Government could afford to give the whole of the Congo.



On 1st July, 1911, the German gun-boat called the *Panther* entered the harbour of Agadir. Germany declared that she had sent the German gun-boat to protect the lives and property of the Germans in South Morocco. The warship was to be withdrawn as soon as order was restored in Morocco. It is pointed out that the real object of the *Panther* was to extort more concessions from France.

During all this interval, negotiations were continuing between Germany and France for a settlement of the question of compensation. The final impression of Kiderlen was that no satisfactory concession could be got from France without a war. However, the Kaiser was opposed to a war with France on the question of Morocco and gave directions to that effect to Kiderlen. The latter was prepared to resign but was persuaded to continue the negotiations with France.

It was at this stage that Great Britain intervened. Sir Edward Grey warned Germany on 4th July, 1911 that "a new situation has been created by the despatch of a German ship to Agadir; future developments might affect British interests more directly than they had hitherto been affecting and, therefore, we could not recognise any new arrangement which was to come without us." Grey was prepared to accept a Franco-German settlement based on an exchange of French Congo territory for German African possessions provided Germany gave up all claims to Morocco.

On 21st July, 1911, Lloyd George, Chancellor to the Exchequer, made the following declaration in his famous Mansion House speech: "But I am also bound to say this that I believe it is essential in the highest interests, not merely of this country, but of the world, that Britain should at all hazards maintain her prestige amongst the Great Powers of the world. Her potent influence has many times been in the past, and may yet be in the future, invaluable to the cause of human liberty. It has more than once in the past redeemed continental nations, who are sometimes too apt to forget that service from overwhelming disaster, and even from national extinction. I would make great sacrifices to preserve peace. I conceive that nothing would justify a disturbance of international goodwill except questions of the gravest national moment. But if a situation were to be forced upon us in which peace could only be preserved by the surrender of the great and beneficent position Britain has won by centuries of heroism and achievement, by allowing Britain to be treated where her interests were vitally affected, as if she were of no account in the comity of nations, then I say emphatically that peace at that price would be a humiliation intolerable for a great country like ours to endure."

This speech had the desired result. There was a lot of indignation in Germany. It was interpreted as a threat to interfere in the Franco-German negotiations and it was felt that England had no business to do so. There was every possibility of a war and it was felt that the British Government was playing dangerously with fire. However, the actual result of the speech was that Germany



informed England that she had no desire to establish herself on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. Germany also moderated her demands on France. After four months of negotiations, an agreement was signed in November 1911. According to that agreement, Germany agreed to the establishment of a French protectorate over Morocco. France gave 100,000 square miles of French Congo to Germany.

Although the Morocco crisis was over, the relations between England and Germany became all the more strained. England began to suspect the war-like inclination of Germany. According to Grey, *'The Agadir Crisis was intended to end either in the diplomatic humiliation of France or in war.'* Again, "The militarists in Germany were bitterly disappointed over Agadir, and when the next crisis came we found them with the reins in their hands." Grey's feelings are clear from his following remarks to the Russian Ambassador: "In the event of a war between Germany and France England would have to participate. If this war should involve Russia, Austria would be dragged in too, for, although she has not the slightest desire to interfere in this matter, she will be compelled by force of circumstances to do so. There is no doubt that in such an event, the situation in Albania will become aggravated. Consequently, it would no longer be a duel between France and Germany—it would be a general war." According to Prince Bulow, "Like a damp squib, it started then amused the world, and ended by making us look ridiculous. After the leap of the *Panther* on Agadir, there was a fanfare which on Lloyd George's speech, died in the most inglorious charade." The Agadir Crisis tightened the bond between England and France. France was grateful to England for the Mansion House speech which helped to end the dispute. A day before the Mansion House speech, a conference took place between the French and English military staff with a view "to determine the new conditions for the participation of an English army in the operations of the French Armies in the North-East in case of war with Germany." Evidently, the crisis brought France and England nearer each other.

Another effect of the Agadir Crisis was that Italy decided to capture Tripoli. This action of Italy so much weakened Turkey that the Balkan League was formed to finish the Turkish Empire in Europe. That led to the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 which ultimately led to the World War of 1914.

According to Grant and Temperley, "Agadir was a crisis infinitely more serious than Algeiras and undoubtedly more critical than the Bosnian one. The Triple Entente had been defeated over Bosnia and Russia humiliated. But their defeat and humiliation were perhaps less public and anyhow less recent than that of the Triple Alliance, and of Germany in particular, at Agadir. This time England had appeared 'in shining armour' at a grave moment to support her friend. An able publicist put his finger on the gravity of the new situation at once. He said that the bond of the Triple Entente is less close than that of the Triple Alliance, but for practical purposes Europe is divided by these two great combinations, and the tenseness of the situation makes crises inevitably



recur. Russia and the Entente accepted defeat without war in the crisis of 1909. Germany accepted defeat without war in that of 1911, neither would accept defeat without war in any future crisis. Both groups understood the danger, and both began to prepare. England had already been organising an expeditionary force of six divisions, new arrangements were made with the Admiralty to transport it rapidly overseas at need i.e., to co-operate with France. Preparations of all kinds for press-censorship, for war legislation and the like were made. If a peace-loving country and government faced reality and made preparations like these, it is not surprising that military and naval activity developed elsewhere in a less liberal atmosphere. And the tensivity of the situation was increased by military re-organisation everywhere and particularly by the designing and development of Russian strategic railways and of German strategic canals."

#### Suggested Readings

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|----------------|---|
| Bodley         | : <i>The Church in France.</i>                                |
| Bourgeois      | : <i>History of Modern France (Vols. I &amp; II).</i>         |
| Braco          | : <i>France under the Republic.</i>                           |
| Chapman, Guy   | : <i>The Dreyfus Case, London, 1955.</i>                      |
| Galton         | : <i>The Church and State in France.</i>                      |
| Guerard        | : <i>French Civilisation in the Nineteenth Century.</i>       |
| Seignobos      | : <i>Political History of Europe since 1814.</i>              |
| Seignobos, C.  | : <i>A History of the French People.</i>                      |
| Stannard, H.   | : <i>Gambetta.</i>  |
| Vizetelly      | : <i>Republican France.</i>                                   |
| Wright         | : <i>History of the Third French Republic.</i>                |
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## CHAPTER XXI

### ITALY SINCE 1870

The unification of Italy was brought about by the efforts of men like Mazzini, Cavour, Garibaldi, Victor Emmanuel II etc. and foreign help. According to Luigi Sturzo, "Italian unity was obtained too suddenly by a people for centuries divided and heterogeneous. *Liberty, preserved as a torch in the little country of Piedmont, was rather given as a gift than won by the efforts of the people ; and nationality, affirmed as self-determination and self-government by an elite, did not find an equal echo in the popular consciousness.*" No wonder, in spite of her unification, Italy did not play any important part in European politics, as was done by Germany. The people of Italy were backward. The country was still undeveloped and consequently her resources were small. The people were illiterate and did not take interest in the politics of the country. Regionalism also stood in the way of national progress. Political life of the country left much to be desired. There was corruption all round. Intrigues were the order of the day. The quarrel between the Pope and the Italian Government was not in the interests of the country. Italy was deprived of the services of those Italian Catholics who could not participate in politics on account of the imposition of the ban by the Pope. The net result was that Italy remained a third rate power. To quote Sturzo again, Italy "became a pawn in the various vicissitudes of the European political game, useful now to this Power, now to that, in a subtle contest of skill in which she seemed to derive benefits, but which earned her only pricks and disappointments. This was due partly to the inherent difficulties of her position, and partly to the lack of continuity in her foreign policy, so that time and again there slipped from the hands of her ministers those very cards which they had guarded with jealous care. In this way, Italy received no help from her allies and gave none."

"We have made Italy, we still have to make Italians." With a view to achieve that objective, many measures were adopted. The administrative and judicial systems were reorganized and centralized. A system of local government was set up on the lines of France. The railways were nationalized. Compulsory military service was enforced in the country. Brigandage was suppressed. Secret societies like the Mafia of Sicily and the Camorra of Naples were exterminated. In 1897, the Compulsory Education Act was passed with a view to lessen illiteracy in the country. The measure was not successful on account of the lack of funds. The problem of property slowed the progress of the nation. The National Debt was very great and as the government had to spend a lot of money on



many projects, the burden of taxes on the people was unbearable. The Italian Government was always on the verge of bankruptcy.

The population of Italy increased and the government did not know what to do with it. However, thousands of Italians migrated to North and South America.

The miserable condition of the people gave an opportunity to the socialists to fish in troubled waters. There were serious riots in Turin, Milan and Rome in 1889. Four years later, there was a serious labour trouble in Sicily. In 1898, there were serious riots all over the country especially in Milan. In Southern and Central Italy, they took the form of "bread riots". There was so much of dissatisfaction in the country that King Humbert<sup>1</sup> was assassinated in 1900. He was succeeded by Victor Emmanuel III.

**Internal Politics.** A parliamentary system on the lines of Great Britain was adopted in Italy. However, the franchise was limited and only those were allowed to vote who had property and educational qualifications. The franchise was enlarged in 1882 when the number of voters was nearly quadrupled. In 1912, universal manhood suffrage was established in the country.

Italian politics was not a clean one. There was too much of jobbery, corruption and intrigues. The political life of the country was demoralized. The names of three persons are important in Italian politics during this period and those were Depretis, Crispi and Giolitti. Depretis was in power from 1876 to 1887. It was under him that Italy entered into the Triple Alliance in 1882. Elementary education was made compulsory. Railway system was completed. Franchise was extended. A new colonial policy was initiated. However, Depretis adopted corrupt methods to keep himself in power.

On the death of Depretis in 1887, Crispi became the head of the administration. He was a very powerful minister and he followed a vigorous colonial policy. It was during his regime that an Italian Protectorate was established over Somaliland. He fell from power in 1891 but came to power again after two years. From 1893 to 1896, he was practically a dictator. He fell on account of the defeat of Italy by Abyssinia in the Battle of Adowa in 1896. The name of Giolitti is prominently associated with the years before the World War I.

The state of affairs improved in Italy after the assassination of King Humbert in 1900 and the accession of Victor Emmanuel III. The new King was young, sympathetic and democratically minded. Industries began to develop in the North and vine culture was promoted in the South. Foreign capital began to flow into Italy and was utilized for the development of the country. The merchant marine was expanded. The Pope removed the ban on the Catholics with regard to their participation in politics. A new Social Insurance Act was passed. In 1904, a new Education Act

1. He had succeeded Victor Emmanuel II in 1878. Over the tomb of the latter, the following was the inscription: "To the Father of the country."



was passed. For the first time, the budget of 1905 showed a surplus. Manhood suffrage was established in 1912. The use of hydroelectric power helped the industrial development of the country.

**The Roman Question.** The Pope had opposed the unification of Italy and in spite of that the same was completed in 1870. However, the entry of Italian troops into Rome in 1870 gave a blow to the position of the Pope. The Italian Government tried to reconcile the pope and passed in 1871 the *Law of Papal Guarantees*. The new law gave to the Pope the government of the Vatican and Lateran palaces and grounds and the villa of Castel Gandolfo. The Pope was also given the honours due to a reigning sovereign. He was given the right to communicate freely with governments and people abroad. He was given the use of Italian telegraphs, railways and mails. He was also given an annual subsidy of 3½ million lire from the national treasury as compensation for the loss of temporal possessions. However, Pope Pius IX condemned the Law of Papal Guarantees. His acceptance of the law would have implied his recognition of the unjust entry of Italian troops into Rome in 1870. Moreover, he wanted the Papal Guarantees to be given not by a law of the Italian Parliament but by an international treaty. Pius IX declared himself as a "prisoner" of the Vatican. He issued a circular letter called the Encyclical *Non-expedit* by which the Italian Catholics were forbidden to vote or hold offices under the royal government. The uncompromising attitude of the Pope was helpful to him in one way. So long as he was not on friendly terms with the government of Italy, he could not be suspected of being subservient to Italian interests. On account of his so-called 'imprisonment,' there was sympathy for him among the Catholics all over the world. However, it had a very unfortunate effect on the fortunes of Italy. The country was deprived of the public services of many Italians who, obedient to the Pope, removed themselves from the politics of the country.

Pope Pius IX died in 1878, but his successor, Leo XIII, continued the policy of his predecessor. In 1905, the Encyclical *Non-expedit* was partially removed by Pius X. In 1919, it was completely repealed by Benedict XV. On his accession in 1922, Pius XI gave his blessings to the Italian troops.

**Colonial Policy.** Colonial expansion was a necessity for Italy on account of the very high rate at which her population was increasing. She tried to secure some concessions in China along with other European Powers, but she was the only European Power which failed to achieve anything. Great Britain proposed to Italy to annex Tunis and Tripoli but the latter failed to avail of the opportunity. However, in 1881, France established her protectorate over Tunis. That led to ill-feelings between the two countries and all chances of securing Tunis vanished once for all. However, it was in 1911 that Italy attacked Turkey and was able to secure in 1912 Tripoli and Cyrenaica. The new acquisition was given the name of Libya.



Having lost Tonis, Italy started seeking compensation somewhere else in Africa. In 1885, she occupied the Abyssinian port of Massowa. During the regime of Crispi, an Italian protectorate was established over Somaliland. The Italian settlements on the Red Sea were given the name of Eritrea and Italy began to expand towards Abyssinia. That led to a conflict between Italy and Abyssinia. However, she was defeated in 1896 in the Battle of Adowa. It was in the time of Mussolini that the Italians had their revenge for the defeat of Adowa and conquered and annexed the whole of Abyssinia.

**Foreign Policy.** To begin with, the Italian foreign policy was dominated by the Roman Question. As pointed out before, the Pope refused to co-operate with the Italian Government and called upon the heads of the Catholic States of Europe to take action against Italy. Thus, there was always the fear of French and Austrian intervention in the affairs of Italy. This fear was not an imaginary one but a real one.

Relations between Italy and France became very bad in 1881 when France established a protectorate over Tunis. There were anti-Italian demonstrations in France and many Italians were murdered. There was a possibility of French attack in Italy. It was under these circumstances that Italy joined Germany and Austria and thus the Triple Alliance came into existence in 1882. The Triple Alliance gave strength and prestige to Italy and thus the fear of a French invasion was eliminated. Although Italy was the petitioner, she was able to secure very favourable terms. When the Triple Alliance was renewed in 1887, Italy was able to get still better terms. Her obligations were lessened but her previous security was maintained. Italy entered into another alliance with England in 1887. By that alliance, Great Britain and Italy agreed to maintain the *status quo* in the Mediterranean, Adriatic, Aegean and Black Seas. They also agreed to support each other in the Mediterranean if either Power went to war with another Power. Italy agreed to support the policy of Great Britain in Egypt. Great Britain agreed to support the policy of Italy in Northern Africa, particularly in Tripoli. After 1887, the relations between Italy and Britain became all the more cordial. In 1902, Italy gave an assurance to France that although she was a member of the Triple Alliance, she would not fight against her. On the occasion of the Algeiras Conference of 1906, Italy voted with England and France against Germany and Austria.

In 1909, Czar Nicholas II paid a visit to King Victor Emmanuel III. The two sovereigns agreed to do everything in their power to maintain the *status quo* in the Balkans. Russia agreed to maintain a benevolent attitude in reference to Italy's designs to Tripoli and Cyrenaica. Italy promised to reciprocate this attitude towards the ambitions of Russia and with regard to the Bosphorous and the Dardanelles.

It is to be observed that from the beginning of the 20th century, Italy had a foot in two camps. Although she was a member



of the Triple Alliance, Austria and Germany did not put much trust on her help. She also betrayed them in 1906. On the occasion of the Bosnian crisis of 1908-9 also, Italy resented the fact that Austria had annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina without ever giving her a prior intimation. Otherwise also, the relations between Italy and Austria were not satisfactory. On account of the determination of the Italians to get back the Italian-speaking areas which were still within the Austrian Empire, even the highly-placed Italians helped the Irredentist movement. The plain fact was that in spite of the Triple Alliance, the relations between the two countries could not be cordial. The result was that when the World War I broke out in 1914, Italy did not declare war along with Germany and Austria. That may be partly due to the fact that she was still exhausted on account of her war with Turkey in 1911-12. However, a more important reason was that Italy was determined to get some concessions from Austria before she joined the Central Powers. Although Germany put pressure on Austria to give concessions to Italy, Austria was not generous in her concessions. Great Britain and France were also trying to woo Italy. As they were prepared to give Italy whatever she demanded, the Treaty of London was signed in 1915. After signing the Treaty, Italy precipitated matters with the Central Powers and declared war against Austria on 23rd May, 1915. Curiously enough, war against Germany was not declared till 27th August, 1916.

Although Italy fought on the side of the Allies during the World War I, she was not happy at the Peace Settlement. She was not given what had been promised to her by the Treaty of London. The interests of Italy and Yugoslavia conflicted and as the Allies favoured Yugoslavia, Italy was discontented. There was otherwise also a lot of unrest in Italy. Communist propaganda began to spread in the country, and consequently there was strikes everywhere. The peasants turned out their landlords and captured their property. There was chaos everywhere. There was every danger of the country becoming communist. It was at that time that Mussolini captured power in 1922.

Mussolini set up a Fascist regime in the country. He put before the country a new programme which included the protection of private property, exaltation of the State and the acquisition of new territories by a vigorous foreign policy. Law and order were restored in the country. The unsocial elements were crushed. Discipline was maintained with an iron hand. The reconciliation was brought about with the Pope by the Treaty of 1929. The Pope recognized the kingdom of Italy under the House of Savoy with Rome as its capital. The Italian State recognized the Pope as a sovereign power and also gave compensation for the loss of his temporal possessions. The Pope declared that the Roman question was "definitely and irrevocably settled".

In foreign affairs, Mussolini began to follow an imperialist policy. He was determined to raise the prestige of Italy in the eyes of other Powers. He believed in reviving the glories of ancient



Rome. In 1934, he declared thus: "We are becoming and shall become so increasingly because this is our desire—a military nation. A militarist nation, I will add, since we are not afraid of words—the whole life of the nation, political, economical and spiritual must be systematically directed towards our military requirements. War has been described as the court of appeal between nations."

**Conquest of Abyssinia.** Many factors were responsible for the conquest of Abyssinia by Italy. The population of Italy was always on the increase and there was the necessity of acquiring some territory for the surplus population. Italy wanted raw materials for her industries and markets for her finished products. The dictatorship of Mussolini in Italy deprived the people of their liberties and it was necessary that he must give the people some compensation for that. It was also necessary to distract the attention of the Italian people from their miserable economic condition at home. It is true that the economic depression had affected every State of Europe, but the conditions in Italy were most unhappy. The Italian currency depreciated. Unemployment increased and the wages of the employed were cut down. It was found difficult to adjust the budget. Italy had an adverse balance of trade. A war against Abyssinia could arouse the patriotic spirit of Italians who had been defeated in the Battle of Adowa in 1896. The conquest of Abyssinia could put minerals into the hands of Italy. Abyssinia was also of great strategic value to Italy. It could link the Italian possessions in Somaliland, Eritrea and South-East Africa. From Abyssinia, Italy could afford to attack the British position in Sudan. It could also help Italy to make the Mediterranean an Italian lake. Mussolini started the Abyssinian war at a time which he considered to be the most appropriate. From the attitude of the League of Nations and the Great Powers towards the conquest of Manchuria by Japan, Mussolini had come to the right conclusion that in spite of the principle of collective security, nobody was going to stop him from conquering Abyssinia. Resolutions may be passed condemning his action, but no solid help would be given to the ruler and people of Abyssinia against Italy. Moreover, the world had not recovered from the evil consequences of economic depression. The economic problems were giving a headache to all the statesmen of Europe. The rise of Hitler to power in Germany and the pursuit of an aggressive policy by him were occupying the attention of the European statesmen. As Italy was considered to be a lesser evil, it was possible that the other powers may not like to interfere while she was busy conquering Abyssinia. They may care more to maintain the peace of Europe rather than prevent Italy from acquiring Abyssinia.

Mussolini took a lot of time to make preparations for an attack on Abyssinia. In 1932, a high Italian official was sent to spy out the land and recommend the possible chances of success. The report of that Italian was that "the political conditions in Abyssinia are deplorable; it should not be a difficult task to effect the disintegration of the empire if we work it on political lines, and it could be regarded as certain after a military victory on our part". A lot of



money was spent by Italy to create dissensions among the people. Preparations were made for the struggle. Italy merely wanted an excuse to start the war against Abyssinia.

In December 1934, there was a clash between Abyssinia and Italian troops near the village of Walwal, and a few Italians were killed. Although the Italians put forward their unreasonable claims for indemnity, they refused to submit the dispute to arbitration. After having made preparations in 1935, the Italian troops crossed the frontier and entered Abyssinia in October, 1935.

As was to be expected, the Emperor of Abyssinia took the dispute to the League of Nations. The Italian delegate in the League of Nations opposed the discussion of the Walwal incident on the ground that he "did not regard it as likely to affect the peaceful relations between the two countries." The League Council agreed to postpone the matter as the Italian delegate offered to settle the dispute by peaceful means. In spite of the pledge, the Italian Government did not appoint the arbitrator. When Abyssinia protested again, the Italian representative informed the League that Italy was ready to proceed with the work of arbitration. The arbitrators were appointed and their unanimous decision was that neither Abyssinia nor Italy was responsible for the Walwal incident.

Great Britain was anxious to avoid a clash and consequently Anthony Eden made a formal proposal to Mussolini. While Great Britain was to give the port of Zeila to Abyssinia, the latter was to give the southern province of Ogaden to Italy. The offer was rejected by Mussolini.

The delegates of Great Britain, France and Italy met in Paris in August 1935 and it was decided that Abyssinia should be invited to apply to the League for collaboration in promoting the economic development and administrative reorganisation of the country." Mussolini rejected this offer also. In September 1935, Sir Samuel Hoare, the British Foreign Minister, declared in the League of Nations that Great Britain was willing to carry out her obligations under the covenant of the League of Nations. The League was busy with proposals for the adjustment of the boundaries between Italy and Abyssinia, but at that stage started the Italian invasion of Abyssinia in October 1935.

This forced the League of Nations to move in the matter. On 7th October, 1935, the Council of the League of Nations declared that Italy had "resorted to war in disregard of its covenants under Article 12 of the Covenant." Two days after, the Assembly of the League recommended the appointment of a committee for the purpose of co-ordinating the work. The Co-ordinating Committee asked the members of the League of Nations to prohibit all loans or credits to Italy and place an embargo on exports to Italy. Excepting Austria, Hungary and Albania, these measures were backed by the other European States. Economic sanctions were enforced in November 1935, but France was not happy. Her fear was that the enforcement of sanctions against Italy might plunge the whole of



Europe into a war. The people of Abyssinia could not take their stand against the Italian troops who were thoroughly mechanised and fully equipped in every way. The Abyssinians had practically no modern weapons of warfare. Their resources were also scanty. The result was that the Italian armies penetrated far into Abyssinia. They were assisted by the bombers.

By December 1935, the Government of Great Britain and France felt that the defeat of Italy may not result in a conflagration. To avoid that eventuality, Sir Samuel Hoare and Laval conferred with each other. Mussolini was to be offered more territory in Abyssinia than what Italy was actually occupying at that time. However, the proposals leaked out and nothing came out of them. Sir Samuel Hoare was forced to resign his job on account of the condemnation of his foreign policy by the people of England.

After the premature failure of the Hoare-Laval Plan, Italy began in earnest the conquest of Abyssinia and before the end of April 1936, the Italian army was near the capital of Abyssinia. The Emperor of Abyssinia left his country on 1st May, 1936 and with him all resistance ended. Abyssinia was occupied and the Italian King was proclaimed the Emperor of Abyssinia.

It is to be observed that economic sanctions were enforced against Italy at the time of Abyssinian war. If all countries had joined hands and given whole-hearted co-operation, Italy might have been brought to knees. However, France was not in favour of the strict enforcement of the economic sanctions. According to Laval, "*Sanctions were imposed in order not to break with Great Britain and the League of Nations, and they were applied in moderation in order not to break with Italy and to prevent war.*" Anthony Eden, the British Foreign Minister, was very enthusiastic about the sanctions and was prepared to go to any extent. However, the attitude of other powers depressed him also and the sanctions were withdrawn.

The conquest of Abyssinia by Italy was flagrant violation of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The League was completely discredited. Hitler got encouragement in his aggressive designs. He was fully convinced that the League of Nations was an impotent institution and its members were not prepared to risk a war to save any State from any aggressor. The League was practically dead and after 1936 continued to exist merely in name.

According to G.M. Gathorne-Hardy, the conquest of Abyssinia "marks a crucial turning point in post-war history. The triumph of Italian aggression, naked and unashamed, affected the whole world with fundamental consequences. To England it meant the virtual destruction of the institution which successive governments, of different parties, had proclaimed to be the keystone of their foreign policy. To France.....it meant that the enemy of whom she stood most in terror was encouraged to fresh audacity and rescued from his previous isolation. And finally, to the Italian transgressor, by an act of poetic justice, it was destined to mean



the extinction of his influence on the Danube, and the arrival of German forces on the Brenner."

When the civil war broke out in Spain Mussolini helped General Franco against the Republican Government of Spain. Although Russia helped the Spanish Government, Mussolini and Hitler were ultimately successful.

In 1936, an anti-Comintern Pact was signed between Germany and Japan. The signatories agreed "to keep each other informed concerning the activities of the Third International, to consult upon the necessary defence measures, and to execute these measures in close co-operation with each other." In 1937, Italy joined the agreement and thus the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis came into being. Hitler referred to the Axis as a "great world political triangle" which "consists not of three powerless images but of three States which are prepared and determined to protect decisively their rights and vital interests." Instead of acting independently, Mussolini decided to be a camp follower of Hitler. He played an important part on the occasion of the Munich Pact of 1938.

After the commencement of the Second World War, when Mussolini found that France was going to collapse, he also attacked France. After the fall of France, Italian and German troops co-operated with one another in South Africa. However, when the United Nations began to occupy the various points on the coastline of Italy, Mussolini was murdered by the Italians themselves. Italy was conquered by the United Nations.

#### Suggested Readings

- |  |                               |
|--|-------------------------------|
| <i>Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XII.</i> |                               |
| King and Okey                              | : <i>Italy Today.</i>         |
| Royal Institute of International Affairs   | : <i>Abyssinia and Italy.</i> |
| Steer                                      | : <i>Caesar in Abyssinia.</i> |
| Underwood                                  | : <i>United Italy.</i>        |
| Wallace                                    | : <i>Greater Italy.</i>       |



## CHAPTER XXII

### RUSSIA FROM 1796 TO 1917

The year's not important,  
The place scarcely matters,  
Where seven good peasants  
Once met on a high-road,  
From Province "Hard-Battered,"  
From District "Most Wretched,"  
From "Destitute" Parish,  
From neighbouring hamlets—  
"Patched", Barefoot", and "Shabby",  
"Bleak", "Burnt-out" and "Hungry",  
From "Harvestless" also,  
They met and disputed  
Of who can, in Russia,  
Be happy and free ?

—NEKRASSOV

*(Who can be Happy and Free in Russia ?)*

Although Russia had risen into prominence on account of the achievements of the Czars like Péter, the Great, and Catherine, the Great, she was still a backward country as compared with other progressive States of Europe. She remained in that condition right up to the middle of the 19th century. It was only after that she abolished serfdom and started the industrialisation of the country, which brought liberal and revolutionary ideas in its wake. However, this does not mean that Russia did not play a prominent part in the foreign affairs of Europe. The fact remains that she was counted to be a great Power and her every move on the chess-board of international affairs was watched with interest, fear and anxiety.

**Czar Paul I (1796-1801).** Czar Paul I ascended the throne of Russia in 1796 after the death of Catherine II. Immediately after his coronation, many changes were made in the government of the country. An imperial edict declared that the order of succession to the Russian throne was to follow the principle of primogeniture. The costume, manners and occupations of the people were also changed. Military discipline was made strict. Favoured courtiers who formerly attended drill once a year and old officers who never smelt gun-powder, were called out for daily military parades. The dress and accoutrements of the Prussian army were adopted. Important changes were made in the personnel of administration. Efforts were made to remove corruption from the Russian finances. Czar Paul was a born despot and he possessed the old Russian sense of dignity. Court



ceremonial was introduced and enforced with a rigour which made each day's attendance a dangerous ordeal for the trembling courtiers. The princes and ladies were compelled to come down from their vehicles into the snow to salute the passing imperial carriage. At the coronation at Moscow, the Poles saw their king relegated to a side-gallery and ordered to keep standing. A sort of a reign of terror was established in the country.

As regards foreign affairs, Czar Paul recalled Russian forces from Persia and Georgia. He released the distinguished Polish prisoners. He invited Stanislas to St. Petersburg and received him with royal honours. He went to the extent of telling the Polish leader that he did not approve of the partition of Poland. He declared a policy of peace with all. He felt that his country had been fighting since 1756 and consequently was exhausted and yearned for peace. He was prepared to be faithful to Russia's alliances and opposed by all possible means the French Republic and its Jacobinism. The Baltic policy of Catherine was continued and relations of close friendship were maintained with Denmark. Friendly relations were also established with Sweden. Paul was as good as his word. The Russian squadron was recalled and the design of despatching a Russian army of 60,000 men to the Rhine was given up. The oppressive system of recruiting was also replaced. However, there was no slackening of vigilance. Hostility to the French Revolution was a religion with him. When in later days he lent towards Bonaparte, it was because he recognised in him the most powerful enemy of Jacobinism. Russian subjects were recalled forthwith from western travels. A strict censorship was imposed on the press and the theatre. Frenchmen entering Russia were required to produce passports attested by a Bourbon prince. In certain cases, Paul's anger against Parisian manners under the new regime was bizzare and even sank to the level of comedy. High collars were denounced as symbols of liberalism. The unhappy wearer of a round-hat was chased by the police in the streets of the capital. Even an ambassador had to change his head-wear.

A ruler with Paul's bent of mental balance could not avoid trouble for long. His first diplomatic failure was with Sweden. He desired to be on good terms with that country, but met with a rebuff. Relations with France also remained unsatisfactory. In 1797, Paul patronised the Knights of St. John. There was a design to knit together all the nobility of Europe into an alliance of loyalty and honour against the invasion of those equalizing ideas which were attacking and undermining all the ranks of society. He was an 18th century crusader. While not sharing Catherine's pseudo-liberalism, he had all her willingness to shine in European politics. He was elected by the Knights of St. John to the Grand Mastership. Differences began to grow between Russia and England. The joint Anglo-Russian expedition to Holland was a failure and the Russians suffered heavily. In 1799, Bonaparte handed over the Island of Malta to Russia as the Czar was the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John. The victory of Bonaparte over Austria at Marengo in Italy filled Paul with admiration for Napoleon Bonaparte.



Bonaparte publicly recognised the interest taken by Paul in Sardinia, Naples and Rome and Paul must have felt gratified. Negotiations started with Bonaparte in 1800. Malta was captured by the British Government, but was not restored to the Czar. Paul's anger found vent in the Second Armed Neutrality (1800). Russia, Prussia, Sweden and Denmark were brought together by means of treaties. It was agreed that every neutral vessel might navigate freely from port to port and on the coasts of the nations at war. Goods belonging to the subjects of belligerent powers with the exception of contraband of war, were to be free on neutral vessels. Neutral vessels were to be captured only for a just and sufficient cause and were to be adjudicated upon without delay. A uniform, prompt and legal procedure was to be followed. Bonaparte co-operated with the Czar. In 1801, Paul sent a messenger to Paris. He wrote to Bonaparte suggesting a French invasion of England and Napoleon Bonaparte agreed. He also asked Bonaparte to persuade Spain, Portugal and the United States to collaborate with him, against Great Britain. He prepared a scheme for invasion of India. A Russian army was to leave by way of Bokhara and Khiva. A French army was to move down the Danube. Another French army was to proceed by way of Herat and Kandhar. The Czar did not seem to care for the difficulties of the long journey through wild and hostile lands. No wonder, the British Government also hit back. In 1801, an embargo was placed on all Russian, Danish and Swedish vessels in British ports. A British fleet under Parker and Nelson was fitted out for the Baltic. The threatened powers prepared energetically for resistance. However, the Danes were defeated in the Battle of Copenhagen in 1801 but even before that, the Czar was already murdered.

It is pointed out that for many months before his murder, the Czar was showing signs of madness. He had fits of ungovernable and unreasoning rage. There was no consistency in his behaviour. People were promoted or demoted without any justification. Men of all ranks were persecuted on a mere shadow of suspicion. Officers of the guard were kicked and cuffed or confined for the most trivial offences. Ministers were exiled for a chance word. Scores of unfortunates were despatched to Siberia. One by one, he alienated all of his faithful servants. Many high officials were reprimanded, exiled or disgraced. Soldiers hated him because he treated their superiors badly. The atmosphere of suspense became unbearable. It was under these circumstances that a conspiracy was hatched and the Czar was brutally strangled in March, 1801.

**Alexander I (1801-25).** Czar Paul was succeeded by Alexander I in 1801 and he continued to rule up to 1825. He was educated by a Swiss tutor and on account of his influence, the Czar came to have liberal ideas which dominated his mind up to 1820 when he came completely under the influence of Metternich. Alexander was an idealist and a visionary<sup>1</sup>. The Holy Alliance was the outcome

1. Napoleon wrote thus about Alexander: "I like Alexander and he ought to like me; if he were a woman, I should fall in love with him."



of the mysticism, idealism and despotism. His ideals were lofty and he sincerely believed that his mission was to apply the principles of the divine faith to the affairs of the States. He would like the rulers to play the roles of fathers to their subjects whom he considered as children. No wonder, he prevailed upon Louis XVIII of France to give a liberal charter in 1814 after his restoration. He himself gave a liberal constitution to the Polish territory under his control. A similar constitution was given to Finland which was secured by Russia at the Congress of Vienna.



Alexander I

It is to be observed that after the Battle of Friedland in 1807, Alexander entered into the Treaty of Tilsit with Napoleon and agreed to co-operate with him in the enforcement of the Continental System. This state of affairs continued for some time. However, many factors combined to force Alexander to fall out with Napoleon. In 1812, Napoleon attacked Russia. After that Alexander co-operated with other European countries to bring about the fall of Napoleon. After his overthrow, Alexander was a dominating personality in the Congress of Vienna (1814-15). He had a huge army under his command and consequently was able to get his point of view accepted from the other powers. No wonder, Alexander was able to secure a lot for his country at the Congress of Vienna.

It is to be observed that after the Congress of Vienna, the liberal ideas of Alexander began to change gradually. In 1818, he was willing to join hands with Austria and Prussia to guarantee the territorial *status quo* in Europe. In 1820, he was completely changed. At the Congress of Troppau in 1820, he made a public declaration of his conversion to Metternich and asked the latter to use him in any way he pleased to suppress the liberal forces in Europe. He was prepared to lead his troops to crush the revolts in Naples, Piedmont and Spain. Metternich cooled his enthusiasm as he was afraid of the strong military force of Russia. Alexander remained a reactionary for the rest of his life.

When the Greeks revolted against Turkey, there was every possibility of Russia going to their help. The temptation for Alexander was very great and pressure was also put on him for that purpose. However, Alexander was completely under the control of Metternich whose attitude was that the revolt should be allowed to burn itself out beyond the pale of civilisation. The result was that the revolt of Prince Ypsilanti in Moldavia was a complete failure. Alexander also did not help the Greeks when they raised the standard of revolt in the Island of Morea.



On the whole, Alexander I was a curious mixture of opposites, mysticism, liberalism, despotism and imperialism were all combined in one and no wonder he was sometimes a liberal and sometimes a reactionary. Lord Byron wrote thus about him :

"Now half dissolving to a liberal thaw,  
But hardened back whenever the morning's raw ;  
With no objection to true liberty,  
Except that it would make the nations free."

**Nicholas I (1825-55).** Before his death, Alexander I appointed Nicholas I as his successor to the throne in preference to Constantine who was elder to Nicholas I. Nicholas I had a reputation as a reactionary and no wonder the liberals of Russia revolted in December, 1825. Their slogan was : "Constantine and the Constitution." They demanded the rule of Constantine who was known for his liberal ideas, but the people were so ignorant that they mistook the Constitution for the wife of Constantine. Anyhow, the December revolt was put down with a heavy hand. Nicholas I ruled for 30 years. He was reactionary to the backbone. He was the very incarnation of absolutism. Autocracy reigned supreme over Russian affairs. Russia gave the appearance of absolute immobility. Liberal forces were ruthlessly suppressed. All popular manifestations were strictly controlled. Every avenue to freedom of thought and action was completely blocked. In 1826, he set up "The Third Section of the Imperial Chancery" for the detection and summary punishment of any one who advocated "political or social novelties". It is pointed out that the record of the Third Section is one of the darkest pages in the history of Russia. The chief of police was the head of the Third Section and he was given an unlimited power of arresting, imprisoning, deporting and making away with any one whom he pleased, without any restriction whatever. The Third Section "rivalled, if it did not exceed, the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition." Nicholas I tried to save his subjects from the infection of the liberal ideas of Western Europe. With that object in view, he put restrictions on foreign travel by the Russians. Foreign publications were not to be allowed to be admitted into Russia without a thorough scrutiny by the censors. Students were discouraged to join the universities. The teaching of philosophy was removed from the curriculum of the universities. Russian young-men were not allowed to go to foreign countries for study. The press in Russia was put under censorship which was rigorously enforced. If anybody was found in possession of a forbidden book or he uttered an unguarded word, there was every likelihood of his being sent to some part of Siberia to live in exile. There was practically no trial or appeal.

As regards his foreign policy, Nicholas I considered himself to be a champion of autocracy and the enemy of all progressive movements. In 1831, he was prevented by the Polish revolt from interfering in France on behalf of the Bourbon king. In 1833, he formed a close alliance with Austria and Prussia for mutual defence against revolutionary movements and to suppress liberalism. This triple



alliance made Nicholas I the central figure in the European system and raised the prestige of Russia in Europe. In 1849, he sent his troops to fight against the Hungarians who have revolted against Austria and declared themselves an independent republic. They were also accused of oppressing the Croats, Slovaks and Rumanians. He threatened to interfere against the nationalist movement in Germany. It is pointed out that it was his hostile attitude that was one of the important factors which forced Frederick William IV of Prussia to refuse the crown offered to him by the Frankfurt Parliament in 1849.

When he came to the throne, the Greek War of Independence was continuing. To begin with, he co-operated with England and France to help the Greeks against Turkey. The Russian fleet also participated in the naval battle of Navarino which completely destroyed the combined fleets of Turkey and Egypt. Although after the death of Canning, both England and France left the war, Nicholas continued to support the cause of the Greeks. The result was that in 1829, the independence of Greece was recognised. The importance of the help given by Nicholas I to the Greek cause cannot be minimized.

Mehmet Ali had helped the Sultan of Turkey in the Greek War of Independence. After the war, he was given the island of Crete as a reward for his services. Mehmet Ali considered it to be inadequate and taking advantage of the weakness of the Sultan, he occupied Syria and Asia Minor. When he seemed to threaten Constantinople, the Sultan asked for Russian help. It was in these circumstances that the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi was signed in 1833. Russia was to come to the help of Turkey and whenever she was at war, the Dardanelles was to be closed to the warships of other nations. This treaty made Russia the master of the Black Sea and protected her against invaders. It also opened the way into the Mediterranean for Russia.

In 1840, Russia co-operated with Great Britain, Austria and Prussia to maintain the integrity of Turkey. The four powers met at London and decided to help the Sultan. The Quadruple Alliance was considered to be an insult to France and there was every possibility of a war. However, Premier Thiers of France was dismissed by Louis Philippe. As a result of the concerted action of the European powers, Ibrahim, son of Mehmet Ali, was driven out from Syria and ultimately forced to surrender in 1841. By the Convention of the Straits of 1841, all the powers agreed to recognize the right of the Sultan to give a passage into the Black Sea through the Dardanelles and Bosphorus at will. Russia declared the treaty of 1833 as cancelled.

In 1844, Nicholas I visited London and proposed the partition of Turkey whose fall seemed to be inevitable to him. He proposed to allow England to have Egypt and Crete and himself would like to have control over the Balkans. He declared that he had no intention to occupy Constantinople. The offer was rejected by the British Government.



Finding Great Britain unwilling to interfere in Turkey, Nicholas I decided to act single-handed. He demanded the right of protecting the orthodox Christians in Turkey. As the demand was refused, Nicholas I ordered the occupation of the Danubian principalities in 1853. It was in these circumstances that the Crimean War started. Great Britain, France and Sardinia intervened to protect Turkey against Russian aggression. The Crimean War continued from 1854 to 1856. In the midst of the war, Nicholas I died in 1855.

It is clear from the above that Nicholas I followed a vigorous foreign policy and the influence of Russia was felt all over Europe.

We may conclude with the following comparison of Nicholas I with Philip II of Spain by Lipson : 'Nicholas, like Philip, was an anachronism in the generation in which he lived. He was a 'Don Quixote of autocracy,' fanatically opposed to the spirit of his age, and fighting with unyielding tenacity for a worn-out ideal. Throughout Europe, he was the indomitable foe of democracy, just as the Spanish monarchy in the sixteenth century was the sworn enemy of the Reformation. Each employed similar instruments, the one the Inquisition, the other the Third Section ; and they made their realms 'intellectual quarantines' in order to isolate them from the disintegrating influence of European thought. But the real strength of the monarchical structure in Russia, as in Spain, lay in the apathetic indifference and unquestioning loyalty of their subjects ; and this was also the source of its weakness, for the structure was bound to crumble to pieces once the nation awakened to political consciousness. This awakening was delayed in Russia until 1855, when the Crimean War had the same effect upon her people which the destruction of the Spanish Armada had upon Spain, shattering their faith in the existing regime and in their own invincibility.

**Alexander II (1855-81).** Alexander II ascended the throne of Russia in 1855 in the midst of the Crimean War. It was he who had to negotiate and sign the humiliating Treaty of Paris of 1856. So far as the Black Sea was concerned, the Russian influence was completely liquidated for the next fourteen years.

After ending the Crimean War, Alexander II devoted his attention to domestic affairs. There was a lot of discontentment in the country. The people were bitter against the autocratic government which was considered to be responsible for their defeat in the Crimean War and the humiliating peace of 1856. Under the circumstances, it was considered to be desirable to give some concessions to the people with a view to appeasing them.

**Abolition of Serfdom.** The most important reform of Alexander II was the abolition of serfdom in 1861. Russia was essentially an agricultural country and an overwhelming majority of its people were serfs. About nine-tenths of the arable land of the Russian Empire consisted of large estates belonging either to the Czar, the royal family or about one lakh of the noble families. The



serfs were attached to the soil and they could not leave the estates on which they were born without the consent of the lord. When the estates were disposed of the serfs were also disposed of along with them. The serfs paid dues to the lord. They performed manual labour for him. They rendered obedience to him as their master. Sometimes, the lords sent their serfs to cities to earn for them and the serfs were required to send a certain portion of their income to the lords. Sometimes the serfs were used as the domestic servants and were treated practically as slaves. In a few cases, the lords were kind and generous, but in most cases they were cruel and capricious. The serfs were illiterate and their health was bad. On the whole, their condition was miserable.

Alexander II started by liberating the serfs who worked on the estates belonging to royal family. Although there was a lot of opposition from the selfish landlords, the Czar issued a decree in March, 1861 by which serfdom was abolished throughout the Russian Empire. All the legal rights of the lords over the serfs were abolished. The serfs were allowed to go where they pleased. Arrangements were made by which the serfs could own about one-half of the land which they cultivated as serfs. The land was to be bought by the State from the landlords and the serfs were required to pay for it in the form of instalments spread over 49 years. However, the land was not given to the individual serfs but to the Mir or village community. The Mir was responsible for the collection of the money from the serfs. The emancipation of the serfs was a great humanitarian act on the part of the Czar. If Russia was to be a progressive country, serfdom could not be allowed to continue. The abolition of serfdom freed a large number of persons who were later on employed in the factories of Russia. Thus, indirectly, the cause of industrialization of the country was helped. The area under cultivation increased and the total output of the country also began to rise. The value of land also began to increase. The estate was able to get more taxes. There was an increase in export trade. The condition of the peasants also improved.

However, the abolition of serfdom was not an unmixed blessing. Many peasants found themselves in a worse condition than before. The lands allotted to them were so small that it was difficult for them to have a comfortable living. The burden of instalments which they had to pay to the State was very great. If the tyranny of lords was ended, that of the Mir was substituted. They were harassed by the tax collectors and police officials of the Central Government. The treatment of the State authorities was often harsh. Critics point out that Alexander II merely liberated the peasants from the yoke of the lords and made them "the serfs of the State".

**Judicial Reforms.** Certain reforms were carried out in the judicial field in 1862. The trial of civil and criminal cases was transferred from the administrative officials to the courts of justices which were modelled after Western Europe. Provision was made for the election of the justices of the peace by the people. There



were also to be district and circuit judges. The Senate was to act as the highest court of appeal. Instructions were given for the codification of the laws of the country. Prosecuting attorneys were appointed. Criminal cases were to be tried by means of jury. The trials were to be held in public and not in secret. The only exception was made in the case of the political offenders who could still be punished without any fair trial.

**Zemstvos.** A decree of 1864 provided that each district of the 33 administrative provinces or governments into which Russia was divided, was to have a local assembly or Zemstvo. The Zemstvo was to consist of the landlords and the representatives of the peasants and townsmen. It was to have control over public works, churches, schools, prisons, poor relief and public health. It was also given the power of levying taxes. However, the provincial governor was given the power of veto over the action of the Zemstvos. Although their powers and functions were limited, the Zemstvos were to serve as the political training ground of the people. They were an important step in the direction of decentralization and self-government.

**Polish Revolt (1863).** The reforming zeal of the Czar got a setback after 1863. It was in that year that the people of Poland revolted against Russia. They expected help from Napoleon III and other liberal forces in Europe. As that help never came and they themselves were ill-equipped, their revolt was put down ruthlessly. Bismarck offered to help Russia, but the latter could do her job without any assistance. The rebels and suspects were treated very severely. Polish language was forbidden in schools and universities, Polish officials were replaced by Russian officials. The Roman Catholic Church which served the religious needs of the Poles, was deprived of all its privileges. The hostile nobles were completely crushed. The policy of Russification aimed at absorbing Poland completely into Russia. The Polish revolt turned Alexander II into a reactionary and he continued to be so till the end of his life. Censorship was imposed on the press. The secret police was revived and strengthened. Education was discouraged.

It is pointed out that "on the ruins of the Polish revolution rose the work of Bismarck and the system of Russification in the Empire of the Czars". This means that the Polish revolt enabled Bismarck to win over Russia. This he did by offering help to Russia against the Poles. It was this timely offer of help which enabled Bismarck to count upon the neutrality of Russia in 1866 and 1870 when he fought against Austria and France respectively. The Polish revolt also made the Czar the enemy of liberalism. He not only became a reactionary but also followed a policy of Russification of the minorities within the Russian Empire. The object was to crush the nationalist aspirations of the subjects and thereby absorb them into Russia.

**Foreign Policy.** As regards foreign policy, reference has already been made to the ending of the Crimean War. In 1865, Alexander II encouraged the Greeks of Crete to revolt against



Turkey and demand their union with Greece. In 1870, he helped the Bulgars to establish a national Orthodox Church of their own, independent of the Greek patriarch at Constantinople. In 1870, Alexander II was able to repudiate the Black Sea clauses of the Treaty of Paris. He fortified Sebastopol and also maintained the Russian fleet in the Black Sea.

The rule of the Turks over the Christians of the Balkans was extremely oppressive. No wonder, there was a revolt in Bosnia and Herzegovina. There was also revolt of the Bulgars in 1875. The revolts were crushed with so much ferocity and ruthlessness that there was a demand to turn out the Turks bag and baggage from the Balkans. Although Great Britain did not come to the help of the Christians in the Balkans, Russia did come to their help and the result was the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-88. After some resistance, the Turks collapsed and Russia was able to impose the Treaty of San Stefano of 1878. A big Bulgaria was created. The Sultan was to carry out radical reforms in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He was to pull down all the fortifications along the Danube and open the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus to the free commerce of all nations. The Czar was to get a part of Armenia, a large war indemnity and a strip of Dobrudja.

The Treaty of San Stefano was not approved by other European powers and both Great Britain and Austria were prepared to go on war against Russia if the treaty was not submitted to a conference of European powers. As Russia was exhausted, she submitted. The result was that the Treaty of Berlin divided Bulgaria into two parts and deprived Russia of all the gains which she had secured by the Treaty of San Stefano.

The liberals of Russia did not approve of the reactionary policies of Alexander II and consequently they continued their propaganda throughout the country. The result was that many secret and revolutionary societies came into existence. The industrialization of the country added to the discontentment of the people. The result was that Alexander himself was killed in 1881 by the explosion of a bomb hurled by the Nihilists.

**Alexander III (1881-94).** Alexander II was succeeded by his son, Alexander III, who ruled for 13 years. He was rough in body and mind and devoid of all polish and sentiments and he glorified in that fact. He was thoroughly devoted to the cause of the Slavs. He was the sworn enemy of liberalism and believed whole-heartedly in autocracy. To quote him, "The Voice of God orders us to stand firm at the helm of government with faith in the strength and truth of the Autocratic power which We are called to consolidate and to preserve for the good of the people from every kind of encroachment." He had two energetic assistants who helped him in his policy and those were *Plehve* and *Pobedonostsev*. Plehve was put in charge of the police department and he organised the Russian police so efficiently that it could be used successfully to carry out the orders of the Czar. Pobedonostsev was a professor of law and a tutor to Alexander III. He was appointed as "Procurator of the



Holy Synod" which controlled the Orthodox Church of Russia. In his new position, Pobedonostsev ordered the life and thought of the clergymen of Russia in such a way as was in line with the wishes of the Czar. Pobedonostsev's view was that the legislatures were the breeding places of the selfish and ambitious persons. Freedom of the press was nothing more than the spread of falsehood. Secular education was immoral and dangerous. Trial by jury was "an invitation to the arts of casuistry." Limited monarchy was "a vain fancy." To quote him, "If all representatives of the people were saints, a parliamentary regime would be the very best kind of all, but as the morality of popular representatives is usually more than dubious, a parliamentary regime is the worst." His object was to quarantine the people of Russia from the infection of the liberal ideas of the West.

Persons who were in any way suspected to be associated with the murder of Alexander II were severely punished. Systematic efforts were made to crush liberalism and revolutionary ideas within the Russian Empire. The administration of the *Mirs* or village communities was put under the control of the landed proprietors who were appointed by the Central Government. The powers of the Zemstvos and Dumas were curtailed. Their constitutions were altered in such a way as to give more representation to the nobles and officials and exclude the professional classes altogether. The governors were given greater authority to use their powers of veto. Secular schools were discredited and the church schools were favoured. The State tried to control the curriculum and teaching staff of the universities. Censorship was imposed on all kinds of publication. Even private correspondence could be interfered with. Restrictions were imposed on associations and meetings. The police could arrest any person arbitrarily and also impose any punishment it pleased. Political offenders were liable to be exiled to Siberia or imprisoned in Russia.

Alexander III also followed a policy of Russification. No language other than the Russian and no religion other than the Orthodox, was to be tolerated within the Russian Empire. The minorities were to be crushed. They were required to give up their language, religion, customs and traditions and obey the Czar completely. Pobedonostsev persecuted all persons who did not belong to the Orthodox Church. The Czar issued decree after decree, goading on his officials to intensify their campaign of Russification. The Catholics of Poland were very harshly treated. Their church was interfered with. Their schools were completely Russianised. Their literature and language were to be taught in Russian. They were excluded from all public offices in Poland. They were not allowed to sell their land to non-Russians. In White Russia and Lithuania, the Catholics were discriminated against. Their marriages and their children were treated as illegitimate. In the case of the Ukraine, the use of the Little Russian language was prohibited for printing, reciting or singing. In Latvia and Estonia, Russian was made the official language and the approval of the Procurator of the Holy Synod was required for making any new building for



the-Protestant Church. German language was not to be used in the university lectures or instruction in the schools. German place names were changed to Russian names. Local law-courts were suppressed. The Jews were also persecuted with great severity. In 1882, it was laid down that the Jews could not buy land. Restrictions were put on their admission to schools and universities. To begin with, their quota was fixed at 10 per cent but it was later on reduced to 3 per cent. It was laid down in 1890 that all Jews living in the interior of Russia were to migrate to the western provinces. If they did not do so, they were to get licences from the government. They were not allowed to own or lease land. They were put under the strict control and supervision of the government. Many Russian officials organised Pogroms or wholesale massacres of the Jews. The position of the Jews became intolerable and no wonder about three lakhs of them migrated from Russia in 1891 alone. Alexander III vigorously pursued a policy of imperialism. The conquest and occupation of Turkestan was vigorously pushed forward. A military regime was established throughout the Caucasus. Russian influence in Persia became supreme. He interfered in the affairs of Bulgaria and that resulted in a lot of tension. Prince Alexander of Bulgaria protested against Russian interference and ultimately abdicated. He was succeeded by Ferdinand. While he was supported by Austria and England, he was opposed by Russia and Germany. The stalemate continued but Bismarck managed to see that it did not result in an open clash between Russia and Austria.

Alexander III encouraged the anti-Austrian feeling in Serbia and won over the tiny State of Montenegro.

The Three Emperors' League was continued up to 1887. However, it could not be continued further on account of the Bulgarian crisis and the differences between Russia and Austria. Under these circumstances, the Reinsurance Treaty was made in 1887. This was also allowed to lapse in 1890 by William II after the resignation of Bismarck. Thus, the ground was prepared for a military alliance between Russia and France and it was concluded in 1893.

**Nicholas II (1894-1917).** Alexander III was succeeded by his son, Nicholas II. He was a weak man and he believed in mysticism and fatalism. He was obstinate. His wife had complete control over him. Unfortunately, she herself was under the influence of Rasputin. She considered him as a friend and divine counsellor. No important appointment could be made without his approval and it was true of any new policy. Rasputin was himself a thorough reactionary.

Nicholas II himself believed in autocratic principles and held the view that the lessening of his authority was "a senseless dream". He allowed Pobedonostsev to continue in his old job up to 1905. As regards Plehve, he was appointed in 1902 as the Minister of the Interior and given dictatorial powers. It was under these circumstances that the old policy of Russification, persecution and reaction



was continued. The Armenian Church was interfered with. The Pogroms against the Jews became more and more frequent. Russian



Nicholas II

officials themselves were involved in them. Russian language was imposed on the Poles, Lithuanians, the Finns, Estonians, Latvians, etc. Plehve was appointed the Secretary of State for Finland to pursue vigorously the policy of Russification in that country.

The industrialisation of the country began to progress with great speed. Coal-fields and iron mines began to be extensively worked out. Oil wells began to be exploited. The factories made their appearance at various places. Shipping industry began to grow. The annual output of pig iron and coal increased tremendously. This wonderful progress was partly due to the flow of the French capital

and partly to the cheap labour of the ex-serfs of Russia. Railway construction was pushed forward and that also helped the cause of industrialisation, trade and commerce. The building of the Trans-Siberian and Trans-Caspian Railways was bound to add to the wealth of the country. However, in spite of this development, Russia remained essentially an agricultural country.

It is to be observed that industrialisation in Russia had progressed under Count Serge Witte who was appointed the head of the department of railways in the ministry of finance by Alexander III. In 1892, he was appointed the minister of communications. Next year, he was made the minister of finance. Witte held that post for 10 years and during that period, big business developed in Russia. Protection was given to the infant industries of Russia by a policy of protection. Foreign investments were encouraged. Bounties were given to the indigenous infant industries. Russian currency was stabilized and put on a gold basis. State banks were strengthened. Russian labour was made more efficient. This was done by making liquor business a state monopoly and reducing drunkenness among the workers. Workers were insured against accidents. The government started controlling the working of the factories and mines. The growth of industrialisation helped the cause of Russian imperialism.

There was a lot of opposition to the policies of Witte. Industrialisation strengthened the hands of the workers and thereby helped the cause of liberalism. No wonder, Plehve and Pobedonostsev pointed out the dangerous consequences of the policies of Witte. The landlords also opposed him as agriculture was ignored and prominence was given to industrialisation. It was under these



circumstances that Witte retired in 1903. However, his policies were continued.

Russian imperialism brought her into conflict with Japan who was determined to check Russian influence and extend her own. In the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5, Russia was defeated by Japan. The war was ended by the Treaty of Portsmouth in September 1905 by which Russia surrendered to Japan Port Arthur, Liaotung and a part of the Island of Sakhalin. Russia also agreed to leave Korea to Japan and Manchuria to China.

In 1907, Russia made up her differences with Japan and in the same year she made the Anglo-Russian Convention. It was agreed that neither England nor Russia was to interfere in the affairs of Tibet. Chinese sovereignty over Tibet was recognised. Russia was to deal with Afghanistan through the British Government. As regards Persia, Russia was to have her sphere of influence in the north and England in the south.

**Nihilism in Russia.** It is desirable at this stage to refer to the growth of Nihilism in Russia and the failure of the liberal experiment in that country. As regards Nihilism, the reactionary policies of Alexander II created feelings of disappointment and bitterness in the country. The feeling of bitterness passed through many stages. The first phase was the most pessimistic and they started feeling that there was no room for liberal ideas in Russia. However, after reading the works of radical philosophers and scientists of Western Europe, the intellectuals of Russia became destructive critics and came to be known as the Nihilists. According to Stepniak, "The fundamental principle of Nihilism was absolute individualism. It was the negation in the name of individual liberty, of all the obligations imposed upon the individual by society, by family life, and by religion." Turgenieff defined a Nihilist as a "man who submits to no authority, and accepts not a single principle upon faith merely, however high such a principle may stand in the eyes of man." The Nihilists were extreme individualists who tested every human institution and custom by reason. As few Russian institutions stood the test, the Nihilists condemned them all. The Nihilists did not form a party of action, but their reckless criticism of the government, religion, marriage and ethics brought down upon them the displeasure of the authorities and the Nihilists either ran away to foreign countries or began to work in secret. While in exile they came into contact with other advanced radical schools of thought. One of those schools was represented by Bakunin who had managed to escape from Siberia and was living in London. Bakunin was an anarchist and believed in the immediate destruction of all existing institutions in the interests of human freedom so that "all these millions of poor human beings who are cheated, enslaved, overworked and exploited...may henceforth and for ever breathe in absolute freedom". On the ruins of the old society, a new one was to be constructed on socialistic lines.

Another movement was started in Russia after 1870. Its object was to send educated Russian young men and women to the



countryside and to factories with a view to establishing their contacts with them and thereby awaken them from their lethargy and indifference to the state of affairs in the country. The members mixed with the people and tried "to found on the ruins of the present social organization the Empire of the working classes." They worked under the most discouraging conditions with the heroism and self-sacrifice of the missionaries. A typical case was that of Sophie Berdine who got employment in a spinning factory and worked 15 hours a day only with the object of influencing the other workers in the factory. She was arrested for discussing a pamphlet before a group of workers and she admitted in the court that her aim "was to arouse in the conscience of the workers the ideals of a better organization more conformable to justice ; to point out the vices of the present organization in order to prevent the return of the same errors." It is estimated that between 1872 and 1878, about two to three thousands of such missionaries were active in his work of propaganda. However, they did not succeed in their mission on account of the opposition of the police and the arbitrary methods of the government. Many of them were imprisoned or exiled to Siberia.

As peaceful propaganda was found to be impossible, violence was considered to be the only other alternative. It was felt that the only appropriate reply to the tyrannical rule of the Czar was the employment of terrorist methods. The terrorists were not blood-thirsty or cruel by nature. They simply believed that no progress was possible in Russia without getting rid of the unscrupulous and reactionary officials. They perfected their organization and entered upon a period of violence. Many high officials were disposed of in that way, but in return, many of the revolutionaries were also executed by the government. It is pointed out that in the winter of 1878-79, nearly 2,000 arrests were made in St. Petersburg alone. The suspected persons were not given any fair trial and were summarily executed. Thousands of them were arrested and sent to Siberia by simple administrative decrees. Ultimately, the terrorists decided to kill the Czar himself. In April 1879, a school-master, Solovief by name, fired five shots at the Emperor but all of them were ineffective. In December of the same year, a train on which the Czar was supposed to be returning was wrecked, just as it reached Moscov, by a mine placed between the rails. However, the Czar was saved as he had already arrived by an earlier train. In February 1880, another attempt was made to kill the Czar while at dinner in St. Petersburg. The dynamite exploded and 10 soldiers were killed and 53 wounded. The floor of the dining room was torn up, but the Czar escaped as he did not go to dinner at the usual hour.

St. Petersburg was thoroughly terrorized. Czar Alexander II appointed Melikoff practically a dictator and the latter tried to follow a policy of moderation. He released hundreds of prisoners and commuted the death sentence in many cases. He urged the Czar to give the people some share in the government so that the Nihilist movement which was merely the violent expression of the discontentment of the people, might be weakened. His view was



that concessions should be given without in any way undermining the authority of the Czar. After a lot of hesitation, the Czar ordered on 30th March 1881 the publication of the scheme of Melikoff in the official journal. However, on that very day, as he was returning from a drive, a bomb was thrown on his carriage. The carriage was wrecked and many of his escorts were injured. Alexander II escaped as if by a miracle, but a second bomb exploded near him as he was trying to help the injured. He was very badly hurt and died within an hour. This was the end of the Czar Liberator. Although the hopes of the liberals in Russia were dashed, the Nihilist movement did not end. As Alexander III and Nicholas II followed a policy of ruthless repression, Nihilism was the only appropriate reply. Both Plehve and Pobedonostev followed a policy of revenge. There was no peace in the country. There was terrorism everywhere. The liberals gave up all hopes and waited for better days to come.

**Liberal Experiment in Russia.** In the atmosphere of reaction and repression, certain new factors made their appearance. The Russian Czar encouraged the industrial development of the country with a view to having more armaments for imperialist purposes. However, with the advance of industrial revolution, there came to the front merchants, factory owners and bankers who made up their minds to put a check on the unrestricted powers of the Czar. Being effected by the Western ideas of liberalism, a group of these intellectuals began in 1902 the publication of a paper called *Liberation* at Stuttgart in Germany. In 1904, a liberal political party called the "Union of Liberators" was organized. At the same time, anarchist propaganda was making headway in the country. In 1904, Plehve was assassinated and Russian armies began to suffer defeat at the hands of the Japanese in the Russo-Japanese War. Both these factors had their effect on the Russian Government.

Nicholas II was in a mood to make a change in his policy and with that object he appointed Prince Mirski, a man of liberal tendencies, as Minister of Home Affairs in September 1904. The new minister declared that "though the Russian people are as yet unfit for constitutional government, the local representative institutions of the Empire, the Zemstvos, might be given greater freedom of action and larger opportunities without risk to the established system." He referred to the "sincere confidence in the people" as the basis of good government. The press was given greater freedom of expression. In November 1904, representatives from the Zemstvos were permitted to meet in St. Petersburg to discuss what they considered to be the needs of the country. Lawyers, learned societies, city councils and other professional and academic organizations pointed out the shortcomings in the existing system and also suggested remedies for it. Although there were differences in details, the people seemed to be unanimous with regard to the urgency of some of the problems. They demanded the freedom of conscience, speech, publication, public meetings and associations. They demanded that justice must be administered by judges. Fair trial should be given to all before any one was punished. The



people must be given greater control over the affairs of local government. A parliament must be set up for the whole country and given the power to make laws and control the government. A demand for a national constituent assembly was also made.

The Czar was not prepared to oblige the people by giving the reforms demanded by them. The result was that discontentment continued. The Russian defeat in the Russo-Japanese War added to the discontentment among the people. Thousands of soldiers escaped to Germany and Austria. Many others were forced to proceed to Manchuria at the point of the bayonet. Many business enterprises failed on account of war and thousands of workers became idle and added to the ranks of the discontented persons. Harvests were bad. Officials were found to be enriching themselves at the expense of the country by selling the supplies for profits instead of sending them to the front. Even the funds of the Red Cross Society were not spared. On 1st January 1905, Port Arthur surrendered after a long siege. The revolutionary agitation continued: The university students of Moscow and St. Petersburg paraded the streets and shouted the slogans of "Down with Autocracy" and "Stop the War". In December 1904, the Czar issued a decree in which he pointed out the reforms which were considered by him to be appropriate for the country. He ordered his ministers to prepare laws giving effect to those reforms. There was no mention of a National Assembly in those reforms and the people felt that although the Czar was willing to make a few insignificant concessions, he was not prepared to part with power and to admit the people to participate in the affairs. No wonder, the agitation continued in the country.

On 22nd January, 1905, there took place what is known as the slaughter of "Bloody Sunday". A large number of workers under the leadership of Father Gapon tried to approach the royal palace in St. Petersburg with a view to putting forward their grievances before the Emperor. Instead of listening to their grievances, they were attacked by the Cossacks and the regular troops and there was an enormous loss of human life. Throughout 1905, disturbances continued in various parts of the country. In February 1905, Prince Mirski was replaced by Bulguin and policy of repression was resumed. Deeds of violence and repression were answered by assassinations and bomb-throwing by the revolutionaries. Strikes were organized at various places. The houses of the nobles were burnt down by the peasants. There were mutinies in the army and navy. The Grand-Duke Sergius, the reactionary uncle of the Czar, was assassinated as he had the audacity to declare that "the people want the stick." Russia was on the verge of collapse.

It was under these circumstances that the Czar Nicholas II issued a manifesto in August 1905. In that document he declared that "while preserving the fundamental law regarding the autocratic power," he had resolved to call, not later than January 1906, the State Council or Duma, consisting of elected representatives from the whole of Russia. The manifesto did not satisfy the people as the



Duma was going to be merely a consultative body and not a representative legislature having full authority to make laws. The workers and the professional classes were not given the right of vote. The sessions of the Duma were not to be public. An idea of the restricted franchise can be had from the fact that St. Petersburg with a population of more than 10½ million was to have only 9½ thousand voters.

As the concessions were considered to be inadequate and illusory, the revolutionary parties continued their agitation and made use of the weapon of strike. The beginning was made with the railway strike which spread all over the Russian Empire and cut off all communications both within and outside Russia. If any person wanted to travel, he had to use the ordinary highways or the water. Commerce was tied up. Merchants could neither ship nor receive goods. Similar strikes took place in other factories. Except the provision stores, all other shops were practically closed. In large towns, gas electric companies stopped working. The druggists refused to sell medicines until reforms were given by the Czar. Students of the universities went on strike. Lawyers followed them and law-courts had to be closed. No newspaper could be printed. The whole of the national life seemed to be thrown out of gear.

It was under these circumstances that the Czar issued another manifesto on 30th October, 1905. He granted "the immutable foundations of civic liberty" such as the freedom of speech, conscience and association. Franchise was liberalized. He declared "as an immutable rule that no law can come into force without the approval of the Duma, and that it shall be possible for the representatives of the people to participate effectively in the supervision of the legality of the acts of the public officials." Pobedonostsev was dismissed and Count Witte was appointed the Prime Minister.

The revolutionaries were not satisfied with the concessions and demanded the convocation of an assembly elected by universal suffrage to frame a constitution for Russia. As the Czar did not accept the demand, strikes continued throughout November 1905 and other classes such as letter-carriers and telegraph operators also joined. There were mutinies in the army and navy. There was a lot of fighting in the streets of Moscow and other places. The government refused to summon a constituent assembly and ordered elections for the new Duma. Some concessions were given to Finland and the people of that country got some peace. However, there was no quiet in Russia where a kind of civil war was going on between the revolutionaries on one side and the reactionaries on the other. Repressive measures were continued in spite of the manifesto of October 1905. It is pointed out that in January 1906 alone, 78 newspapers were suspended and 58 editors were arrested. Thousands of people were thrown into prisons or exiled to Siberia. Martial law was enforced in various parts of Russia.

Even before the meeting of the Duma, the Czar issued a decree which set up a Council of the Empire. The new body was largely to consist of the officials and was to act as the Upper Chamber of the



legislature of which the Duma was to be the Lower Chamber. Laws had to be approved of by the Duma and the Council of the Empire before their submission to the Czar for approval. It is evident that the powers of the Duma curtailed even before it met.

Elections to the Duma were held in March and April 1906 and a party called the "Cadets" came to have a majority. Witte resigned and he was succeeded by Goremykin. The first act of the new Prime Minister was to issue what were known as "Organic Laws" which could not be touched by the Duma.

**First Duma (1906).** The Duma was opened by Nicholas II on 10th May, 1906. It had a short and stormy life. It expressed its desire to have a thorough reform of Russia along the lines of Western liberalism. However, it had to face opposition from the reactionary forces in the country who had failed to stop the summoning of the Duma but were determined to make it impotent. The Duma demanded an amnesty for all political offenders. "The first thought at the first assembly of the representatives of the Russian nation should be for those who have sacrificed their freedom for their country." In spite of its efforts, only a partial amnesty was declared. The Duma also demanded a change in the composition of the Council of the Empire which was completely under the thumb of the Czar. It also demanded the responsibility of the ministers to itself. The abolition of martial law was also demanded. It was also demanded that the lands belonging to the State, the Czar and the monasteries should be given to the peasants on long leases.

The first Duma lasted for only two months but the members showed a high degree of intelligence. The shortcomings of the government were criticised freely and scathingly. The attitude of the ministers was contemptuous and there was a lot of heat in the discussions of the Duma. It was opposed throughout by the Czar and the Council of the Empire. Ultimately, a deadlock took place on the question of the responsibility of the ministers to the Duma. The public was agitated and there were disorders in the country. A radical party among the peasants was in favour of giving the lands of the country to the peasants without any compensation. The Czar tried to resolve the deadlock by dissolving the Duma on 22nd July, 1906. He declared that he was "cruelly disappointed" and that the representatives of the nation, instead of applying themselves to productive legislation had strayed into spheres beyond their competence, had enquired into the acts of local authorities established by himself, and commended upon the imperfections of the fundamental laws which could only be modified by his imperial will."

**Second Duma (1907).** 5th March, 1907 was fixed as the date for the meeting of the second Duma. Stolypin was appointed the Prime Minister in place of Goremykin. Many members of the first Duma went to Viborg in Finland and issued a manifesto which was signed by 230 of them. In that manifesto, they protested against the dissolution of the first Duma and called upon the people to stand for the rights of down-trodden for popular representation. They appealed to the people not to give the government either



soldiers or money. All loans contracted without the approval of the Duma were declared to be invalid. The manifesto failed to create any effect among the people who were either indifferent or afraid of the terrorist regime of the Czar.

The second Duma met on 5th March, 1907 but there was no smooth working. From the very beginning, there was friction between the Duma and the ministry and it continued to increase with the passage of time. The government arrested 16 members of the Duma and indicted them for carrying on revolutionary propaganda. This action of the government was resented bitterly as an attack on constitutional liberties and while the Duma was preparing to measure swords with the Czar, it was dissolved on 16th June 1907. Orders were issued for the election of a new Duma in September 1907 and it was to meet in November. A manifesto was issued by the government by which the electoral law was radically changed. As a result of the change, most of the members of the new Duma were to be selected by about 130,000 landowners. While the people protested, the Czar maintained that "the right of abrogating the law and replacing it by a new law belongs only to the power which gave the first electoral law—the historic power of the Czar of Russia." The government was determined to maintain its autocratic control over the country. All kinds of illegalities were committed by the government officials and there was none to challenge them. Reaction was in full swing.

**Third Duma (1907-14).** It was in these circumstances that the third Duma was elected in September and met in November 1907. It was full of big landlords and reactionaries. No wonder, it proved to be a docile assembly. Although the reactionaries demanded the dissolution of the third Duma also, yet the Government did not accept their point of view. The Duma was allowed to continue but acted merely as a consultative body and not a legislative body. Its voice did not count much. This state of affairs continued up to 1914. It was in this way that the liberal experiment in Russia during the first two decades failed. The reactionaries came to power and the liberals were discredited.

**Russian Revolution of 1917.** The Czarist regime which had lasted for centuries, was overthrown in 1917 by the revolutionaries and a very relevant question is as to what factors precipitated the crisis of 1917.

It is to be observed that before the outbreak of the First World War, there was a persistent agitation in Russia against the abuses of the Russian administration. The country was simmering with discontent that manifested itself in many ways. Both constitutional and revolutionary methods were tried to improve the state of affairs, but all of them failed. However, those failures did not dishearten the patriots of Russia and they had complete faith in the realisation of their dreams. The intellectuals of Russia stood for individual liberty and political reform of a radical character. There were liberals in Russia who believed in changing the state of affairs by following peaceful and constitutional methods. They were being



handicapped on account of the reactionary force in the country and the hostile attitude of the Czar. The Russian peasants clamoured for land. The land-hunger increased on account of an increase in the population of the country. A majority of the members of the Social Revolutionary Party came from the peasants. They stood for the confiscation of the large estates of the nobility and their division into small individual holdings. They also advocated terrorist methods to achieve their objective.

The workers were inclined towards Marxian principles and had their own organisation known as Workmen's Social Democratic Party. In 1903, there was a split in this party on the question of party discipline and tactics. Its radical section led by Lenin left the main body and came to be known as the Bolsheviks. The moderate members of the Social Democratic Party came to be known as the Mensheviks or minority men. The Bolsheviks put emphasis on the necessity of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat even by revolutionary and violent means. They recognised only the workers and were not prepared to co-operate with the middle classes. The Mensheviks were moderate in their methods and views. They aimed at bringing about the change by slow and peaceful methods. However, they were prepared to co-operate with other parties which aimed at overthrowing autocratic regime of the Czar.

The Jews, the Poles, the Finns and other minorities were embittered by the policy of Russification and no wonder agitated for the change in the system of administration of the country. They would be only too willing to join hands with those who stood for the overthrow of the Czarist regime.

It is to be observed that side by side with the industrial revolution was going on a revolution in the realm of ideas. The Czars tried to seal Russia hermetically against the liberal and radical ideas of the West, but in spite of that, the influence of Western European thought and example filtered into the country and produced a movement which was determined to end the reactionary regime of the Czars. The great novels of Tolstoy, Turgenev and Dostoevsky stirred the imagination of the youth of Russia. While the intelligentsia demanded political reforms on the Western lines, the radicals who followed Marx, Bakunin and Kropotkin stood for socialism and anarchism. Nihilism aimed at destroying everything in the existing order of Russia. The failure of the liberal experiment in Russia convinced the people that the employment of peaceful methods was not going to bring about the necessary results.

It is rightly pointed out that the Russo-Japanese War exposed the incompetence of the Czarist regime in Russia and the First World War completely destroyed it. In spite of the enthusiasm, the Russians did not do well in the war. They were defeated in a series of battles in 1915. There was a temporary change for the better in 1916 but the situation deteriorated once again. The influence of the Czarnia who was under the control of Rasputin, was



detested by the people. There was dishonesty and the corruption all around. There were rumours that the Czar was in favour of making a separate peace with Germany. The Czarina who controlled the Czar was also in favour of peace. The army officers complained that the activities of the royal family were hampering the prosecution of war. Rasputin was murdered but even that did not improve the state of affairs.

The Constitutional Democrats and Octoberists in the Duma urged the appointment of a responsible ministry. The only result was that the Duma was dissolved and its members were either put in prisons or sent home. There was a convention of the local Zemstvos which endorsed the recommendations of the Duma but it was also dissolved. The Russian patriots of various affiliations demanded reforms with a view to winning victory in the war. However, there was no response from the Czar.

During the winter of 1916-17, the people complained that the government had no heart in the war. The subject nationalities be-



Lenin

came restless. The middle classes grumbled. There were riots of the peasants in the country and strikes of workers in the cities.



There was shortage of food and while the courtiers feasted, the man in the street was hungry. In March 1917, the workers of Petrograd struck and the people rioted for bread. The soldiers refused to shoot them and joined them. A Soviet or Council of Soldiers and workers was set up. The Duma refused to obey and its Presidential ministry. On 15th March 1917, a deputation from the Duma waited upon the Czar and convinced him that he must abdicate. Nicholas II abdicated in favour of his brother the Grand Duke Michael, but as the people were not prepared to accept a member of the royal family, Michael refused to assume the crown. A provisional government was established in the country. In outlook and composition, it was a bourgeois government. It was led by men like Milinkov. A large number of liberal reforms such as freedom of speech, press, religion and association were carried out. It was decided to summon a constituent assembly to frame a permanent constitution for the country. Efforts were made to concentrate on the prosecution of war. The people were not satisfied with the political reforms as their needs were bread, land and peace. The result was that the liberals were overthrown and the Mensheviks under Kerensky came to power. In November 1917, the Mensheviks were also ousted from power by the Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin. Lenin remained in power up to 1924 when he died. During the period of his supremacy, he made the treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany and thus brought peace to his country. The reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries were ruthlessly crushed. England, France and Japan tried to overthrow the Bolshevik regime in Russia but they failed to do so. As time passed on, the people of Russia accepted the Bolshevik regime which is continuing even today.

#### Suggested Readings

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|-----------------|--|
| Beazley         | : <i>Russia from the Varangians to the Bolsheviks.</i>     |
| Blackwell, A.S. | : <i>The little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution.</i> |
| Carr, E.H.      | : <i>Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XII.</i>               |
| Kroff, S.A.     | : <i>Bolshevik Revolution in Russia.</i>                   |
| Mazour, A.G.    | : <i>Autocracy and Revolution in Russia.</i>               |
| Olgin           | : <i>The First Russian Revolution (1825), 1937.</i>        |
| Rose            | : <i>Soul of the Russian Revolution.</i>                   |
| Skrine          | : <i>Development of European Nations.</i>                  |
| Wallace         | : <i>Expansion of Russia.</i>                              |
|                 | : <i>Russia.</i>   |



## CHAPTER XXIII

### SOCIALISM

**Definition.** It is difficult to define socialism. The reason is obvious. Many definitions of socialism have been given by different individuals from different points of view. Each has tried to emphasize some particular aspect. Socialism has been compared to a medicine which must change according to the temperament of the patient and the nature of the disease from which he is suffering. According to Dr. Schadwell, 'Socialism is a chameleon-like creed. It changes its colour according to its environments. For the street corner and the club room, it wears the flaming scarlet of class war; for the intellectuals it is red shot with tawny; for the sentimentalists, it becomes a delicate rose pink, and in clerical circles it assumes a virgin-white just touched with a faint flush of generous aspiration.'

**Essentials of Socialism.** There are certain essentials of socialism to which reference can be made. (1) Socialism puts more emphasis on society than on individuals. It subordinates the individual interests to the higher interests of the society as a whole. According to Roscher, "Socialism stands for those tendencies which demand a greater regard for the common weal that agrees with human nature." (2) Socialism aims at the elimination of capitalism. Capitalists and entrepreneurs are considered to be the natural enemies of the working classes. As the State is the guardian of the masses and the repository of the interests of all, it must protect the people from the tyranny of capitalism and that can be done only by destroying it root and branch. (3) Socialism stands for the elimination of competition. It is pointed out that under the present system of competition there is too much of economic waste. Moreover, there is no fair competition between the rich and the poor on account of the existing economic inequality. The labourer must sell his labour because if he does not do so, he is bound to starve. The danger of starvation forces him to accept whatever is offered to him by the capitalist. (4) Socialism stands for equality. The socialists condemn the existing inequality created by the present capitalist system. According to Laveleye, "Every socialistic doctrine aims at introducing greater equality into social conditions. Socialism is an equaliser and leveller." (5) Socialism stands for the abolition of private property in land. It is pointed out that land is a free gift of nature and it is no business of any individual to use it for his personal and selfish purpose. (6) Socialism stands for the elimination of private enterprise. With the abolition of capitalism, private enterprise is also to be abolished. All factors of production are to be put under the control of the State. In other words, socialism stands for the nationalisation or socialisation of all the factors of production.



In short, socialism stands for the subordination of the individual interests to the higher interests of the society as a whole. It stands for justice, fairplay and liberty. It aims at adding to the sum-total of social welfare.

**Exponents of Socialism :** **Karl Marx.** Karl Marx, the father of socialism, was born in 1818 in the Rhineland. He was the son of Herschel Marx who was a German Jew. Although his father had embraced Christianity, he had no particular religious profession. Karl Marx's mother was born and brought up in Holland and was a hard and bigoted woman. He got an excellent university education in which he specialised in Jurisprudence and Philosophy. He was a precocious child and the view of his teachers was that "he will fulfil the favourable expectations that are justified by his abilities."



Marl Karx

He liked the materialist Epicurus, but did not approve of the doctrine of chance.

Karl Marx hoped to become a Professor in the University but his chance was destroyed on account of the dismissal of his friend, Bauer, from Bonn. The result was that he became a journalist. He undertook the editorship of a liberal newspaper known as the *Rheinische Zeitung*. He wrote in a vigorous style and with confidence.

In 1844, Marx left Germany, but before he left he was already influenced by the philosophy of Hegel and Feuerbach. He had won reputation as a fighting political journalist.

Karl Marx met Prudhon in Paris. The latter was a student of Hegel and was also trying to interpret the social system in terms of economic factors.

In 1845, Karl Marx visited England in the company of Engels. There he was introduced to a Workers' Education Union of German residents. He was impressed by their technique of sober study. The result was that when Karl Marx returned from England, he started in Brussels a workingmen's association of which he himself became a member. In 1847 was held in London the first Congress of the Working Class Radicals and they gave themselves the name of the Communist League. The second Congress of the Communist League



asked Karl Marx to draft a manifesto for the organisation and accordingly in 1848 Karl Marx and Engels drafted the famous *Communist Manifesto* : It is the most widely read of all the socialist documents and has been translated into almost every civilized language of the world. "It contains the clearest and most compact statement of Marx's conceptions of the past struggle between economic classes, the modern bourgeoisie—Proletarian conflict, the inevitable movement of present-day capitalism towards division, destruction and the programme of action working classes must adopt in order to fit in their efforts with the actual march of events."

The *Communist Manifesto* is divided into four parts : The first part deals with the history of social evolution. It shows as to how the history of society has been one of class war and the society is divided into two parts, the haves and the have-nots, the exploiters and the exploited. The second part of the *Manifesto* deals with the doctrines of the Communist Party and their justification. It contains the programme and means of its realisation. To bring about a transition from capitalism to a Proletarian society, the *Communist Manifesto* advocates the following measures :—(1) Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purpose, (2) a heavy progressive or graduated income-tax, (3) abolition of all rights of inheritance, (4) confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels, (5) centralisation of credit in the hands of the State by means of a national bank with State capital and an exclusive monopoly, (6) centralisation of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the State, (7) extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State, the bringing into cultivation of waste land, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan, (8) equal liability of all to labour, establishment of industrial organizations, especially for agriculture, (9) combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries ; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, by a more equitable distribution of population over the country, (10) free education for all children in public schools, (11) abolition of children's factory labour in its present form, (12) combination of education with industrial production, etc.

The third part of the *Manifesto* contains a criticism of the existing socialist and communist doctrines, the reactionary and bourgeois socialism and Utopian socialism. The fourth part contains a summary of the position of the Communists and their tactics in the face of opposition. The *Manifesto* contains the following well-known para : "Every class struggle is a political struggle. The Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against extant social and political conditions. *Communists scorn to hide their views and aims. They openly declare that their purpose can only be achieved by the forcible overthrow of the whole extant social order. Let the ruling classes tremble at the prospect of a Communist revolution. Proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Proletarians of all countries ! unite.*"

In 1849, Karl Marx ran away to England where he spent the



rest of the 34 years of his life. He acted as the correspondent of the *New York Tribune*. He was also instrumental in the formation of the First International in 1864. He directed it till it was dissolved in the 1870's.

Karl Marx died in London in March 1883 and the funeral address was ready by Engels who paid his tribute in these words : "His mission in life was to contribute in one way or another to the overthrow of capitalist society...to contribute to the liberation of the present-day proletariat which he was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, of the conditions under which it could win its freedom. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success which few could rival...and consequently was the best-hated and most culminated man of his time...he died, beloved, revered and mourned by millions of revolutionary fellow-workers from the miners of Siberia to the coasts of California, in all points of Europe and America...his name and his work will endure through the ages."

Karl Marx was a prolific writer. His writings are to be found in essays, tracts, correspondence and other complete works. Some of the important works are the *Critique of Political Economy*, *The Holy Family*, *Das Kapital*, *Value, Price, and Profit*, *Poverty of Philosophy*, *The Communist Manifesto*, and the *Civil War in France* (1870-71).

**Dr. Engels (1820-95).** It has already been pointed out that Dr. Engels was a friend and collaborator of Karl Marx. He came



Dr. Engels

into touch with Karl Marx at Paris in 1844 and this friendship continued till the death of Karl Marx in 1883. Engels was the son of a prosperous cotton manufacturer. His father was a stern Protestant and had no sympathy with the radical views of his son. Engels was forced into a business office in Bremen at the age of 17. Later on, he was sent to Manchester as the agent of his father's business. In 1844, Engels published his book called *The Condition of Working Classes in England*. In this book, he criticized capitalism. Marx and Engels were associated in the formation of the groups of working class radicals. These groups held their first Congress in London in 1847 and called themselves the Communist League. In 1848, the famous *Communist Manifesto* was drafted by both Engels and Marx.

Dr. Engels and Marx took part in the revolutionary activities of 1848 in France and Germany. After the failure of the movement,



they went to England. Dr. Engels once again entered the business of his father. He helped his friend Karl Marx in solving his financial difficulties. He collaborated with Marx on several of his works. He himself wrote separately *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*; *Anti-Duhring*; and the *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. After the death of Karl Marx, Engels edited the second and third volumes of *Das Kapital*.

**St. Simon (1760-1825).** Although St. Simon was born a nobleman, he devoted his life for the betterment of the poor people. "The citizen Charles Henri De Saint Simon, a former nobleman, declares his desire of purifying by a Republican baptism the stain of his original sin." He joined the army in 1777 and went to America in 1779 and took part in the American War of Independence. He went to Mexico and after that went back to France.

After coming back to France, St. Simon got disgusted with his military career and consequently resigned his commission. He concentrated on two things. He tried to educate himself for intellectual leadership. He also tried to make a fortune which could give him power and independence. He was able to achieve both. He sat in the company of philosophers and scientists and thereby added to his learning. He became a radical in his views. When the French Revolution came in 1789, he gave up his title of the nobility and took the name of Charles Henri Bonhomme. However, he refused to take active part in politics.

Having made a fortune for himself, he tried to act as a leader of opinion. He got married and invited scientists and scholars to his hospitable table. He started writing scientific and political papers. On account of differences with his wife, a divorce was arranged with mutual consent within a year. He wanted all that he had within a very short time and consequently became penniless. No wonder, he was forced to work as a clerk in order to make a living. Towards the end, he had very unhappy days. It was only the help of his friend that saved him from starvation. However, in spite of his poverty, St. Simon continued to work for his mission in life. Although he made a very few converts in his lifetime, he left behind a small circle of people. Within 10 years after his death, St. Simon was made a prophet and his creed became fashionable. His doctrines appealed to the people who were sick of Rousseauism, Bonapartism and legitimatism. It appeared to the people that St. Simon had found the right answer to the problem of government.

According to St. Simon, great and useful things could be produced only by a man of passion and Luther, Descartes and Bacon were such men. He believed that humanity could be made perfect. He aimed at the better organisation of society from the moral and physical point of view. He wanted to organise society on the basis of "association". He stood for the co-operation of labour and capital so that the very best results could be obtained. He did not advocate class-war. Capitalism was still in the infancy in the time of St. Simon and consequently he did not notice the antagonism, jealousy and hatred between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.



St. Simon did not stand for the equality of remuneration. That was to depend upon his capacity and occupation.

According to St. Simon, the State was the manager of the instruments of labour and its guiding principle was to be merit. It is true that he was critical of the existing system but he did not advocate any return to the past. According to him, "The poets of the ignorance and vulgarity of our first ancestors. This age, however, was the iron rather than the golden age. *The real golden age of humanity is not behind but before us.*"

His earliest practical suggestion was the establishment of a positive government of the scientists and not of the philosophers. He also stood for World Parliament resting on an Anglo-French Entente. According to him, the lot of property depended upon the general system of public utility. "*The summary of my life's work is to give to all members of society the fullest latitude for the development of their faculties.*"

**Robert Owen (1771—1858).** Owen has been called the "father of British socialism." He was the son of a saddler. He was very much interested in the study of the labour problems of his day. He had no good schooling in his childhood because he left the school at the age of 9. He became one of the self-made capitalists of the era of the Industrial Revolution. He became the managing partner in the cotton mills at New Lanark in Scotland. He put into practice many of the Utopian theories in the "new institution" described in his *New View of Society*. As the Managing Director of new Lanark Mills, he paid high wages to the labourers and still made a lot of profit.

He was in favour of unemployment relief through co-operative villages. He put his views on this point in his "Report to the Committee for the Relief of the Manufacturing Poor" in 1817. This report was rejected by the Parliamentary Committee.

Owen bought a large tract of land in Indiana in North America and established the co-operative colony of "New Harmony". This experiment failed partly due to mismanagement and partly due to undisciplined individualism and anarchy. Owen's militant anti-church rationalism was also partly responsible for his failure. He denounced the hypocrisy of organised religion and lost his former influence. The failure of this enterprise cost Owen four-fifths of his whole private fortune.

At the age of seventy, Owen became the Governor of a Community Settlement at Harmony Hall in Hampshire. This attempt also failed and resulted in a lot of loss to all those who participated in it.

After his failure in North America and his return to England, Owen began to appeal to the common people for support. He also helped in the growth of co-operative societies and the trade union movement. He was immensely interested in the betterment of the lot of workers. *The name of Owen is closely connected with all the*



*steps toward' real progress, with all social reform movements in England and all legislation in the interests of the working classes.*

**Charles Fourier (1772—1837).** He was French socialist who started his life as a clerk of a small merchant. He was shocked by the throwing of thousands of tons of rice into the sea because it was not sold on account of low prices. He supported the co-operative movement in France and denounced the economic, social, political and moral disorders from which the society suffered. Those disorders were concerned with poverty, social inequality, war and the failure of family life as a matter of private property rights.

According to him, the universe was governed by certain laws which had to be discovered and applied to social life with a view to have happiness and prosperity. There could be harmony in society only if people lived in units large enough to allow all passions" to operate freely. Society was to be organised into independent groups each consisting of 1,620 persons, named as Phalaustere or Phalanx. Each person was to do the work he could enjoy best. He tried to tackle the problem of vocational adaptation or pleasure-in-work. He also tried to solve the problem of the distribution of drudgery and leisure. There was to be no government at all. He had a tendency towards anarchism. He was not inspired by the French Revolution and he simply ignored it. He had no money to embark upon such ventures as Owen did. He kept on waiting for a person who would give him the money for putting his ideas into practice. However, such a man never came. He did not stand for the abolition of private property or inheritance.

**Proudhon (1809—65).** Peirre Joseph Proudhon is generally known as "the father of anarchism." He was a printer, journalist and a member of French Constituent Assembly of 1848. He was one of the greatest critics of Karl Marx. He put emphasis on the conditions of self-respect and human dignity.

He was a violent critic of communism. It was his bug-bear. *Property is the exploitation of the weak by the strong. Communism is the exploitation of the strong by the weak.*" Again, "Communism is Utopian. Whenever an attempt is made to introduce communism, it results in a caricature of property. I am opposed to communism and I am now considered as being the least advanced of socialists, it is because I have left Utopia, whilst the socialists are still in it." Proudhon regarded communism as something incompatible with family. "It is not science but annihilation of science. It is incapable of finding a formula of distribution and of organisation. It is eclectic, unintelligent and unintelligible. It is the religion of misery. It neither thinks nor does it reason. It does not know how to organise, produce and distribute; it suspects labour and is afraid of justice. It borrows its ideas from the most ancient, mystic, obsolete, vague and undefinable tradition. Communism means privation, everywhere and always." No wonder Karl Marx also hit back. He called him "pretentious and useless with 'the feelings of a grocer'". He tried to demolish the thesis of Proudhon and called his book *Poverty of Philosophy*.



**Bakunin (1814—76).** Count Michael Bakunin was a Russian anarchist. He belonged to a noble family and started his career as an Artillery Officer. In 1835,



Bakunin (1841-76)

he went to Moscow for the purpose of studying philosophy. In 1841, he went to Berlin. On account of the influence of A. Reug, Bakunin became a Communist. In 1843, he went to Paris and there he came into contact with Proudhon. However, four years after he was turned out from France on account of his criticism of the Russian Government. In 1849, he became one of the leaders of a revolt at Dresden. On three occasions, he was sentenced to death. However, he was not executed. He was transported to Siberia by the Russian Government, but he was able to escape. He went first to Japan, then to the U.S.A. and finally to London. He joined the International under the influence of Marx and Engels. In 1869, he founded a *Social Democratic Alliance* for the purpose of propagating his ideas among the people. He emphatically rejected all the institutions of political control. It did not make much difference even if those institutions were based on the principle of universal suffrage. Even the most democratic devices could change the essential character of the State. The State had a demoralizing effect among the people. This applied both to the governors and the governed. The reason was obvious. The State did not act through persuasion and enlightenment. It acted through compulsion and force. It degraded the moral and intellectual level of the people. It made either tyrants or egoists.

According to Alexander Herzen, "Bakunin was capable of becoming anything—an agitator, a tribune, a preacher, the head of a party, a sect, a heresy. Put him where you like so long as it always is the most extreme point of a movement, and he will fascinate the masses and sway the destinies of peoples—but in Russia this Columbus without America and without a ship, having served, greatly against his will, a year or two in the artillery, and after that another year or so in the Moscow Hegelians, longed desperately to tear himself away from a land where every form of thought was prosecuted as evil-mindedness and independence of judgment or speech was looked upon as an insult to public morality."

**Kropotkin (1842—1921).** Kropotkin was born in a noble family in Russia. In his boyhood, he became interested in liberalism. He got his education in a military school. He worked in the army for six years but resigned in disgust. Then he devoted



his time to the study of physical geography. He did survey work and prepared maps, and became an authority on physical geography. In 1872, he visited Switzerland and got himself enrolled as a member of the International Workingmen's Association at Geneva. Finding the programme of the Association conservative, he left it and became an anarchist. When he went back to Russia, he took part in Nihilist movement. He was arrested in 1874 and imprisoned. However he managed to escape from jail in 1876. First he went to England and from there is shifted to Switzerland. He also visited Paris in 1877 but returned to Switzerland. It was during his stay on the Swiss soil that he edited the revolutionary newspaper called *Le Revolte*. In 1881, he was turned out from Switzerland. Again, he went to England and from there to France. He was imprisoned in 1883 but released in 1886. He did a lot of writing work. The most important books written by him are the following :—

- (1) *The Conquest of Bread* (1888).
- (2) *Anarchism : Its Philosophy and Ideal* (1896).
- (3) *The State, its Part in History* (1898).
- (4) *Fields, Factories and Workshops* (1899).
- (5) *Mutual Aid, a Factor of Evolution* (1902).
- (6) *Modern Science and Anarchism* (1903).

He continued to live in London till 1917 when the Russian Revolution took place. Then he went to Russia, but was disappointed by the communist developments and died in 1921. On his death the Russian Government made an offer of a State funeral for him but the members of his family declined the offer. Kropotkin was a man of gentle and attractive personality. He was respected by all who came into contact with him.

#### Suggested Readings

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|------------------|---|
| Graj, Sir A.     | : <i>The Socialists Tradition : Moses to Lenin, 1946.</i> |
| Rae, J.          | : <i>Contemporary Socialism.</i>                          |
| Laski            | : <i>Karl Marx, an Essay.</i>                             |
| Spargo and Arner | : <i>Elements of Socialism.</i>                           |



formed by some Greeks at Odessa. Its object was to drive out the Turks from Greece and establish the independence of the country. The society became popular and powerful in course of time.

The Greeks revolted in 1821 under the leadership of Prince Alexander Ypsilanti. Alexander found himself in a difficult position. As the protector of the Greek Church, as the champion of oppressed nationalities, as the traditional friend of Turkey's enemies, he would naturally like to interfere on behalf of the Greeks. On the other hand, Alexander was the sworn enemy of revolutionary principles wherever they were to be found. At the same time, Russia had her own quarrel with Turkey and she might like to take advantage of the Greek revolt to fulfil her own ambitions. However, the attitude of the Czar was decided by Metternich who had complete control over him. Metternich's own attitude was that the revolt should be allowed to burn itself out beyond the pale of civilization. No wonder, Czar Alexander did not show any sympathy for Ypsilanti and ordered him to return immediately to Russia. He also ordered the rebels to surrender themselves to the Sultan on pain of incurring his displeasure. The attitude of the Czar decided the fate of Ypsilanti who was defeated. He was arrested and had to spend the rest of his days in prison.

The Greeks also revolted in the Morea in 1821. Russia was excited by the execution of the Patriarch of Constantinople and the massacre of Greek Christians. It was feared that she might attack Turkey at once. Both England and Austria took measures to avoid the danger of Russian intervention in Turkey. For some years. Canning and Metternich were in agreement in principle. The struggle between the Greeks and Turks was not the business of any other State and consequently it was the duty of the Great Powers to "hold the ring" and not to allow any power to interfere. Canning's view was that if Russia was allowed to interfere in Greece, she might "gobble Greece at one mouthful and Turkey at the next." Such was the situation between 1820 and 1825. Both the Greeks and the Turks were equally cruel and both of them were proving a match for each other. Both Castlereagh and Canning were friendly to the Greeks and their object was to induce Turkey to come to terms with them so that the Czar might not be able to fish in troubled waters. It is pointed out that the war in the Morea was literally a war of extermination. The Greek slogan was: "Turkey shall live no longer neither in the Morea on the whole earth." There was a wholesale massacre of Christians in Thessaly, Macedonia, Asia Minor and Chios. There was a stage when the Czar gave an ultimatum to Turkey and war seemed imminent.

However a great change took place in the Greek War of Independence. When the Turkish Sultan asked for the help of Mehmet Ali Pasha of Egypt, the latter sent his son Ibrahim at the head of a great army and navy. He conquered and destroyed Crete in 1824 and landed in the Morea, in 1825. Having secured Navarino as his base, Ibrahim advanced through the Morea "harrying, devastating and slaughtering in all directions." Missolonghi was captured and Lord Byron lost his life.



Things changed in Russia also. Czar Alexander, who was too much under the influence of Metternich, died in 1825 and was succeeded by Nicholas I who was a man of very different temperament and training. He was not under the influence of Metternich and consequently could afford to follow an independent policy. It is stated that although he did not care very much for the Greeks as such, he was also not disposed to allow the Sultan to play fast and loose with Russia.

At this time, Canning, Foreign Minister of England, sent the Duke of Wellington on a special mission to St. Petersburg. In April 1826, an agreement between Great Britain and Russia was reached and the two powers agreed to offer joint mediation to Turkey. According to the agreement, Greece was to pay tribute to the Sultan but otherwise she was to be practically independent.

Czar Nicholas has already despatched an ultimatum to the Sultan who submitted and signed a Convention. The Sultan agreed to evacuate the Principalities, make some concessions to Serbia and submit to the will of the Czar in all matters. However, there was no reference to Greece. The Sultan was not willing to accept any mediation unless it was backed by force. In July 1827, The Treaty of London was signed between Great Britain, Russia and France. It was agreed between the parties that if Turkey refused an immediate armistice, force was to be applied. The resistance of the Greeks was breaking down and there was every possibility of their collapse after the fall of Athens in June 1827. It was rumoured the Ibrahim intended to transport all the Greeks who fell into his hands to Asia and Africa. In August 1827, Greece accepted the mediation of the three powers. However, it was declined by Turkey which considered herself to be strong.

Admiral Cordington received instructions to "intercept all ships freighted with men or arms destined to go against the Greeks" without "degenerating into hostilities." Ibrahim was informed by the English and French admirals that not a single ship would be allowed to harbour off Navarino. Ibrahim, in anger, tried to kill the wretched survivors in the Morea. The admirals remonstrated with Ibrahim and the Turks fired on the British. The Battle of Navarino began on 20th October 1827. Before sunset, all the Turko-Egyptian ships "had disappeared, the Bay of Navarino was covered with their wrecks." The Battle of Navarino was the most decisive battle of the war and it ultimately secured the independence of the Greeks. However, the victors of Navarino did not get any praise for their achievement. Canning had already died in August 1827 and the Duke of Wellington who succeeded him, expressed regret for the "untoward event" of Navarino.

Great Britain left the war and France followed suit. The Turks felt happy and they decided to deal with the Greeks in their own way. No wonder, Czar Nicholas declared war against Turkey in April 1828. He crossed the Pruth and occupied the Principalities. The Russian fleet also entered the Dardanelles. The action of Russia seemed to destroy the work of Castlereagh and Canning who had



## CHAPTER XXIV

### THE EASTERN QUESTION

According to Miller, *the Eastern Question may be defined as the problem of filling up the vacuum created by the gradual disappearance of the Turkish Empire from Europe.* When the turks were at the height of their power, they ruled over the Balkans, Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Egypt and almost the whole of the north coast of Africa. However, the Turkish Empire began to decline gradually. The peace of Karlowitz of 1699 has been justly described as "the first dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire." It was the initial step in the historical process which continued for more than two centuries. It is true that on certain occasions the Turks were able to gain some temporary advantage, but on the whole the process of disintegration continued and ultimately the Ottoman rule was practically ended from the Balkans and North Africa. So far as the Balkans were concerned, there were many Christian races, viz. the Serbs, the Bulgars, the Greeks and the Romanians. The Turkish rule was very oppressive and sometimes there was wholesale massacre of the Christians in the Balkans. The subject people were encouraged to assert their independence partly on account of the decline of the military power of the Turks and partly on account of the growth of nationalism among them. They were also assisted by Russia and sometimes by other powers such as England and France. *Lord Morley has described the Eastern Question as a "shifting, intractable and interwoven tangle of conflicting interests, rival people and antagonistic faiths."* It came to the fore at various times during the 19th century and those can be called the various phases of the Eastern Question.

The decline of the Ottoman Turkish Empire dates from 1699 when it lost Hungary to Austria. By 1815, Austria and Russia had also annexed the areas around the Crimea.

**Serbia.** The Serbs raised the standard of revolt against the Turkish rule. They began their struggle in 1804 under the leadership of Karageorge who was a man of peasant birth. The movement was supported by Russia up to 1812. However, the Czar was forced to make peace with Turkey in that year on account of the invasion of Russia by Napoleon. The Turks took advantage of the changed circumstances and were able to re-establish their hold over Serbia. However, the rising was renewed under Milosh Obrenovitch who was recognised by the Sultan in 1820 as "Prince of the Serbians". Backed by Russia, Obrenovitch continued to press for the independence of Serbia. By 1830, the connection of Serbia with Turkey became merely nominal. The country was ruled by the princes of the Obrenovitch family by hereditary right.



**Greek War of Independence.** The Greeks were the next to raise the standard of revolt against the Turks. They were subjected to heavy taxation and were otherwise treated with great severity. There was a revival of the Greek national spirit towards the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. The ancient



Greek literature was revived and an attempt was made to restore the classical Greek language in place of the corrupt dialect spoken by the people. The study of the glories of the past by their ancestors gave them encouragement and hope and created a strong desire for independence. In 1814, a society called the Hetairia Philike was



tried to check the Russian influence in the Balkans. On the one hand, the Greeks were at the mercy of the Sultan and on the other the independence of Turkey was threatened by the Czar. The Turks put up a stiff resistance but they were no match for the Russians. In September 1829, peace was made between Russia and Turkey.

England and France successfully negotiated with Mehmet Ali and Ibrahim for the withdrawal of the Egyptian forces from the Morea. After their evacuation, the fortresses were occupied by the French. According to the terms of the Protocols signed in London, the Morea and Greece were placed under the protection of the two powers. Greece was to be an autonomous but tributary State under a prince selected by the powers. The frontiers of the new States were also defined. These arrangements were confirmed by the Treaty of Adrianople (1829). It was in this way that the independence of Greece was recognized.

France and England were afraid that Greece might become a vassal State of Russia. No wonder, Wellington proposed to divide her into halves so as to make her as small and weak as possible. Aberdeen went a step further and proposed to "trisect" her. However, Wellington and Aberdeen were turned out from office and Palmerston and Grey followed a different policy. In 1832, the boundaries of Greece were enlarged. She was declared independent and guaranteed a loan and a monarch. The independence of Greece was recognized by Russia, England and France. Greece was able to get rid of Russian influence at once.

It is to be observed that there was sympathy in France for the cause of the Greeks and the French helped them to some extent. As regards Austria, Metternich held the view that the Greeks were rebels and must be left to their fate. The Greek revolt was a disease and Austria should be saved from its contagion. Although Russia was checked in the beginning by Metternich, the Russians played their part and did the fighting single-handed after 1828. Prussia followed in the footsteps of Austria. As regards England, she sympathized wholeheartedly with the Greek cause. Every kind of help was given to the Greeks who were considered to be the givers of civilization to Europe. Canning was himself a Greek scholar. According to Fisher, "The gentry of England had no such apprehensions. English nationalism they enjoyed, Irish nationalism they had suppressed, Indian nationalism was in a distant future. Education made them Philhellenes, public life made them patriots, their sympathies as sportsmen went out to a small nation struggling to be free. When Byron died at Missolonghi, a martyr to Hellenic liberty, the romantic enthusiasm of the English for the Greeks spread far and wide into the streets and taverns. No one stopped to ask how much of the ancient Hellas, which young men were taught to admire in the halls of Oxford and Cambridge, still survived in the herdsmen, the brigands and the sea-pirates of Greece and its islands. The name of Greece was a talisman. Though Turkey was still the official friend and make-weight against Russian designs in the East, the mass of England was behind George Canning



when at last he was brought to recognize the Greek insurgents as belligerents and joined with France and Russia to save them from extinction."

**Mehmet Ali and the Porte.** Mehmet Ali, an Albanian adventurer, had through his effort raised himself to the Governorship of Egypt. Although barbarous and uneducated, he had the ability to appreciate Western civilization. Under him, French experts were employed and Egypt became a prosperous and powerful State owing allegiance to the Porte only in name. Between 1824 and 1827, Mehmet Ali's Egyptian army nearly reconquered the whole of Greece. But for the intervention of Russia, Great Britain and France, the Greeks might have been finished once for all. However, after the Greek War of Independence Mehmet Ali was given the island of Crete by Turkey as a reward for the services rendered by him. He considered the reward as inadequate. He had also come to know all the weaknesses of Turkey. No wonder, he thought of making himself independent of the Porte, and he found a pretext for it. In 1832, his son, Ibrahim, invaded Syria and advanced into Asia Minor. The Turks were defeated and the way to Constantinople was open for the invader.

Sultan Mahmud II turned to European powers for help. He appealed to Great Britain but she was busy in the Belgian question. He appealed to France, but public opinion in France was sympathetic towards Mehmet Ali. In despair, the Sultan accepted the offer of help from Russia. The Sultan who had formerly declared that he would give Constantinople and his Empire to any one who would bring Mehmet's head, must have felt now that in accepting Russian help, he was making a similar bargain. The Russian Government was prepared to give help at once. The Russian squadron entered the Bosphorous. A Russian army encamped on the Asiatic shore. Five thousand Russian troops were landed at a place near Constantinople.

The French had afraid of Russian intervention from the moment Mehmet Ali started the war. France was keenly interested in Mehmet Ali and regarded him as her protege. The French Government had discouraged Mehmet Ali from declaring the war. Now that the war was declared, France sent a mission to Constantinople with a view to persuading Russia to withdraw from the conflict. She failed. Great Britain and Austria were successful. They were able to persuade the Sultan to give Syria and Adana to Mehmet Ali (1833). Thus, the "Egyptian affair" ended and Russia withdrew.

**Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi.** However, before Russia withdrew she had entered into a treaty with Turkey. The Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi of 1833 between Russia and Turkey was one of defence. It was made for 8 years. Russia promised to come to the help of Turkey whenever she was in danger. The treaty also laid down that if Russia went to war with any European power, the Porte would close the Dardanelles and make Russia impregnable on the side of the Black Sea. The Russian fleet was at liberty to pass



through the Dardanelles to the Mediterranean and retire whenever she pleased to a place of security. The treaty implied the control of the foreign policy of the Turks by Russia. It converted Turkey into a sort of Russian protectorate. Nicholas I had given up the policy of conquest and partition in favour of that of penetration and control.

The Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi was more than what France and England could allow. The Czar managed to secure the consent of Austria and Prussia. Although Nicholas I assured Metternich that he would not invoke the treaty without first accepting the meditation of Austria, the treaty remained a danger to Europe. For months war appeared imminent. Great Britain was so much aggrieved with Turkey as with Russia, for the Porte's admission of Russian ships was contrary to the Anglo-Turkish treaty of 1809. Palmerston sent an official protest against the treaty. Public opinion in England was extremely agitated on this point. The British Government would have got plenty of support if she had resorted to a strong foreign policy. However, Palmerston moved very cautiously.

The cause of this caution was that Palmerston was not sure of the attitude which the French Government might adopt, she might have seen eye to eye with Great Britain in opposing Russia's designs on Turkey, but French and British policy tended to clash over the Carlist question in Spain and hence the uncertainty. Palmerston concluded a treaty with the Spanish and Portuguese Governments in 1834 and France also joined it. This Quadruple Alliance of April 22, 1834 was a great achievement and in the words of Palmerston, "this treaty was a capital hit in all my own doing." This famous alliance gave Palmerston whatever special confidence he might have needed to handle the Turco-Russian question firmly. Unfortunately, Melbourne's Government of which he was a member, fell in November 1834, but Palmerston's policy was carried on by the Duke of Wellington. In April 1835, Palmerston came to power once again. He thought that Russia would easily be beaten if there was a war. He wrote thus to Temple: "The face is that Russia is a humbug, and that if England were finally to go to war with her, we should throw her back half a century in one campaign." However, no one really wanted war. Since Russia showed no desire to assert her position at Constantinople, peace was maintained for four years, war was suspended.

In 1836, there was a change of ministry in France. Thiers became the First Minister. Although the Porte thought that Thiers was friendly towards England, the latter showed his inclination towards the central Powers. There was a proposal for marrying the Duke of Orleans to an Austrian princess. However, Thiers was dismissed by Louis Philippe on account of the militant policy and the new minister was Mole.

In the meanwhile, both Mehmet Ali and the Sultan were preparing for a final struggle. Mahmud II was westernising the army, Moltke was his military adviser.



Things were not going on smoothly in Egypt. In 1837, Mehmet Ali began to strengthen his position in Syria. In 1848, he told the British Consul at Alexandria that he was determined to be independent. Palmerston was astonished at this. He knew full well that Turkey would be defeated and Russia would have to get in owing to the provisions of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi of 1833. There was also the danger of France supporting Mehmet Ali. Palmerston's policy had three objects in view, *viz.*, to prevent any further disruption of the Turkish Empire by Mehmet Ali, to obtain the supersession of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi and to prevent a combination of Russia and France. Palmerston handled the critical situation in a statesmanlike manner. The Turkish and Egyptian forces were on a war footing and faced each other. Ponsonby said in 1839 that "nobody doubts of war"

There were certain factors which enabled peace to be preserved. The attitude of the Five Powers was one of peace. They recommended to the contending parties to come to a peaceful settlement, but as both the parties were irreconcilable, war started in June 1839. Mahmud's army was defeated and he died within a few days. The Turkish Admiral with his ships sailed off to join Mehmet Ali at Alexandria. "In three weeks, Turkey had lost her Sultan, her army and her fleet."

The news of the death of the Sultan and the battle of Nisibi convinced Palmerston of the necessity of decisive action. He wrongly took it for granted that France and England would co-operate with each other. He drafted orders that the British squadron should move on to Alexandria to bring pressure on Mehmet Ali. The French refused to co-operate on account of their pro-Mehmet Ali feelings. There was a possibility that Mehmet Ali might get whatever he wanted by bringing pressure on the Sultan. To avoid that contingency, the Powers advised the Porte not to enter into any treaty with Mehmet Ali.

When Palmerston found that France was not co-operating in exerting pressure on Mehmet Ali, he made up his mind to break off all connection with France and refer the matter to a Conference of Five Powers. The object of the Conference was to induce the power to blockade Syria until Mehmet Ali should surrender the Turkish fleet. Palmerston was anxious to get the matter solved by a Conference because in that way there was the possibility of avoiding the combination of Russia and Turkey under the Treaty of 1833. <sup>Russia</sup> was also anxious to avoid a rupture. The Czar expressed his willingness to co-operate with the English to stop the advance of Ibrahim Pasha even if France stood aloof. Palmerston informed the French Government that the British Government would agree to act with Russia, Austria and Prussia "whether France joins or not; but that on every account we should deeply regret that France should not be a party to the proceedings."

Palmerston got the alarming news that the King of France had told some foreign minister that France was protecting Mehmet Ali because she would probably be at war with England in two



with the general agreement of Europe when he marched into Moldavia and Wallachia, certainly did think when he pressed his claims in the Balkans in 1853 that he would have English support. And once Russia had withdrawn from the Principalities, no further excuse for the war, except that of teaching the Czar a lesson, existed. Hence the diversion of the war from the Balkans, where it made sense in relation to the Turkish Empire, to the Crimean peninsula where it made very little sense at all. This diversion meant that a war supposedly planned for the defence of the Turkish Empire became almost before a shot was fired, an act of aggression against Russia."

According to Prof. A. J. P. Taylor, "In one sense, it was predestined and had deep-seated causes. Neither Nicholas nor Napoleon nor the British Government could retreat in the conflict for prestige once it was launched. Nicholas needed a subservient Turkey for the sake of Russian security; Napoleon needed success for the sake of his domestic position; the British Government needed an independent Turkey for the security of the eastern Mediterranean. Yet none of the three had conscious plans of aggression, not even Napoleon, despite his welcome of disturbance for its own sake. The British fears that Russia planned the dismemberment of Turkey were as ill-founded as Russia's fears that the Western Powers threatened her security in the Black Sea. Mutual fear, not mutual aggression, caused the Crimean War. Nevertheless it was not a war without a purpose. At bottom, it followed from the events of 1848. British opinion would never have turned so harshly against Russia had it not been for Austria's victory in Italy and, still more, Russia's intervention in Hungary. The Crimean War was fought for the sake of Europe rather than for the Eastern Question; it was fought against Russia, not in favour of Turkey. But there was a deep-seated, unspoken disparity between the aims and outlook of the two western allies. Both resented the Russian preponderance which had, they thought, caused the failure of the revolutions of 1848; but only Napoleon III hoped to reverse the verdict. The British certainly wished for no new revolutions; they fought Russia out of resentment and supposed that her defeat would strengthen the European Balance of Power. Napoleon, on the other hand, thought that her defeat would destroy the balance. Hence, though the more ambitious, he was less bellicose. He was quite ready to call off the struggle once Russia abandoned interest in Central Europe.

"The real stake in the Crimean war was not Turkey. It was Central Europe, that is to say, Germany and Italy. The British hoped to substitute 'the Concert of Europe' for the hegemony of Russia; they failed. Napoleon III wished to substitute his own hegemony, and for a few years supposed that he had succeeded. As events turned out, the Central Powers evaded commitments; and for this reason the Crimean War was indecisive. This was in itself the decision. The Crimean War was fought to remake the European system. The old order of the Holy Alliance was destroyed; but no new system took its place—neither the liberal Concert of British



ideal nor the revolutionary association of Napoleon's dreams. Instead there opened a period of European anarchy which lasted from the Crimean War until the next great struggle in the Near East." (*The Struggle for Mastery in Europe*, pp. 60-61).

According to Fyffe, the claims of the rival brotherhoods which related to doors, keys, stars and lamps could have been settled to the satisfaction of all the parties within a few hours by an experienced stage manager, but in the hands of "diplomatists bent on obtaining triumphs over one another, they assumed dimensions that overshadowed the peace of Europe." Both the French and Russian ministers at Constantinople tormented the Porte for a decision. In 1852, the Porte granted similar rights to both the parties. In 1853, however, Turkey agreed to the claims of France and denied them to Russia.

According to Fyffe, Nicholas I treated the conduct of the Porte as an outrage upon himself. He would like to have revenge. In 1853, he addressed himself to Sir H. Seymour, British ambassador at St. Petersburg, in these words: "The sick man was in extremities; a time had come for clear understanding between England and Russia. The occupation of Constantinople by Russian troops might be necessary, but the Czar would not hold it permanently. He would not permit any other Power to establish itself at Bosphorus, neither would he permit the Ottoman Empire to be broken up to afford a refuge to the Mazzinis and the Kossuths of Europe. The Danubian Principalities were already independent States under Russian protection. The other possessions of the Sultan north of Balkans might be placed on a similar footing. England might annex Egypt and Greece". The British Government refused to enter into any understanding with the Czar. At this, Nicholas I sent Prince Menschikoff of Constantinople to demand from the Porte not only an immediate settlement of the questions relating to the Holy Places but also a treaty guaranteeing to the Greek Church the undisturbed enjoyment of all its ancient rights and benefit of all privileges that might be accorded by the Porte to any other Christian community.

The treaty which Menschikoff was instructed to demand would have placed the Sultan under the Czar and the position of contracting parties with regard to the entire body of rights and privileges enjoyed by the Sultan's subjects of the Greek faith would have made the violation of those rights in the case of any individual Christian a matter entitling Russia to interfere or to claim satisfaction. By the treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji of 1774, the Sultan had bound himself to protect the Christian religion and churches. However, this vague phrase did not create any matter for treaty obligation. If it had given to Russia any general right of interference on behalf of the members of the Greek Church, it would have given an identical right on behalf of the Roman Catholics and Protestants. However, the Czar had never claimed that the treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji had given him such a right. The treaty mentioned by name only one ecclesiastical building for whose priests the Porte did



concede to Russia the right of addressing representations to the sultan. That the Greek Church possessed by custom and by enactment privileges which it was the duty of the Sultan to respect no one contested. The novelty of the Russian claim was that the observation of those rights should be made a matter of treaty with Russia. The importance of the Russian demand was proved by the fact that Menschikoff forbade the Turkish ministers to reveal it to other Powers and Nicholas I caused the British Government to be informed that the mission was dispatched only to settle the question of the Holy Places. Regarding the Russian claim of a general protectorate over Greek Christians in Turkey, Lord Clarendon wrote thus : "No sovereign having a proper regard for his own dignity and independence could admit proposals so undefined as those of Prince Menschikoff and by treaty confer upon another and more powerful sovereign a right of protection over a large portion of his own subjects, however, well-disguised it may be. While the face is that under the vague language of the proposed Sanad a perpetual right of interference in the internal affairs of Turkey would be conferred upon Russia, for governed as the Greek subjects of the Porte are by their ecclesiastical authorities and looking as these latter would in all things do for protection to Russia, it follows that 14,000,000, Greeks would henceforth regard the Emperor as their supreme protector and their allegiance to the Sultan would be little more than nominal, while his own independence would dwindle into vassalage."

The Porte could not have stood the pressure of Russia, but the timely appearance of Lord Stratford De Radcliffe, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, on the scene changed the whole situation. Radcliffe was a master-mind and before him the Russian Prince was a mere child. The former had spent decades in service in the Balkans and his grasp of the situation was masterly. England was deeply interested in the Balkan affairs. Her anxiety to keep control over India forced her to keep a watchful eye on the advance of Russia in the Near East. The premature death of Canning had enabled Russia to reap the fruit all alone. The treaty of Adrianople of 1829 had increased Russian influence and prestige in the Balkans. The Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi of 1833 had also added to her strength. It was under the influence of Palmerston that the Russian influence diminished and the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi was annulled in 1841. In 1844, Nicholas had paid a visit to London and discussed with Aberdeen, the British Foreign Minister, the problem of dividing the possession of the sick man of Europe. However, he had received no encouragement from that quarter. The British Government once again refused to consider the Eastern Question with Russia in 1853. That shows that England was not prepared to allow Russia to increase her influence in the Balkans.

Lord Stratford played his part well. He persuaded Menschikoff to separate the question of the Holy Places from that of a general Russian protectorate over the Greek Christians. This important distinction having been secured, Stratford induced the Porte to give satisfaction to Russia on the former question. The



problem of the Holy Places was thus solved. In spite of this, the situation did not improve. As the Porte became more conciliatory, Menschikoff became more and more menacing although his position was a weaker one. He realised that he had been tricked by Stratford. The latter advised the Porte to refuse the protectorate claimed by Menschikoff and consequently the latter left Constantinople in May 1853. A week later, the Porte addressed a note to the Powers in which he announced the settlement of the question of Holy Places and the determination of Turkey to check the control of Russia over her.

In July 1853, the Russian army crossed the Pruth and occupied the Principalities. Under normal circumstances, such an action would have been tantamount to a declaration of war. The Czar maintained that by occupying the Principalities, he had no intention of violating peace. The Turks were also advised to desist from war. Lord Aberdeen was the Prime Minister of England from December 1852. According to Fyffe, no man in England was more pacific in disposition or more anxious to remain on terms of honourable friendship with Russia than Aberdeen himself. The Czar had justly reckoned on Aberdeen's forbearance. However, he had not taken into consideration other forces which might force the hands of Aberdeen and his ministry to resist Russian advance. Palmerston was keen on action being taken against Russia. He believed that the only chance of convincing Russia that the English were in earnest was to order the combined fleets of England and France to move to the Bosphorus and, if necessary, into the Black Sea. In spite of this Aberdeen advised the Sultan not to resist Russian invasion by force "in order to exhaust all the resources of patience". Palmerston was convinced that it was already late in the day and Russia had been encouraged in her action by the apparent timidity of England.

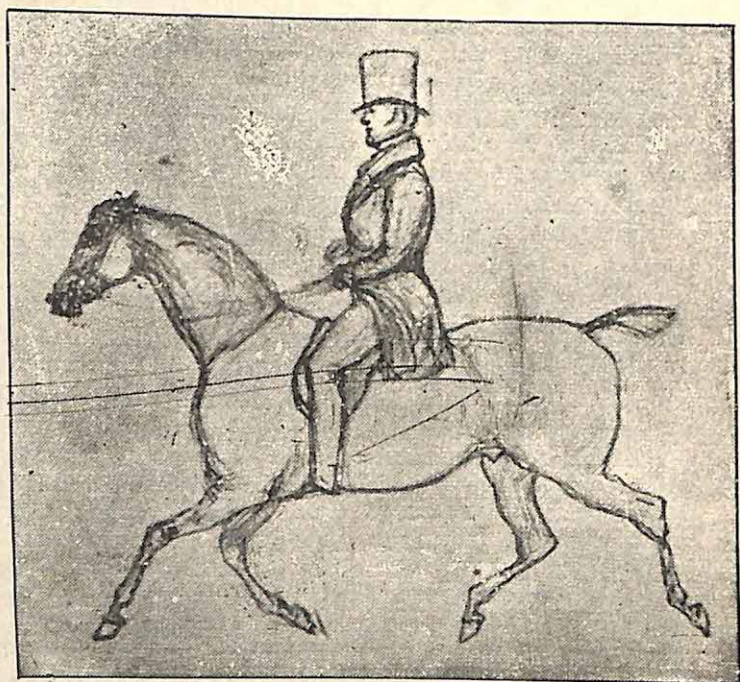
In spite of the different views of Palmerston and Aberdeen, Stratford seems to have taken it for granted from the very beginning that in the event of a war between Russia and Turkey, Great Britain had to fight on the side of the Ottoman Empire. Stratford did not state this in express terms, but the communication which he made to the Sultan regarding his own instructions could have been merely intended to create such an impression. If the fleet was not to defend the Sultan, it was sheer treachery and bad faith to inform him that the Ambassador had powers to place it in readiness to sail. Such a deceit was alien to the character of Stratford. From the date of Stratford's visit to the palace, England stood committed in honour to fulfil the expectation which her envoy had held out.

An effort was made by the Central Powers to avert the danger of war. The representatives of England, France, Austria-Hungary and Prussia met at Vienna in July and agreed upon a Note which was intended to satisfy both Russia and Turkey. The Note was accepted by Russia, although not in the sense intended by the mediators. Turkey refused to accept it unless certain amendments were made in it. Turkey was not prepared to recognise the general right of Russia to interfere in her affairs.



he did so successfully. Palmerston guided the destinies of the country during the rest of the Crimean War. He was backed in his work by a strong public opinion.

Palmerston reorganised the War Office at home. There was a lot of overlapping and confusion. "The soldier was fed by the Treasury and armed by the Ordnance Board, the Home Secretary was responsible for his movements in his native country, the Colonial Secretary superintended his movement abroad, the Secre-



Lord Palmerston

tary of War look care that he was paid and was responsible for the lawful administration of the flogging which was provided for him by the Commander-in-Chief." Palmerston simplified the administration and concentrated practically all the powers in the hands of the War Office.

Although the siege of Sebastopole was progressing, there was no satisfactory progress. The ranks of the armies were being thinned by disease. The effects of the vigorous policy of Palmerston became visible after the lapse of some time.

Peace negotiations had been started in Vienna. The Allied Powers and Austria presented "Four Points" to the Russian Government on the basis of which peace negotiations could be carried on. Russia was to give up control over Moldavia, Wallachia and Serbia. The navigation of the Danube was to be free. Russian preponderance over the Black Sea was to be ended. Russia was to give up



her claim to control the Christian subjects of the Porte. Palmerston sent Lord John to take part in the negotiation in Vienna.

In the meanwhile two important events took place. One was that Sardinia joined the Allies on 26th January 1855. Cavour did so with a view to winning friends who could help him to end the Austrian control in Italy. By April 1855, 18,000 Italian soldiers were on their way to the Crimea. The second event was the death of Nicholas I who was unquestionably the prime author of war. It was hoped that the accession of the new ruler might improve matters, but the behaviour of the new Czar was not helpful.

As regards the Paris Conference, Russia agreed three points, but she was reluctant to accept the fourth point which would have weakened her influence in the Black Sea. Palmerston was determined to liquidate the influence of Russia in the Black Sea. Lord John the French Ambassador and Austria did not see eye to eye with Palmerston. The insistence of Palmerston was responsible for the break-up of the Vienna Conference. Although peace was not made at Vienna, the end of the war was in sight. The Russians had been weakened and their loss was terrible. In spite of that, the war dragged on for a year. Sebastopol fell in September 1855 and Kars in November 1855. Peace negotiations started in Paris and the *Treaty of Paris* was signed in 1856. By this Treaty, the Black Sea was absolutely neutralised. It was opened to all nations for commercial purposes. Even Turkey and Russia could not keep their warships in the Black Sea. The Danube was internationalised. Russian Protectorate over the Danubian Principalities was abolished. These principalities were to be independent. However, they were to accept the normal sovereignty of the Sultan. Turkey was included in the concert of the European Powers. The Turkish Sultan promised to treat the Christian subjects in a humane manner.

**Results of the Crimean War.** The Crimean War had far-reaching effects on the politics of Europe. A check was put on the Russian influence in the Balkans and the Black Sea. She was kept back from the Danube by the giving of Bessarabia to Moldavia. Her military strength in the Black Sea was completely finished for years to come. The creation of two autonomous States of Moldavia and Wallachia put a barrier between Russia and Turkey. Turkey was the greatest gainer by the war. She got a new lease of life under the protection of European Powers. Her territorial integrity was guaranteed and she was admitted into the concert of Europe from which she had been previously excluded. In this way, she got some prestige also. It appeared that the sick man of Europe was put on her legs again. However, experience showed that all the sacrifices made during the war were not worthwhile. Russia violated in 1870 the Black Sea clauses of the Treaty of Paris. By the Treaty of San Stefano of 1871, Russia was able to wipe out completely the humiliation of the Crimean War by recovering Bessarabia. All hopes of Turkey reforming herself had to be given up and the territorial integrity of Turkey became a diplomatic fiction. Turkey did not show any signs of improvement.



It is pointed out that the Crimean War was an important chapter in the Eastern Question and the prelude to the most important political development of the 19th century. The war had many important indirect effects. "*Out of the mud of Crimea, a new Italy was made and less obviously, a new Germany.*" Cavour, the Prime Minister of Piedmont Sardinia, had sent his troops to the Crimea and after the defeat of Russia, he was allowed to participate in the deliberations of the statesmen in the Congress of Paris in 1856. He raised the question of Austrian rule in Italy and thereby enlisted the sympathy of the Great Powers. He also won over Napoleon III to the cause of Italian independence. The Crimean War also affected the fortunes of Austria-Hungary—Russia and Austria had been friends for a long time and that was the cornerstone of the policy of Metternich. It was on account of that friendship that Russia came to the help of Austria in 1849 when the Hungarian revolt was crushed with the help of Russian troops. However, that friendship was ended by the Crimean War. Russia resented the hostile neutrality of Austria during the Crimean War and the old ties of friendship were broken. Bismarck took advantage of the cold relations between Russia and Austria and cultivated the friendship of Russia. Particularly on the occasion of the Polish revolt of 1863, Russia was won over by Bismarck by positive help against the Poles. The result was that when the war broke out between Austria and Prussia in 1866, Russia remained neutral and Austria had to fight single-handed. Undoubtedly, this was an indirect effect of the Crimean War.

According to Seaman, "The most important clauses of the Treaty of Paris were thus secret ones, unguessed at by the signatories. They provided free and unfettered opportunity for the destruction of Austrian power in Germany and Italy to those who had the courage to act upon them. Bismarck and Cavour were the chief beneficiaries of the Crimean War, and without it there might have been neither a Kingdom of Italy nor a German Empire. Not 1848, but the Peace of Paris, ends the Metternich era, for only with the Crimean War do those political upheavals become possible which Metternich had so long hoped to postpone."

Another indirect effect of the Crimean War was that Czar Alexander II was forced to carry out a large number of reforms in Russia with a view to winning over the people. The most important reform was the emancipation of the serfs. Moreover, as the Russian expansion was checked on the European side, its activity was transferred towards Central Asia and the result was that the Government of India had to face a headache on account of the growing influence of Russia.

It is to be observed that between 1856 and 1878, many violations of the settlement of 1856 took place from time to time. Moldavia and Wallachia were created into autonomous principalities by the Treaty of Paris. However, the people of these principalities came from the same stock and spoke the same language. Both of them called themselves Rumanians. There was a strong desire



among them to be united under one government. In 1859, the people of both the principalities elected the same person as their ruler. England, Austria and Turkey opposed the union of Rumania as it was in violation of the Treaty of Paris. However, Napoleon III was sympathetic towards the nationalist aspirations of the Rumanians and he was able to persuade the Powers to allow the union of Wallachia and Moldavia. Thus, the kingdom of Rumania came into existence.

With the help of England and Austria, Serbia was able to secure in 1867 the evacuation of her fortresses by the Turkish garrisons. In this way, Serbia became practically independent of Turkey.

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According to Grant and Temperley, "The Crimean War occupies a peculiar place in the history of Europe in the nineteenth century. The military methods resemble rather those of the Napoleonic age than of the period soon to be opened by Moltke and the military system of Prussia. Steam vessels were used, but their full importance was not appreciated. The telegraph had been brought to Vienna, but Constantinople and the Crimea were still beyond its reach. All that concerned the feeding and the sanitation of the armies was almost medieval in character. It was the last war on a large scale to be fought without the help of the modern resources of science. And if its methods and instruments are strange to the modern student, its aims and its diplomacy seem still more so. Ecclesiastical questions that might belong to the time of the Crusades play a part in the causes of the war. The victors in the struggle gained little if anything from it. The integrity of Turkey was in fact not maintained. The advance of Russia was not permanently checked. In the Great War of 1914 France and Britain spent many thousands of lives and many millions of money in the effort to undo some of the consequences of their victory in the Crimean War, which had been won with so much loss of blood and treasure. Yet the war is in many ways very interesting. It provides us especially with a singularly instructive illustration of the way in which wars are brought about and the procedure of some of the actors in the story is seen without the concealment and the allegation of false motives behind which diplomatists have usually liked to work."

According to Prof. Taylor, "The Congress of Paris proved a disappointment of nearly all who attended it: only the Prussians, who came late and expected nothing, had their hopes fulfilled. The British were sharply aware that they had not got their way; in fact they exaggerated the case with which Russia would recover from



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her defeat. Cavour is often made out to have scored a triumph at the Congress ; but short of being excluded, he could hardly have done worse. He got none of the concessions which even he had originally regarded as essential in return for taking part in the war. Nothing was changed in Italy. Austria was not, to all appearance, estranged from the Western Powers ; Sardinia was not treated as a Great Power and was not even given the chance of adhering to the treaty of guarantee of April 15. It is true that Sardinia's military assistance had won British gratitude ; and during the Congress when the British were still full of fight, both Clarendon and Palmerston talked of supporting Sardinia in the coming war against Austria." (*The Struggle for Mastery in Europe*, p. 88)

**Bulgarian Atrocities.** There was a lot of restlessness and discontentment among the Christians of the Balkans. There was a

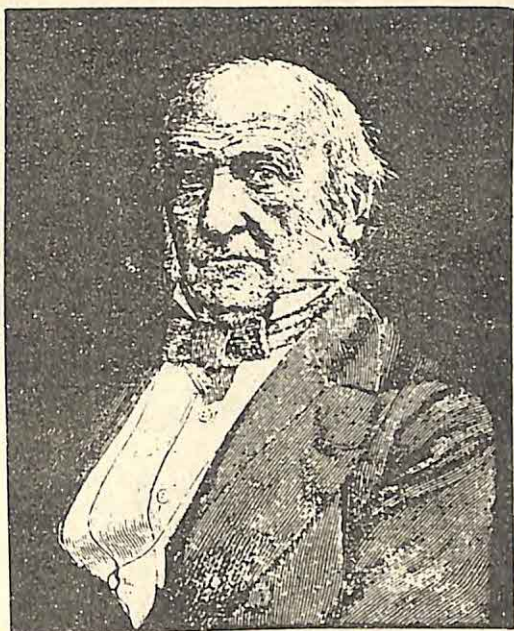


Disraeli

strong Pan-Slav movement in the Balkans and that was encouraged by Russia. Austria-Hungary also began to aspire to expand to the Aegean Sea. A conflict between Russia and Austria became inevitable. The Sultan did not carry out his promises of reforms in the interests of his Christian subjects. Oppression of the Turks on their Christian subjects increased. The result was that in 1875, the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina revolted. They were helped by the people of Serbia and Montenegro. The movement began to spread and there was the danger of a general conflagration. With a view to localizing the conflict, the European Powers presented to the Sultan what is known as the *Andrassy Note* in which the Turkish rule in the Balkans was condemned and its shortcomings were pointed out. The Sultan promised to make reforms. However, the Christian rebels of the Balkans did not attach any importance to the promises made by the Sultan and demanded some positive guarantee to carry out those promises. At this time, the people of Bulgaria also joined the struggle against Turkey. The situation became dangerous and consequently the Powers presented to the Sultan what is known as the *Berlin*



*Memorandum.* The Sultan was asked to make certain definite concessions and was threatened with armed intervention if he failed to do so. The Sultan did not care for the protests of the European Powers on account of the indifferent attitude of Great Britain. The Turks tried to crush the rising of the Bulgarians by wholesale massacres. When the Baring Report of the atrocities committed by the Turks on the people of Bulgaria reached England, public opinion was aroused against the Turks. The eloquence of Gladstone added to their sympathy. Gladstone appealed to Disraeli, the Prime Minister of England at that time, to interfere in the Balkans and turn out the Turks "bag and baggage from the province they have desolated and profaned." However, Disraeli



Gladstone

refused to act. He regarded the whole affair as a "coffee-house bubble." According to Crutwell, "No question of foreign policy has so aroused or bitterly divided the British public opinion within the living memory." Although Great Britain refused to intervene on behalf of the oppressed Christians of the Balkans, Russia came to their help. She could not sit quiet while her co-religionists were being persecuted. She declared war against Turkey in 1877 and she was assisted by Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania and Bulgaria. The Turks put up a stiff resistance at Plevna which was defended by Osman Pasha with great heroism. However, after the fall of Plevna, Turkish resistance collapsed and Russia occupied Adrianople and marched on Constantinople. Turkey submitted and signed the Treaty of San Stefano in 1878.

**Treaty of San Stefano (1878).** By the Treaty of San Stefano, the Sultan recognized the complete independence of Serbia, Montenegro and Rumania with increased territories. An autonomous tributary principality of Bulgaria was to be created, bounded by the Danube, the Black Sea, the Aegean and Albania. Sweeping reforms were to be carried out in Herzegovina and Bosnia in favour of the Christians. The straits of Bosphorus and Dardanelles were to be opened at all times to peaceful commerce. The Turkish forts along the Danube were to be destroyed. Russia was to get a part of Armenia, a strip of Dobrudja which she intended to exchange with Bessarabia from Rumania and Ardahan, Kars, Botoum and



Bayazid. She was also to get a large war-indemnity. Certain reforms were also to be carried out by the Sultan in Armenia.

As to be expected, the Treaty of San Stefano was opposed by Great Britain and Austria-Hungary. Austria-Hungary was determined to extend her influence to the Aegean Sea and occupy a dominating position in the Balkans. Likewise, Disraeli was determined to check the spread of Russian influence in the Balkans. He was convinced that the security of the sea-route to India through the Mediterranean demanded a strong Turkey. Under the circumstances, there was correspondence between Great Britain and Austria-Hungary, and both of them agreed to present a united front to Russia. The ground having been prepared, Disraeli demanded from Russia that as the Treaty of San Stefano upset the settlement of 1856 which was made by European Powers, it must be submitted to a Congress of European statesmen. To begin with, Russia was not in a mood to submit and Disraeli ordered the Indian troops to proceed to Malta. The British fleet was ordered to be in readiness for action. There was talk of war everywhere. Queen Victoria could not understand the attitude of Disraeli who seemed to be very serious about war. The following song was sung everywhere in England :

*"We do not want to fight,  
But by Jingo if we do,  
We've got the men, we've got the ships,  
We've got the money too."*

When Russia was convinced that a war was imminent, she agreed to the Austro-British proposal. The Congress met at Berlin under the presidentship of Bismarck who offered to play the role of an "honest broker". Disraeli and Salisbury represented Great Britain, Gortschakoff represented Russia, Wadington represented France, Andrassy represented Austria and Italy was represented by Corti.

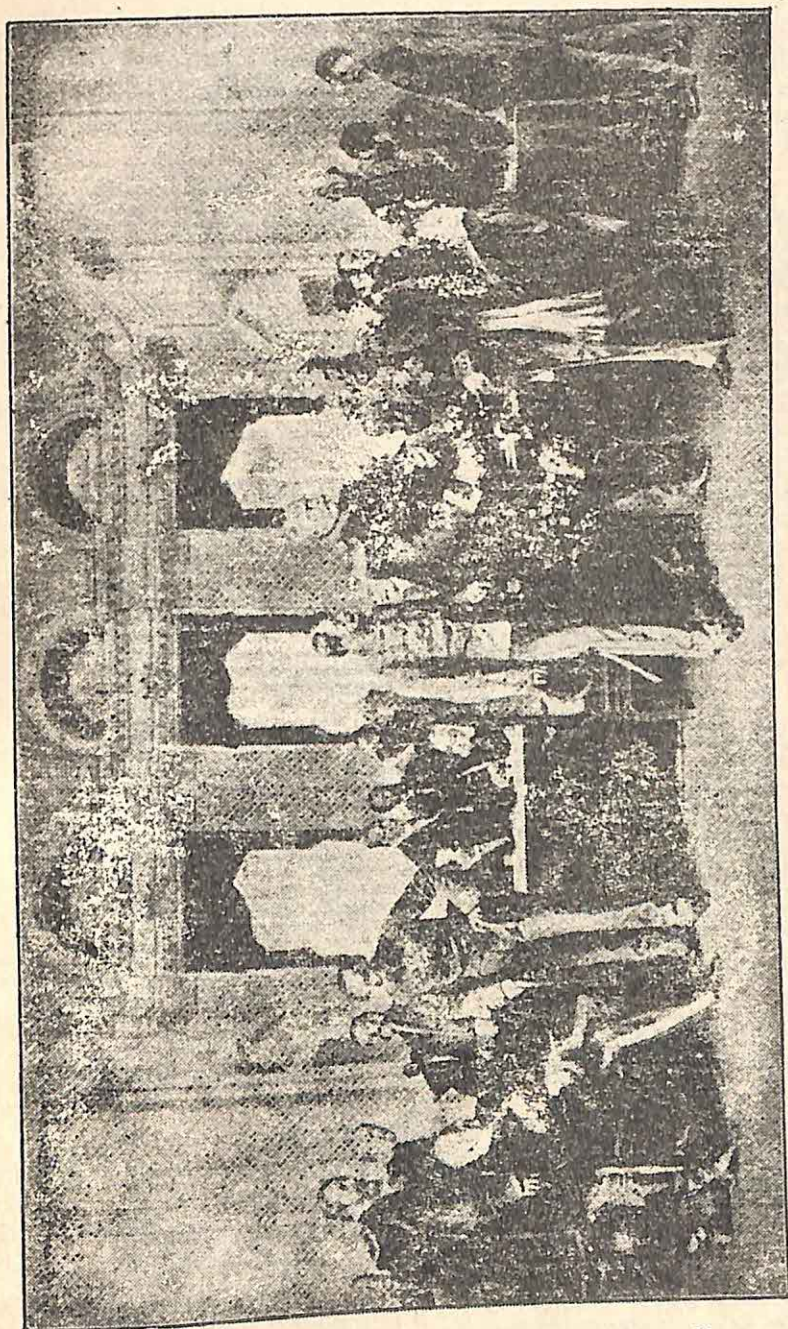
**Terms of the Berlin Settlement (1878).** (1) In accordance with the preliminary agreement, Big Bulgaria was divided into two parts : Eastern Roumelia and Bulgaria ; Eastern Roumelia was given back to Turkey. Russia gave up Bayazid but kept Kars, Ardahan and Batoum. Great Britain got Cyprus. Bulgaria lost 2,500,000 of her population and 30,000 square miles of her territory. She also lost an outlet to the Aegean. Bulgaria was to be administered by Russia for nine months and afterwards was to be an autonomous and tributary principality under the suzerainty of the Sultan. Its prince was to be elected by the people, confirmed by the Sultan and approved of by the Powers. No member of the reigning European family was to be elected as the ruler of Bulgaria.

(2) In Cyprus, Great Britain got "a place of arms" which was intended to enable her more easily to check Russian extension in Asia Minor and to defend the Suez Canal. Great Britain assumed moral responsibility for the protection and reform of Armenia and Turkey promised to do the same.

(3) Austria got the right to occupy and administer Bosnia and Herzegovina which remained nominally under the suzerainty of Turkey and to maintain garrisons in the Sanjak of Novi-Baz.



It was in 1908 that both Bosnia and Herzegovina were annexed by Austria.



Congress of Berlin

(4) The independence of Serbia was recognised. She got Nish and some Bulgarian territory and these additions represented a quarter of her former territory. She was unhappy because Austria was given control over the Sanjak of Novi-Bazar.



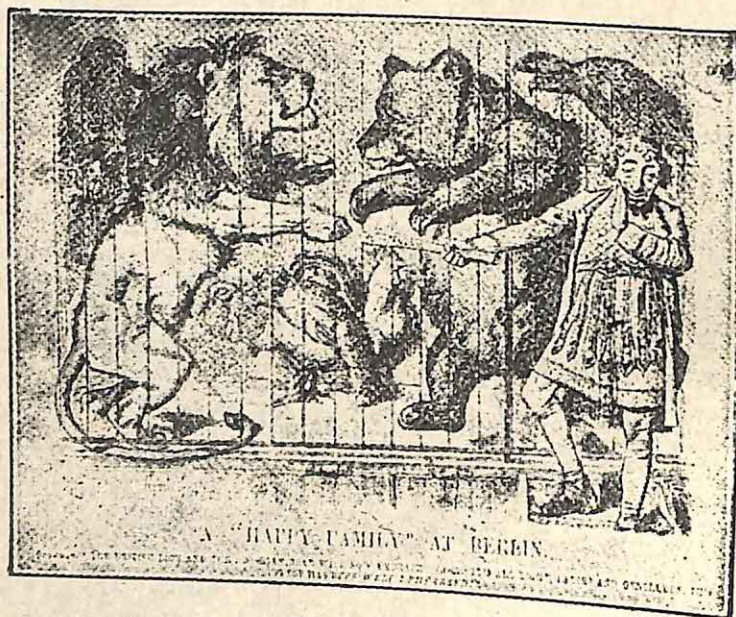
(5) The independence of Montenegro which she had enjoyed practically for many years, was formally recognised. She got a port on the Adriatic.

(6) Rumania was recognised as independent but she was compelled to give Southern Bessarabia to Russia in exchange for Dobruja. She also got some Bulgarian territory adjoining the Dobrudja. She promised to give political equality to her Jewish subjects.

(7) Greece asked for Crete, Epirus, Thessaly and Albania, but she got nothing. The Sultan did not care for a recommendation of the Congress that he should rectify the northern frontier of Greece.

(8) Turkey guaranteed full religious liberty to all her subjects. She promised to introduce reforms in Crete, Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia and Albania.

**Criticism of the Settlement.** Critics point out that the Congress of Berlin was little more than a Court of Registration. It



Treaty of Berlin

merely put in black and white the agreement which had already taken place before the meeting of the Congress at Berlin. However, the Congress of Berlin upset the settlement of the Treaty of San Stefano.

Russia lost important advantages which she had secured by the Treaty of San Stefano and her influence in the Balkans was weakened. After a costly war, Russia was deprived of the fruits of her victory by Great Britain and Austria with the connivance of Germany.



It was thought that a big Bulgaria would be under the influence of Russia and the separation of Eastern Roumelia and Macedonia would enable Turkey to defend easily the approaches to Adrianople and Constantinople.

Rumania bitterly resented the ingratitude of Russia and was driven to rely upon Austria and the Triple Alliance instead of Russia. Serbia complained that Russia had failed to support her in her attempt to maintain Slav cause. That is why she made a secret treaty with Austria in 1881.

Beaconsfield inflicted a serious check on Russia in Europe, but one of the defects of the Treaty of Berlin was that Russian activity was transferred from the Bosphorus to the frontiers of India and Afghanistan. That added to the worries of the Government of India and the British Government. Lord Salisbury's view was that in the Congress of Berlin, Great Britain "backed the wrong horse".

The conduct of Bismarck during the Congress of Berlin alienated Russia from Germany. The result was that there was a demand in Russia for a war with Germany. The bitter Russian propaganda against Bismarck was one of the important causes which forced Bismarck to enter into the Austro-German alliance of 1879. This created a vicious circle of alliances which was ultimately responsible for the division of Europe into two armed camps.

The Pan-Slav movement received a serious check. The occupation of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Novi-Bazar by Austria stood in the way of the union of Serbia, Bosnia and Montenegro. Austria became "the sentinel of the Balkans and this enabled her to dominate the politics of the Balkans in the future."

Although Beaconsfield declared that he had brought peace with honour, it is pointed out that he brought neither peace to Europe nor honour to Great Britain. As a matter of fact, Cyprus did not prove to be of any military value to Great Britain and consequently was not developed. In 1886, Russia fortified Batoum. In 1896, there was a wholesale massacre of the people of Armenia. Great Britain could do nothing in spite of the fact that she had got a guarantee of reforms from Turkey. In 1885, Eastern Roumelia and Bulgaria were united as the people elected the same prince as their ruler.

The Turkish rule in Macedonia proved ineffective. That led to chronic unrest. In 1897, there took place a war between Turkey and Greece.

In spite of her promise, Rumania did not give political equality to the Jews.

Lord Salisbury made the following observations on the Treaty of Berlin: "Bulgaria is now confined to the river barrier of the Danube and consequently has not only ceased to possess a harbour on the Archipelago but is removed by more than a 100 miles from the neighbourhood of that sea. On the Euxine the important port of Bourgas has been restored to the Government of Turkey; and Bulgaria retains less than half the sea-board originally assigned to it and possesses no other port except the roadstead of Varna which



can hardly be used for any but commercial purposes. The replacement under Turkish rule of Bourgas and the southern half of the sea-board on the Euxine, and the strictly commercial character assigned to Batoum, have largely obviated the menace to the liberty of the Black Sea. The political outposts of Russian power have been pushed back to the region beyond the Balkans; the Sultan's dominions have been provided with a defensible frontier."

The contention of the British Government was that while Russia had acquired a new dependency by the Treaty of San Stefano, Great Britain by the Treaty of Berlin, baffled that plan and restored to Turkey an effective military hold over all the countries south of the Balkans. However, according to Fyffe, "If history taught anything in the solution of the Eastern Question, it taught that the effort to reserve for the Sultan a military existence in countries which had passed from under his general control was futile, and that the best barrier against Russian influence was to be found not in the division but in the strengthening and consolidation of the States rescued from Ottoman dominions." Again, "Lord Beaconsfield's ideas, purposes and anticipations, in so far as they related to Eastern Europe, have hitherto been contradicted by events. What happened in Greece, Serbia and Rumania has happened in Bulgaria. Experience, thrown to the winds by English ministers in 1878, has justified those who listened to its voice. There exists no such thing as a Turkish fortress in the Balkans; Bourgas no more belongs to the Sultan than Athens or Belgrade; no Turkish soldier has been able to set foot within the territory whose very name, Eastern Roumelia, was to stamp it as Turkish dominion. National independence, a living force in Greece, in Servia, in Rumania has proved its power in Bulgaria too. The efforts of Russia to establish its influence over a people liberated by its arms have been repelled with unexpected firmness. Like the divided members of Rumania, the divided members of Bulgaria have effected their union."

It is pointed out that the enduring significance of the Treaty of Berlin is to be found in the new nations which were arising upon the ruins of the Turkish Empire. Pan-Slavism had failed to solve the problems of the Balkans, but nationalism which involved important modifications of the Treaty of Berlin proved more successful. "The history of the last 50 years in South-eastern Europe is to a great extent the history of the disentanglement of the Slavonic races from the Greeks and Turks, and this is now succeeding the disentanglement of the Slavonic races from one another." Rumania became a kingdom in 1881, Serbia in 1882. In 1908, Ferdinand was proclaimed the Czar of Bulgaria and in 1910 Nicholas became the first King of Montenegro. This proved the truth of Gladstone's assertion: "You want to place a living barrier between Russia and Turkey. There is no barrier like the breasts of free men."

According to Taylor, "The Congress of Berlin made a watershed in the history of Europe. It had been preceded by thirty years of conflict and upheaval; it was followed by thirty-four years of peace. No European frontier was changed until 1913, not a shot was fired



in European until 1912, except in two trivial wars that miscarried. It would not do to attribute this great achievement solely, or even principally, to the skill of European statesmen. The decisive cause was, no doubt, economic. The secret that had made Great Britain great was a secret to longer. Coal and steel offered prosperity to all Europe and remade European civilization. The dream of Cobden seemed to have come true. Men were too busy growing rich to have time for war. Though protective tariffs remained everywhere except in Great Britain, international trade was otherwise free. There was no governmental interference, no danger of debts being repudiated. The gold standard was universal. Passports disappeared, except in Russia and Turkey. If a man in London decided at nine o'clock in the morning to go to Rome or Vienna, he could leave at 10 a.m. without either passport or travellers' cheques—merely with a purse of sovereigns in his pocket. Europe had never known such peace and unity since the age of the Antonines. The times of Metternich were nothing in comparison. Then men had lived in well-founded apprehension of war and revolution; now they came to believe that peace and security were 'normal', and anything else an accident and an aberration. For centuries to come men will look back at that age of bliss and will puzzle over the effortless ease with which it was accomplished. They are not likely to discover the secret; they will certainly not be able to imitate it." (*The Struggle for Mastery in Europe*, pp. 255-56)

According to Thomson, "The settlement reached at the Congress of Berlin had the remarkable outcome that it left each power dissatisfied and more anxious than before. It was a defeat for Russian prestige, Britain had sent a fleet through the Dardanelles in 1878 as a reminder of her interest in Turkey, and the crumbling of Turkey now left Russia face to face with Britain in the Near East. Austria-Hungary, too, had patently failed if her real interest lay in keeping the Ottoman Empire strong; as also had Disraeli, despite his boast of 'peace with honour' and the acquisition of Cyprus. In general Britain, however, had asserted and reinforced her naval supremacy in the eastern Mediterranean and the Straits, and France had opened new doors for her diplomacy of recovery and her future policy of colonialism. Territorial gains, such as Russia's recovery of Bessarabia and Austria's occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, were of little profit if the legacy of enflamed frustrated Balkan nationalism was to continue to embroil all the powers in future crises and wars. International tension was increased, not eased, by the events of these years. The new balance of powers, now clearly centred on Germany, was desired to preserve the peace for another whole generation. But it was doomed to be a most uneasy and unstable peace, subject to recurrent crises and threats of war. The next general European Congress met forty years later not in Berlin but in Paris—and at it were to be no representatives of the *Dreikaiserbund*." (*Europe Since Napoleon*, pp. 432-3)

According to Sir J.A.R. Marriott, "Lord Beaconsfield's claim that he had brought back to England 'peace with honour', though



conceded by the mass of his fellow-countrymen evoked some derision among them. His statements that he had 'consolidated' the Ottoman Empire was received with polite scepticism both at home and abroad, a scepticism to some extent justified by the Cyprus Convention, to say nothing of the cession of Bosnia and Herzegovina. With some inconsistency, however, he was simultaneously assailed for having replaced under the withering tyranny of the Sultan a Christian population which Russia had emancipated. The charge is, on the face of it, difficult to rebut. But it does not lie in the mouths of the Philhellenists and Philo-Serbs to make it. Had the Treaty of San Stefano been permitted to stand, the ambitions both of Serbia and Greece would have been seriously circumscribed. It was not, indeed, of Serbia or Greece, still less of Rumania, that Lord Beaconsfield was thinking at Berlin. The motive of his policy was that which had inspired Lord Palmerston and Mr. Canning. He definitely repudiated the claim of Russia to dictate by her slow voice and in her own interests the solution of a secular problem."

According to Grant and Temperley, "The Congress was thus over and the Great Powers and pacified. Queen Victoria offered Disraeli a dukedom, and gave Garters both to him and to Salisbury, amid the enthusiasm which the careful stage management had evoked and which the phrase '*Peace with Honour*' embodied. It would be wrong to deny that Disraeli had shown great courage at the crises, but courage in diplomacy should be accompanied by knowledge, and in this Disraeli was poorly provided, and he did not try to obtain it from the more instructed Lord Salisbury. He seems to have had no belief in the strength of nascent nationality in the Balkan peninsula and no idea of resisting Russia except by military force. His belief in the virtues of Abdul Hamid and the Turkish desire to protect and ameliorate the condition of their Christian subjects whether in Europe or Asia was woefully mistaken. His policy in Asia speedily came to nought. The despatch of British military consuls to Armenia to arrange for its defence against Russia proved useless."

According to Seton-Watson, "The true significance of 1878 lies in the fact that Bismark made Andrassy his colleague and Disraeli his tool, and that he finally won and dominated Austria-Hungary without at the same time offending Russia". (*The Rise of Nationality in the Balkans*, p. 115)

It is pointed out that out of Disraeli's policy at the Congress of Berlin arose most of the causes of the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 and the World War I. Disraeli remarked with pride that "there is again a Turkey in Europe." He claimed credit for having saved Turkey from disintegration. However, it is pointed out that although Turkey recovered some territory and population which she had lost by the Treaty of San Stefano, yet she was mutilated beyond revival. All that Disraeli was able to accomplish was that he prolonged the process of the extinction of Turkey. The curtailment of Bulgaria cost the war of 1913 and the restoration of Macedonia cost the Balkan War of 1912.

It is also pointed out that by ousting Russia from the Balkans,



Disraeli introduced Austria-Hungary into the same area. Austria-Hungary was given the right to occupy and administer Bosnia, Herzegovina and the Sanjak of Novi-Bazar. The result was that the ambitions of Austria-Hungary began to grow in the Balkans and she began to dream in terms of dominating the Adriatic Sea and the Aegean Sea. There started a bitter rivalry between Serbia and Russia on the one hand and Austria-Hungary on the other. That was hardly in the interests of peace in the Balkans and that was one of the important causes of the World War I.

Turkey was also not satisfied with the settlement. She protested that her self-styled friends had become robbers. She did not like the proclamation of the independence of Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania and Bulgaria. She resented the giving of Bosnia, Herzegovina and the Sanjak of Novi-Bazar to Austria-Hungary and Cyprus to England. It was pointed out that Disraeli's "peace with honour" should be read as "peace together with the Island of Cyprus and a check, in British interests, to the ambitions of Russia."

It cannot be denied that the Settlement of Berlin did not solve the Eastern Question. There were so many conflicting interests in the Balkans that it was out of question to find a satisfactory solution for all of them. As a matter of fact, the Eastern Question was not tackled even when the World War I broke out in 1914.

**The Eastern Question from 1878 to 1908.** Reference may be made at this stage to the various developments which took place in the Balkans from 1878 to 1908. The countries concerned were Bulgaria, Armenia, Greece, Rumania, Montenegro, Serbia, Germany, and Turkey.

**Bulgaria.** The Bulgarian problem was created by the Congress of Berlin. While the Treaty of San Stefano had created a big Bulgaria, the Congress of Berlin separated Eastern Roumelia from Bulgaria and thereby the germs of future trouble were sown.

In 1879, Prince Alexander of Battenberg was elected the King of Bulgaria and he occupied that position up to 1886. "He was described as a wise statesman, a proved soldier and a remarkable man in every respect." He was only 21 at the time of his accession. He was pro-Russian and he had fought in the Russo-Turkish war on the side of Russia. He was the choice of the Czar who was his uncle by marriage. He took his oath to the Constitution in the uniform of a Russian general. The Czar addressed thus to a deputation from Bulgaria: "Accept your prince from my hands, love him as I love him."

It is true that Prince Alexander was friendly inclined towards Russia, but the trouble arose when Russia tried to interfere too much in the affairs of Bulgaria which was turned into a Russian province. Things became worse after the death of Alexander II and the accession of Alexander III in 1881. Russian generals were appointed to the Departments of the Interior, War and Justice. Bulgaria was flooded with Russians. Prince Alexander did not like to hear from the Russian officials that they got their orders from the Czar and not from him. As he complained against Russian interference the Czar began to hate the prince. This estrangement continued till 1885 when a crisis was precipitated.



To begin with, the attitude of Russia towards Eastern Roumelia was one of sympathy and she was in favour of her union with Bulgaria. The Czar sent a general to advise the people of Eastern Roumelia to submit to the separation for the time being. His message was in these words : "Russia had done what she could to help you. She is not responsible for your severance from Bulgaria. Accept these rifles, learn how to use them and later on help yourselves." However, this sympathetic attitude underwent a change after 1885

Prince Alexander was invited by the Austrian Foreign Minister in 1885 to attend the military manoeuvres and on that occasion Giers, the Foreign Minister of Russia, was also invited. Prince Alexander met Giers and assured him that there would be no trouble with regard to Eastern Roumelia for some time to come and the *status quo* would be maintained. Unfortunately, without the knowledge of Prince Alexander a meeting of the patriots of Eastern Roumelia had already taken place and it was decided to unite Eastern Roumelia with Bulgaria. On his return from Austria, Prince Alexander was informed of the decision. Naturally, he hesitated. He did not like to go back on his promise to the Russian Foreign Minister that the *status quo* would be maintained in the Balkans. However, he was told that the country was tired of separation and either he should agree to the union or he would be set aside. The prince did not care for the threat. However, on the appointed day, a revolution did take place at Philippopolis, the capital of Eastern Roumelia. The people revolted and the Crown was offered to Prince Alexander. In spite of hesitation, he accepted the Crown under pressure.

Turkey might have been expected to take action against Bulgaria because Eastern Roumelia was a part of Turkish Empire. However, Sultan Abdul Hamid hesitated to take action and kept quiet. But, in spite of its expression of goodwill and friendship, Russia did not approve of the action of Prince Alexander and she decided to oppose the union at all costs. The Russian officers were withdrawn from Bulgaria.

Queen Victoria had taken a fancy to Prince Alexander and she favoured the union. Lord Salisbury was also favourably inclined. The attitude of Austria was also sympathetic. However, Bismarck decided to support Russia on the question of Bulgaria. He declared "In Bulgaria I am Russia." Bismarck's view was that the Congress of Berlin had earmarked Bulgaria as within the sphere of influence of Russia.

On February 1, 1886, Turkey recognised Prince Alexander as Governor-General of Eastern Roumelia for 5 years. However, Russia opposed it and she was supported by Bismarck. The result was decided that "the Prince of Bulgaria was to be the Governor of Eastern Roumelia." Even this did not satisfy Russia. The Russian agents continued intrigues and some discontented officials entered the palace and kidnapped Prince Alexander. At this time, Queen Victoria wrote thus : "Words fail me to express my feelings. Your



parents could hardly be more anxious. My indignation against your barbarian, Asiatic, tyrannical cousin is so great that I cannot trust myself to write about it." A provisional government was set up at Sofia under Stambolov, but it lasted only for 3 days. The Prince was requested to come back and he accepted the invitation. As soon as he reached the country he was informed by Russian Consul that Bulgaria's welfare could only be found in reconciliation with Russia. The Prince ought to have delayed a reply till he reached the capital. Unfortunately, he was tired of the hostility of the Czar and he committed the blunder of his life and sent the following telegram to the Czar: "Russia gave me my Crown and I am ready to return it into the hands of her sovereign." Russia and Germany were happy over the abdication but Queen Victoria and the Bulgarians were disappointed.

Although Prince Alexander was eliminated in 1886, the Bulgarian problem was not solved and the worst was still to come. The Great Powers were drawn into the controversy. On account of her alliance of 1879 with Germany, Austria felt that she was very near the country and consequently Germany was bound to help her on every issue. However, in the case of Bulgaria, the interests of Russia and Austria clashed as both the Powers wanted to increase their control and influence in the Balkans. The position of Bismarck became difficult as he had to keep friendly relations with both the powers. His position was described in these words by the German Emperor: "You are like a rider who tosses five balls in the air and catches them every time. Bismarck evolved a formula according to which he was ordinarily to help Austria but in the case of Bulgaria he was to support Russia. Bismarck was still convinced that the Eastern Question was not worth the bones of a Pomeranian grenadier and consequently was prepared to allow Russia a free hand in Balkans. From the beginning of the crisis, Bismarck warned Austria not to do anything which was liable to provoke Russia and also to observe the letter and spirit of the *Dreikaiserbund* of 1881. He proposed that Austria and Russia should divide the Balkans into eastern and western zones of influence. The suggestion was accepted by Russia but rejected by Austria as the latter was determined to exclude Russia altogether from the Balkans. Austria was determined to offer resistance if Russia tried to occupy Bulgaria.

Austria did not seem to approve of the *carte blanche* given by Bismarck to Russia. The feeling in Austria was very strong on the question of Bulgaria. The view of Andrassy was that Russia should not be allowed to dominate Bulgaria from which she had been eliminated by the Congress of Berlin. He considered the Dual Alliance of 1879 as sufficient and was not in favour of continuing the *Dreikaiserbund* (Three Emperors' League) of 1881. Other Austrian politicians also maintained that the alliance with Germany was useless if Austria had to yield to Russia. The result was that Bismarck informed Russia that although he would not oppose the occupation of Bulgaria by Russia, yet he advised her not to provoke Austria.

The throne of Bulgaria was offered to many princes but they all refused. Ultimately, in 1887 Prince Ferdinand of Saxe Coburg



Gotha was elected the King of Bulgaria and he continued to rule up to 1918. The Czar proposed to the Powers to eject the Prince and appoint a Russian general as the Governor of the two Bulgarias. Bismarck cut off diplomatic relations with Bulgaria. However, the British Government warned Russia that she would not like the intervention of Russia in Bulgaria. The British point of view was explained in these words by Lord Salisbury in December 1885: "A Bulgaria friendly to the Porte and jealous of foreign influence, would be a far surer bulwark against foreign aggression than two Bulgarias severed in administration but united in considering the Porte as the only obstacle to their national development". The attitude of the Italian Government was also sympathetic towards Bulgaria. Italy was prepared to recognise Ferdinand instead of ousting him as desired by Russia. Austria was prepared to go to the extent of fighting with Russia on the question of Bulgaria. There was a lot of excitement in both Russia and Austria and the presses in both the countries condemned each other. Even the Foreign Ministers of the two countries joined the chorus. Ultimately the Czar made a final attempt to solve the Bulgarian problem in a Russian way. He proposed that Ferdinand must withdraw, Bulgaria should choose another ruler and in that case Russia would not interfere. Russia was supported by Germany and France but she was opposed by Austria and the other Powers. At this time, Turkey declared the title of Ferdinand as illegal but in spite of this declaration neither Turkey nor Russia took any action against Bulgaria. The result was that Ferdinand continued on the throne of Bulgaria and although Russia was supported by Germany, yet she failed in Bulgaria. However, the one great achievement of Bismarck's support of Russia in Bulgaria was that a war between Austria and Russia was avoided. He was able to put a check on both the Powers and thereby was able to avoid a clash. That was no mean achievement.

A reference may be made in this connection to the question of the marriage of prince Alexander with the grand-daughter of Emperor William I. The princess who was the grand-daughter of Queen Victoria, had taken a fancy to Prince Alexander and the match was approved of by Queen Victoria and the father of the girl. However, Bismarck opposed the marriage on account of the possibility of Russia being annoyed. In 1884, he told the Prince bluntly: "The marriage is impossible and so long as I am Chancellor it will not take place. Germany has no interest in Bulgaria. Our interest is peace with Russia. Now you are Bulgarian, you must submit to Russia." The question of the marriage of Prince Alexander was revived once again in 1888 but even then Bismarck opposed it and was prepared to resign on that issue. He believed that there was still a possibility of the Prince being invited to return to Sofia and in any case the Czar might start distrusting Germany on account of the association of Prince Alexander with the royal family. He wrote thus to Emperor Frederick, the father of the girl: "The foreign policy of the German Empire since 1871 has been the maintenance of peace and the prevention of anti-German coalitions and the pivot of this policy is Russia." It may be pointed out that ultimately Prince Alexander married an opera singer, but died in 1893.



As regards Prince Ferdinand, he continued to rule up to 1918. He was young and ambitious but in spite of that he did not take an active part in the affairs of the government which was carried on by Stambolov. In 1894, Stambolov resigned or was dismissed and Ferdinand became the real ruler of the country. He tried to establish friendly relations with Russia and his task was facilitated by the death of Alexander III in 1894 and the succession of Nicholas II. In 1896, Boris, the son and heir of Ferdinand, was baptized into the Orthodox faith. In 1898, both Ferdinand and his Queen went to Russia and thus the bitterness between the two countries was ended. Bulgaria continued to prosper under Ferdinand. In 1908 Prince Ferdinand declared himself as the King of Bulgaria. Bulgaria took part in the Balkan Wars of 1912-13.

**The Armenian Question.** The lot of the Christians of Armenia was unfortunate on account of the hostile attitude of the Turkish Government. By the Treaty of Berlin and the Cyprus Convention, the Sultan gave promises to the European Powers to give fair treatment to the Christians of Armenia. The promises were not fulfilled and the situation in Armenia deteriorated. On account of the interest of the European Powers in 1878, high hopes were raised among the Armenians and the Sultan was annoyed on account of the interest of the foreign powers in Armenia. The result was that Sultan Abdul Hamid decided to teach them a lesson. He knew full well that the European Powers were divided among themselves and would not be able to take action against him. The Sultan also detested the agitation among the Armenians and could not tolerate the idea of another independent State emerging out of the Turkish Empire. The policy towards the Armenians was described in these words by a Turkish statesman: "The only way to get rid of the Armenian question is to get rid of the Armenians." It was not difficult to find an excuse to crush the Armenians. In 1893, some Armenians offered resistance to the Turkish authorities and vengeance of the government started in 1894. Turkish soldiers were let loose on the Armenian Christians and horrible scenes were witnessed. This process continued throughout 1894 and 1895 and it is estimated that more than 50,000 Armenian Christians were disposed of. In August 1896, the Armenian Christians in Constantinople revolted and attacked the Turkish Bank in Galata. The result was that within 24 hours, more than 6,000 Armenians were mur-



Abdul Hamid II



dered in the streets of Constantinople. The European Powers did not help the Americans. As regards Russia, she did not like the revolutionary agitation among the Armenians and consequently did not help them. The Armenians were not Orthodox Christians and consequently Russia was not attracted towards them. There was no appeal of a common faith. Russia had also not forgotten the ingratitude of Bulgaria which had been liberated by her. She was not prepared to take the trouble of helping another State to become independent and then seeing her becoming ungrateful. Moreover, she was more busy in the Far East and was not in a mood to interfere in Turkey. Russia considered Armenia to be a hobby of England. As she was opposed to England, she did not help Armenia. Russian view was that as England had thwarted her in Bulgaria in 1878, she would thwart her in Armenia in 1896.

Germany also did not help Armenia as William II was following a policy of courting the friendship of Turkey. Austria-Hungary followed in the footsteps of Germany. France was angry with England on the question of Egypt and consequently refused to join hands with her on the question of Armenia. The net result was that England alone was in earnest to help the people of Armenia. She protested. She threatened. However, Sultan Abdul Hamid ignored these protests and threats. Gladstone branded Abdul Hamid as "the Great Assassin". Sir William Watson described him as "immortally, beyond all mortals damned." Although the people of England were indignant over the question of Armenia, Lord Salisbury was not prepared to provoke an European war on the question of Armenia. No wonder, the mutual jealousies of the Great Powers allowed the people of Armenia to be treated brutally. Lord Salisbury came to the conclusion that by helping Turkey, Great Britain had "put her money on the wrong horse".

**Greece.** After the recognition of the independence of Greece in 1829, the boundaries of the new kingdom were marked and in 1833 Prince Otto of Bavaria became the ruler of Greece. He continued to rule from 1833 to 1862. The country did not make much progress during his regime. There was administrative inefficiency, social disorder and financial bankruptcy. The condition of the people was so bad that there was a revolt in 1862 and the King was forced to abdicate.

A lot of difficulty had to be faced to secure another King for Greece. The throne was offered to Prince Alfred and Lord Stanley of England. Ultimately, it was accepted by Prince George of Denmark and he ruled as King George I from 1863 to 1913. In 1864, a new democratic constitutional government was established in the country. In spite of the difficulties in the way of the working of the parliamentary institutions in the country, the country made a lot of progress both materially and intellectually. Agriculture progressed and production of olive oil, currants, wine and grain was increased. One thousand miles of railways were constructed. One hundred factories were set up at Athens. The Greek ships captured a lot of the trade of the Eastern Mediterranean.

It is to be observed that when the Kingdom of Greece was



created, all the Greeks were not included into it. A large number of the Greeks lived in Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace, Ionian Islands, Crete, Constantinople, Smyrna and in the towns along the sea-coast of Asia Minor.

To begin with, the Government of Greece concentrated its attention to acquire Thessaly and Epirus. As both of these territories belonged to the Sultan, Greece had to fight against Turkey. During the Crimean War Greek troops attacked Thessaly but they were ordered to go back by the Great Powers. The king of Greece was forced to maintain neutrality. Greece got nothing even when the Congress of Paris took place in 1856. During the war between Russia and Turkey in 1877-78, Greek troops invaded Thessaly once again. They were again forced to withdraw and again got nothing by the Treaty of San Stefano or the Treaty of Berlin. The view of Disraeli was that "Greece is a country with future and can wait." However, through the efforts of Gladstone who was the Prime Minister of England at that time, Turkey was forced to give in 1881 about one third of Epirus and the greater part of Thessaly to Greece. In 1864, Great Britain handed over to Greece the Ionian Islands which Great Britain had got in 1815. The people of those Islands were discontented and demanded union with Greece.

As regards the island of Crete, "the Greek island *par excellence*," the people were tired of the oppressive rule of the Sultan and were determined to be united with Greece. It is stated that there were as many as 14 revolts in Crete between 1830 and 1910. However, nothing was achieved before 1896 except mere promises of reform which were never fulfilled. The nationalist movement in Crete went on growing particularly after the union of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia in 1885. In 1894, the Greeks in Crete revolted. In 1897, Greece declared war against Turkey to help the Cretans. As the Greeks were not well prepared and the army of the Sultan had been reorganised by the Germans, the Greek troops were defeated. Greece was forced to give to Turkey a strategic advantage on the frontier of Thessaly. She was also made to pay a heavy war indemnity. Although Greece failed to annex Crete, Turkey practically lost all control over it. Crete was given autonomy under the protection of the Four Great Powers—Russia, Great Britain, France and Italy. These Powers named a son of the Greek King as its Governor. The Cretan demand for closer union with Greece led to another insurrection in 1905. The Great Powers had to intervene once again. However, they insisted on retaining the fiction of the suzerainty of the Sultan over Crete. Greece was allowed to nominate its Governor. The Cretan militia was to be controlled and commanded by Greek army officers. Venizelos, a Cretan by birth, was a leader of the revolutionary movement for the union of Crete with Greece. He also played an important part in the administration of Crete from 1897 onwards. In 1910, he was made the Prime Minister of Greece. In his new position, Venizelos carried out a large number of reforms in the field of finance, the navy and the army. He played an important part in bringing into existence the Balkan League in



1912 which led to the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913. It was in 1913 that Greece got the island of Crete.

**Rumania.** The Treaty of Paris of 1896 granted autonomy to the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia. In 1862, the two provinces were allowed to unite themselves under one prince and thus the kingdom of Rumania came into existence. In 1866, its native prince was deposed and in his place Prince Charles I of Germany became the ruler of Rumania. He ruled from 1866 to 1914. The Congress of Berlin recognized the complete independence of Rumania and in 1881, it was designated as a Kingdom. Prince Charles I became the King of Rumania.

Like Greece, a large number of Rumanians lived not only in Turkey but also in Bessarabia (under Russia) and Bukovina (under Austria). No wonder, the problem of the national unification of Rumania was much more complicated than that of Greece. Rumania had to face three Powers, viz. Russia, Austria-Hungary and Turkey.

The statesmen of Rumania were divided among themselves as to the policy to be followed for national unification. According to one school of thought, Rumania should forget about Bessarabia, and align herself with Russia and make a determined effort to secure Bukovina and Transylvania from Austria-Hungary. There were others who wanted Rumania to forget Bukovina and Transylvania and concentrate on getting Bessarabia from Russia. King Charles I was pro-German and hence pro-Austrian and the Rumanian effort was to get back Bessarabia from Russia. In 1883, Rumania entered into an alliance with Austria and for the next thirty years, the German influence was supreme in Rumania. Army was remodelled after Germany and it became the largest army in the Balkan States.

During this period, agriculture was developed by the adoption of the scientific methods of farming and the development of foreign markets. On account of her rich black soil Rumania became a great corn-growing country in the world. Foreign capital was employed to exploit the rich mineral resources of the country. A lot of coal and petroleum was found. Factories were constructed and railways were also built. However, the condition of the peasants of Rumania was deplorable and consequently there was a revolt in 1907 which was put down with great difficulty by the army.

**Montenegro.** The Serbs had two independent States of Montenegro and Serbia. Montenegro or Black Mountain was a very small State near the Adriatic Sea. It had been governed by the native princes for a long time but its complete independence was recognized by the Congress of Berlin. Nicholas I was its ruler from 1860 to 1918. He was a warrior king but was also a benevolent despot. He was a great admirer of Russia and consequently Montenegro had very cordial relations with that country. His ambition was to make Montenegro the leader of all the Serbs and unite them all under his rule. With that object in view, he sometimes intrigued with Serbia and sometimes against Serbia. In 1905, he guaranteed a democratic constitution. In 1910, he assumed the title of the King of Montenegro. In spite of the small size



of the State, the fighting qualities of the people of Montenegro were such that they played a very important part in the Balkan Wars of 1912-13.

**Serbia.** The complete independence of Serbia was recognized by the Congress of Berlin. However, that country was torn by dissensions and rivalries between the Karageorge and Obrenovic families in Serbia. Karageorge was the original peasant leader of Serbia against Turkey. Obrenovic was the leader under whom Serbia actually secured her autonomy. The Obrenovic family was in power from 1817 to 1842 and from 1859 to 1903. During this period, there were many revolts of the Karageorge family and in 1868 and in 1903, there were two assassinations. The dynastic feuds created lawlessness in the country and made Serbia a kind of football in the game of international politics.

Milan Obrenovic was the ruler of Serbia during the war between Turkey and Russia in 1877-78. He was pro-Austrian and was specially annoyed with Russia as the latter cared more for Bulgaria than for Serbia in the Treaty of San Stefano and the Treaty of Berlin. No wonder, in 1881 he entered into a secret alliance with Austria-Hungary. In 1882, he transformed his principality into a kingdom. When Eastern Roumelia and Bulgaria were united in 1885, Serbia declared war against Bulgaria but was miserably defeated. If Austria-Hungary had not intervened, Serbia might have been completely crushed. However, the result of Austrian intervention was that Serbia came completely under the control of Austria after 1885. This state of affairs continued up to 1903. In 1889, Milan Obrenovic granted a liberal and democratic constitution to his people. After two months he abdicated in favour of his son, Alexander II.

**Revolution of 1903.** Alexander II ruled from 1889 to 1903. He was a despot and wasted his energy on his favourites. He fell in love with a woman called Draga Masin. He not only married her but also showered favours on her relatives. This resulted in a lot of discontentment in the country. A conspiracy was hatched by a group of army officers belonging to a secret society known as the Black Hand with the object of assassinating the King, the Queen and their favourites. The result was that there took place in June 1903 the murder of King Alexander, Queen Draga and their ministers and attendants. This resulted in a dynastic revolution in Serbia and Peter I, a descendant of Karageorge, became the ruler of Serbia. He continued to rule from 1903 to 1921.

The importance of the *Revolution of 1903* cannot be over-emphasized. It was a turning point in the history of Serbia. It ended completely the Obrenovic dynasty and thus the disunity of the country was finished. It also ended the subordination of Serbia to Austria-Hungary. Henceforth Serbia began to collaborate with Russia for the realization of her dreams of uniting all the Serbs under her leadership. Peter I was a warrior-king and he sympathised with the aspirations of the people of Serbia. He restored the democratic constitution of 1889 and selected his ministers from the



ultra-patriotic Radical Party whose leader was Nicholas Pasic. The king devoted all his energy to the reform of the army and Pasic reorganized the national finances and put them on a sound footing. He encouraged national propaganda abroad. He negotiated alliances with other Balkan States. Serbia began to prepare himself to bring under her control even those Serbs who were under Austria-Hungary. The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria in 1908 made the relations between Serbia and Austria-Hungary bitter and that was one of the causes of the war of 1914.

**German Influence in Turkey.** It is to be observed that for about a century, Great Britain was the supporter of Turkey. However, the relations between the two countries became strained after the Congress of Berlin. Lord Salisbury was particularly bitter against Turkey on the question of Armenia. As a result of the estrangement between Great Britain and Turkey, there was "a vacancy in the Ottoman Empire" and that vacancy was filled up by Germany. It is well known that Bismarck did not attach much importance to Turkey and he concentrated on maintaining friendly relations with Russia and Austria. However, after the dismissal of Bismarck, a new chapter was opened in the history of German foreign relations by William II. The new German Emperor paid his first visit to Turkey in 1889. The visit was repeated in 1899 and then he went on a pilgrimage of the Holy Land. At Damascus, William II declared that "His Majesty, the Sultan Abdul Hamid and the three hundred million Mohammedans who reverence him as Caliph, may rest assured that at all times the German Emperor will be their friend."

The Turkish Army was reorganized under the German officers. German traders and financiers also went to Turkey. A branch of the Deutsche Bank of Berlin was opened at Constantinople. The German Government also began to expand her influence in the Middle East. A very ambitious plan of building the Berlin-Baghdad railway was prepared. It was based on the concessions given by Turkey in 1899 to the German Company of Anatolian Railways. It was planned to construct a railway from the Bosphorus to Baghdad and from there to Basra. Its object was to prepare the way for the political and commercial penetration of Germany into the East.

The scheme was opposed by the Powers concerned. It threatened the security of the French Power in Syria and the British Empire in India. Russia also opposed it as a friend and ally of France. The German danger was a real one as Germany was consistently following a policy of expanding her influence in the East. Germany entered into an alliance with Austria-Hungary in 1879. It was transformed into the Triple Alliance of 1882. A German Prince was put on the throne of Rumania in the person of Charles I. Another German Prince was put on the throne of Greece. Ferdinand of Bulgaria also was a German Prince.

**Turkey.** Sultan Abdul Hamid II had become the Sultan in 1876 and he continued to occupy that position up to 1909. He began his reign by giving a liberal constitution to the people of



Turkey in 1876. However, there was a lot of opposition from the reactionary quarters in the country and the result was that the constitution was "suspended" for more than 39 years. It remained a dead letter. The efforts of Abdul Hamid to put down the insurrections of the Bosnians and the Bulgars by force resulted in a war between Turkey and Russia in 1877-78 and ultimately by the Treaty of Berlin, Turkey was deprived of a lot of her territory.

There were certain forces working against the very existence of the Ottoman Empire. There was the danger of aggression from the Great Powers. Russia, Great Britain and Austria-Hungary got territories from Turkey in 1878. The finances of the country were so much upset that Sultan Abdul Hamid had to agree in 1881 to put them under the direction of a commission of foreign bankers. The result was that the people were heavily taxed and that led to unrest in the country. Moreover, foreign capitalists, particularly those of Great Britain, Germany and France were able to secure profitable concessions and that strengthened the stranglehold of those countries over Turkey.

Another danger came from the nationalism of the Balkan peoples. In 1878, Turkey had to recognize the full independence of Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro, the full autonomy of Bulgaria and the partial autonomy of Eastern Roumelia. None of these States were satisfied and consequently there was the propaganda of publications, army bands and secret societies. The Serbs, the Bulgarians and Greeks were incited to realize their national aspirations which could be done only at the cost of Turkey.

Another danger came from the rising nationalism among the Asiatic subjects of Turkey. The contagion spread to the Armenians, Albanians and the Arabs of Syria, Mesopotamia and Hejaz. There was some discontentment even among Turks who were influenced by western ideas of nationalism.

Sultan Abdul Hamid was a clever man and he tried to handle the situation in his own way. He played off one Great Power against another and one Balkan State against another. To begin with he depended upon Great Britain to check Russia. Later on, he took advantage of the French jealousy of Britain and the Austrian fear of Russia. Ultimately, he began to depend on Germany which seemed to be less interested than other Powers in the internal affairs of Turkey. He welcomed the visits of William II in 1889 and 1899. German officers were employed to train the Turkish Army. German financial experts advised him. German bankers were given economic concessions. However, Abdul Hamid never put all his eggs in one basket. He sought German help for the development of Anatolia and Mesopotamia, French help in Syria and British help for the Persian Gulf. He tried to create jealousy and enmity among the Great Powers so that all of them might not be able to make a common cause against Turkey. The Sultan also used cruelty and trickery to strengthen his own influence. A large army of spies was employed to give him full information regarding the activities of the secret societies and to take timely action against them. Disloyal



army officers and political opponents were dismissed and the administration was centralized. His policy of terrorism against the Christian subjects made them all the more fanatical for their cause and the Sultan was doing no service to his country by imposing cruel punishments on them.

**Young Turk Revolution of 1908.** The reactionary regime of the Sultan was hated by the progressive elements in the country. The latter were influenced by the western ideas of nationalism and democracy and were not prepared to put up with the autocratic and tyrannical rule of the Sultan. It is pointed out that Kiamil Pasha, a Turkish statesman, came to the conclusion that a liberal and constitutional government on the lines of Great Britain must be set up in Turkey. He had occupied important offices under the Sultan and was the Grand Vizier from 1881 to 1887 and again in 1896. He retired from his office to spread the liberal ideas and he was surrounded by a large number of enlightened "liberal" Turks. There were many young men in Turkey who were more radical than Kiamil Pasha and they formed secret societies and carried on propaganda in favour of establishing a national State in Turkey. These people were called Young Turks. Young Turks in exile had long planned and plotted for a Republic and a constitution. However, in 1905 the reform movement within the Ottoman Empire became independent of Paris and a network of committees was formed in European and Asiatic Turkey with their headquarters at Salonika. There was anarchy in Macedonia and the Great Powers were tempted to intervene. However, the Young Turks decided that the necessary reforms should be carried out by the Turks themselves and not by foreigners. Their programme was a strike of the troops at a critical moment and the Third Army Corps which was stationed in Macedonia was chosen for that purpose. From time to time, spies were able to find some traces of conspiracy and in March 1908, a commission was sent from Constantinople to collect evidence. Fearing discovery, the Committee of Union and Progress planned a rising for September 1908. However, the meeting between Edward VII and the Czar at Reval seemed to demand a quick action. On 3rd July, 1908 Niazi Bey raised the flag of revolt and he was joined by Enver Bey. On 6th July, the officers of the Monastir garrison deserted and volunteers poured in from Macedonia and Albania. On 22nd July, Niazi entered Monastir and on 23rd July the Constitution of 1876 was proclaimed. The Sultan was given the ultimatum of "surrender or we march on Stamboul." The result was that Sultan Abdul Hamid surrendered. He endorsed the restoration of the Constitution. He abolished the censorship of the press. He dismissed a large number of spies in his pay. He invited Kiamil Pasha to be the first Grand Vizier under the constitutional government. There was a little opposition but those who opposed were disposed of without much difficulty. In December 1908, a duly elected Parliament met at Constantinople and began to discuss the problem of reforms in the country.

Taking advantage of the Young Turk Revolution, Bulgaria



declared herself independent and its ruler took up the title of the King. Austria-Hungary also annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Differences arose between Kiamil Pasha and the Nationalists like Enver Bey. The Sultan tried to take advantage of the situation and removed Kiamil Pasha. He also started following a reactionary policy. The result was that in April 1908, Enver Bey and the Committee of Union and Progress carried out a second *coup d'état*. As a result of it, Abdul Hamid was deposed and imprisoned. His brother was nominated the new Sultan with the title of Mohommed V who ruled from 1909 to 1918.

From 1909 to 1918, Turkey was under the dictatorship of the Young Turks. The latter followed a policy of aggressive nationalism. Turkish was made the official language of the Empire. Turkish national schools were set up. The principle of compulsory military service for all citizens were enforced in the country. Attempts were made to Turkify the Ottoman Empire. It was an impossible task. Neither Christians of Europe nor the Arabs in Asia were prepared to accept the programme of the Young Turks. As there was resistance, the Young Turks resorted to repression. The greater the repression the greater became the resistance.

**The Italo-Turkish War (1911-12).** It was in these circumstances that Italy suddenly declared war against Turkey in 1911. For a long time she had an eye on Tripoli and Cyrenaica in North Africa. After the Young Turk Revolution, she began to fear that if she delayed very much, she might not be able to get Tripoli and Cyrenaica. The Young Turks might become too strong for her. In spite of the efforts of the Young Turks, Italy was successful. As the war was still going on, the Balkan League was formed in 1912 and as the danger from the Balkan League was much greater, Turkey made peace with Italy in October 1912 at Laussane. As a result of it, Italy got Tripoli.

According to Hazen, "The great significance of this war did not lie in the fact that Italy acquired a new colony. It lay in the fact that it began again the process, arrested since 1878, of the violent dismemberment of the Turkish Empire; that it revealed the military weakness of that Empire, powerless to preserve its integrity and, what is most important, that it contributed directly and greatly to a far more serious attack upon Turkey by the Balkan States, which, in turn, led to the European war. The tinder-box was lighted and a general European conflagration resulted. The Italian attack upon Tripoli was momentous in its consequences."

**The Bosnian Crisis of 1908-9.** By the Treaty of Berlin (1878), Austria-Hungary was given the right to occupy and administer Bosnia; Herzegovina and the Sanjak of Novi-Bazar. For three decades, Austria continued to administer that territory without annexing it. However, in September 1908, a bargain was struck between Aehrenthal, Foreign Minister of Austria, and Izvolski, Foreign Minister of Russia. According to the so-called Buchlau bargain of September 1908, Izvolski agreed to the Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Aehrenthal agreed to the



opening of the Straits to Russian ships of war. Aehrenthal also promised to give up his project concerning the Sanjak railway and also all intentions of extending Austrian influence towards Salonica and to withdraw the Austrian military garrisons from the Sanjak of Novi-Bazar.

In spite of the bargain, Aehrenthal acted hurriedly and proclaimed the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina on 7th October 1908. Even Germany was not informed in time. The promise with regard to the opening of the Straits to Russian ships of war could not be carried out on account of the opposition of Great Britain and France. No wonder, Izvolski complained bitterly that Aehrenthal was "no gentleman" as he had "broken faith" in proceeding so quickly with the annexation.

But this was not all. The news of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria caused great indignation and excitement in Serbia. Extraordinary editions of the newspapers condemned the violation of the Treaty of Berlin and demanded a war against Austria. The Minister of Serbia declared that war was inevitable and war preparations were ordered. The Prince of Serbia ran to Russia to get help from the Czar. Other Serbian Ministers went on a tour of the European capitals to secure help against Austria. The Serbians also demanded compensations.

Izvolski found himself in a very difficult position. He himself had made the Buchlau bargain but he was tricked by Aehrenthal. While he had got nothing, Austria had got her part of the bargain. He asked the Serbians to wait for some time so that he might be able to put the Straits in his pocket. He also demanded the calling of a conference of the Powers who had signed the Treaty of Berlin. Izvolski knew that he would have to admit a humiliating diplomatic defeat if he failed to get a conference of the Powers summoned. He began to pretend to the Serbians that he had never given his consent to the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria. "He condemned Austria-Hungary which had entirely lost the confidence of Russia and of the Western Powers; he expressed the conviction and hope that her action in this sphere would be avenged upon her in a sanguinary manner". However, he found that Germany was firm in supporting Austria in her refusal to submit the question of annexation to a conference of Powers unless its decisions were agreed upon beforehand. Izvolski felt that if he insisted upon a conference, there was a possibility of war and he knew full well that Russia was absolutely unprepared for war. She had not recovered completely from her defeats in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5).

The position of Izvolski was a very awkward one. For months, he continued to encourage the Serbians with the hope that the question of annexation would be submitted to a conference of the Powers for revision and undoubtedly he did all that he could to achieve that objective. In spite of that, excitement and agitation continued to increase in Serbia, Bosnia and Croatia. Demonstrations were made against Austria. The result was that the Austrian Government resorted to a policy of repression and large number of



persons were arrested. All kinds of cases were fabricated against the agitators. The situation became so tense that Austria had to send troops on the Serbian frontier and there was every possibility of a conflict between Austria and Serbia. There was no guarantee that the local conflict might spread to the whole of Europe. However, Russia was determined to avoid any armed conflict as she knew that she could not come to the help of Serbia. Moreover, Russia was not sure that she could be assisted by her ally, France, in a war in the Balkans. No wonder, Russia continued to beg the Serbians to submit for the present and to trust in the future. To quote, "When our armament programmes shall have been completely carried out, then we shall have our reckoning with Austria-Hungary: do not begin any war now, for this would be your suicide; conceal your purposes and make ready; the days of your joy will come." Again, "The situation is frightful, Russia is unprepared for war and a Russian defeat would be the ruin of Slavdom. The Czar has the feeling that a conflict with Germandom is inevitable in the future and that one must prepare for this."

It is often said that Germany instigated Aehrenthal to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina with a view to serving her own interest. Prof. Fay does not accept this view. According to him, such a view is absolutely unfounded. The truth is that Germany was not even informed in time and the Kaiser got the information only on the day when the annexation actually took place. He was indignant at the action of Austria which he considered as an attack on Turkey. Such an action on the part of Austria was damaging to the German influence at Constantinople and was liable to damage the project of the Berlin-Baghdad Railway. To quote the Kaiser, "Vienna will be charged with duplicity and not unjustly. She has duped us in a most unheard of fashion." Again "my personal feelings as an ally have been most seriously wounded." The Kaiser's view was that if Germany did not oppose annexation, she would be held guilty of having approved of it. He was in favour of openly opposing the annexation even at the risk of breaking the alliance with Austria.

However, Chancellor Bulow differed from the Kaiser. He was not prepared to weaken the Triple Alliance and consequently was determined to support Austria in whatever she did. His view was that if Germany did not support Austria wholeheartedly, Austria might never forgive her. Germany might have a grievance against Austria as she was not informed in time, but when Austria had already annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, it was not proper to protest after that. Ultimately, the Kaiser accepted the point of view of Bulow and the latter informed Vienna that "in case difficulties or complications arise, our ally can count upon us."

It is to be noted, that after the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Aehrenthal tried to buy off the Turks. Although the Turks were very indignant to begin with and wanted to wage a war against Austria, yet when they found that no European State was prepared to give them armed assistance, they agreed to accept the Austrian offer of a cash payment as a compensation for giving up their nominal sovereignty over Bosnia and Herzegovina.



The deal with the Turks made the Serbs all the more bitter. So far, the feeling was that all the Powers including Turkey would join to demand the submission of the question of annexation to a conference of the Powers and Serbia would be able to secure autonomy for the provinces and compensation for herself. After the deal with Turkey, all hopes were shattered and Austria started in categorical terms that she was not prepared to make any concessions. The situation was obviously very serious.

It was at this stage that Germany came forward with a proposal to avoid a conflict. Germany was to request Austria to invite the Powers to give their formal sanction by an exchange of notes to the Austro-Turkish Agreement provided Russia promised beforehand to give her sanction when invited by Austria to do so. This German proposal of March 1909 had certain advantages. It was to give Austria what she wanted. It satisfied the Entente demand that no change in the Treaty of Berlin was to be made without the approval of the Powers concerned. It avoided the humiliation of Russia by not rejecting the idea of a conference directly. It was intended to help Izvolski to come out of the difficult situation into which he had placed himself. Izvolski appreciated the proposal and was inclined to accept it. He also knew that Russia was not at all prepared for a war and consequently was not in a position to help Serbia by force of arms. Izvolski also knew that by striking the Buchlau bargain, he had put himself in an inconsistent position and he was afraid of the consequences in case Aehrenthal published the documents concerning the Buchlau bargain.

Aehrenthal was willing to accept the German proposal if Serbia declared that she recognised the annexation of Bosnia and also promised to give up her attitude of opposition and protest.

It is, therefore, clear that it is wrong to maintain that Germany threatened Russia with an ultimatum and thereby brought about the surrender of Russia. Such a story was invented merely with a view to saving the face of Izvolski against his critics. The truth is that Germany did not give any ultimatum or exert pressure on Russia. All that she did was to avoid a conflict between Austria and Serbia which might have dragged Russia and given her a defeat. As a matter of fact, Russia gladly accepted the German proposal and on the invitation of Austria, all the Powers gave their approval to the annexation by an exchange of notes. Serbia also made the required declaration in these words: "Serbia recognizes that she has not been affected in her rights by the *fait accompli* created in Bosnia, and that consequently she will conform to the decisions that the Powers may take in regard to Article 25 of the Treaty of Berlin. In deference to the advice of the Great Powers, Serbia undertakes to renounce the attitude of protest and opposition which she has adopted since last autumn with regard to the annexation. She undertakes, moreover, to modify the direction of her present policy towards Austria-Hungary, and to live in future on good neighbourly terms with the latter."



"In conformity with these declarations and with confidence in the peaceful intentions of Austria Hungary, Serbia will replace her army, as far as concerns its organization and the location and number of the troops, to the state in which it was in the spring of 1908. She will disarm and disband the volunteers and irregular forces and prevent the formation of new irregular corps on her territory. The result was that both Serbia and Austria demobilized their arms and the crisis was over.

A reference may be made to some of the consequences of the Bosnian crisis. It cannot be denied that Aehrenthal got in 1909 a diplomatic victory and Russia and Serbia felt that they were both humiliated. Although Aehrenthal got many congratulations and also got the title of Count, the action of Austria created a sort of distrust among the European Powers in the Austrian methods of diplomacy. It was felt that Austria had violated a solemn treaty without any justification. It was not proper to force from Serbia a humiliating declaration which could not be expected to be acted upon by any patriotic politician or statesman. The very object of strengthening the Austrian control over Bosnia and Herzegovina was defeated. Austria got temporary success but that created many difficulties for her in future. To quote Aehrenthal, "I hope our action will succeed ; if not, I am naturally done for, but in that case at least, we shall have met defeat with honour ; otherwise we should have continued to sink miserably step by step."

Germany also got her share of the bad name, on account of her association with Austria. Germany came to be distrusted in Serbia, Russia and England. Germany's efforts to find out a peaceful solution was twisted into a threat of force or an ultimatum. It was represented as a brutal German attempt to humiliate Russia and drive a wedge into the Triple Entente by forcing Russia to give up the Entente. It is possible that such an impression was created by the Kaiser's speech in 1910 that he stood by his ally "in shining armour"

The Bosnian crisis had an unfortunate effect on Italy. She was not consulted by Austria beforehand. She felt that her pride had been offended and her own ambitions in the Balkans thwarted by the Austrian action. Italy began to feel that the Triple Alliance was of absolutely no use to her and she was quite willing to sign with Russia a new agreement in 1909. The Triple Alliance got a shaking from the Bosnian crisis.

The crisis had also its effects on Russia. The propaganda against Germany was increased. It was declared that a war between Slavdom and Teutondom was inevitable. Russia began to reorganise and increase her army and navy so that she might be ready for the inevitable war with Germany and Austria. So far as Izvolski himself was concerned the Bosnian crisis was a great diplomatic defeat which made him very bitter and ultimately forced him to give up his job as Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1910.

**The Balkan Wars (1912-13).** The Balkan Wars of 1912-13 were the outcome of the Young Turk Revolution of 1908. As the



States and they ultimately resulted in the formation of the Balkan League. It was not easy to bring the Balkan States together on account of their mutual hatred based on historical, racial and sentimental grounds. However, their common dislike of the Turks on account of their sufferings, brought them together. The massacre of the Christians by the Young Turks inflamed the people and no wonder, they decided to sink their differences to fight against a common enemy. The creation of the Balkan League was a surprise for Turkey and the European Powers who could never dream of the Balkan States presenting a united front. The Balkan States were encouraged on account of the weakness and demoralization of Turkey as a result of her war with Italy.

In October 1912 the four Balkan States of Montenegro, Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece declared war against Turkey. The war was a brief one and resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Allies. Fighting started on 15th October 1912. The Greeks pushed into Macedonia and after three weeks were able to capture Salonica. The Serbians and Montenegrins were also successful. The Bulgarians also won victory after victory against Turkey. The result was that the military power of Turkey was completely smashed. By the middle of November the Bulgarians had reached the Christmas line of fortifications which extended from the Sea of Marmora to the Black Sea. Only twenty-five miles beyond them lay Constantinople.

The collapse of the Turkish power was nearly complete. Only Adrianople, Janina and Scutari had not fallen. This collapse came as a surprise to the Turks, to the Great Powers and to the Balkan States. In December 1912, delegates from the various States met in London to settle the terms of peace. The talks were unsuccessful because Bulgaria insisted on getting Adrianople which the Turks refused to give. The result was that hostilities started once again in March 1913. Janina fell on 6th March, Adrianople on 26th March and Scutari on 23rd April 1913. It was under these circumstances that Turkey accepted the terms of peace. On 30th May 1913, the Treaty of London was signed.

**Treaty of London (1913).** According to this Treaty, a line was drawn from the Rhos on the Aegean Sea to Midia on the Black Sea and all Turkish territory west of the line was given to the Allies except the territory of Albania whose boundaries and status were to be determined by the Great Powers. Crete was given to the Great Powers and the latter were to decide as to who was to have the islands captured by Greece in the Aegean. The dominions of the Sultan in Europe were reduced to a vanishing point. After five centuries of rule, the Sultan found himself expelled from Europe. This great achievement was the work of the four Balkan States who for once united in the common work of liberation. The Great Powers had done nothing. A great change had taken place in the map of Europe without involving the Great Powers in war. However, the Treaty of London did not last long. After feasting Turkey, the Balkan States started quarrelling among



Young Turks followed a policy of Turkification of the Christians under their control and carried out wholesale massacres, the Balkan

# BALKAN STATES 1878 - 1914



States were frightened into a union. They made up their minds to unite themselves with a view to turning out the Turks, bag and baggage from Europe before the latter could marshal all their forces against them.

When Turkey was busy in fighting against Italy in 1911-12 on the question of Tripoli, negotiations were started among the Balkan



themselves over the division of the spoils. The trouble arose on account of the determination of Austria and Italy to create a new independent State of Albania. The creation of the new State of Albania on the Adriatic coast prevented Serbia from realizing her ambition to have an outlet to the sea. It is to be noted that before the beginning of the war, Serbia and Bulgaria had defined their future spheres of influence in Macedonia. The larger part of Macedonia was to go to Bulgaria and Serbia was to get the coast-line on the Adriatic. The creation of Albania was to make Serbia a land-locked country. Austria was resolved that she would under no condition become an Adriatic State. She had always been opposed to the aggrandisement of Serbia, because she had millions of Slavs under her own rule who might be attracted to an independent Serbia, enlarged and with prestige heightened. Moreover, she believed that Serbia would be a tool of Russia, and she would not tolerate Russia's influence on her southern borders and along the Adriatic if she could help it. She did not propose to be less important in those waters than she had been in the past. Serbia must be excluded from the Adriatic. It was the blocking of Serbia's outlet to the sea that caused the second Balkan War between the Allies. Intense was the indignation of the Serbians, but they could do nothing. They, therefore, sought as partial compensation larger territories in Macedonia than their treaty with Bulgaria had assigned to them. But they encountered the stubborn opposition of Bulgaria which refused any concession along this line and insisted upon the strict observance of the treaty. Instantly the old, bitter hatred flared up again. The Serbians insisted that the expulsion of the Turks had been the work of all the allies, and that there should be a fair division of the territories acquired in the name of all. On the other hand, the Bulgarians argued that it had been they who had done the heavy fighting in the war, that they had furnished by far the larger number of troops, that it was their victories of Kirk Kilisse and Lule Burgas that had annihilated the power of the Turks in Europe, that they were entitled to annex territories in Macedonia which they declared were peopled by Bulgars. Other considerations also entered into the situation.

Bulgaria intended to have her way. Her army was elated by the recent astounding successes. She was rather contemptuous of the Serbians and Greeks and emphatically minimised the services rendered by them to the common cause. She thought that it could easily conquer both if necessary, and could take what territories it chose. It was Bulgaria, whose war party had lost all sense of proportion, all sense of the rights of her former allies, that began the new struggle. She treacherously attacked Greece and Serbia at the end of June 1913. Fierce fighting ensued for several days.

**Second Balkan War (1913).** Bulgaria's action in plunging herself into the avoidable conflict was all the more fool-hardy as her relations with her northern neighbour, Rumania, were also unsettled and precarious. Rumania had demanded that Bulgaria should cede her a strip of territory in the north-east of Bulgaria, in order that the balance of power among the Balkan States might remain practi-



cally what it had been. Bulgaria had refused this so-called compensation. The result was that Rumania also now went to war with Bulgaria. The Turks, too, seeing a chance to recover some of the land they had recently lost, plunged into the melee.

**Treaty of Bucharest (1913).** Thus Bulgaria was confronted on all sides by enemies. She was at war with five States, not three, for Montenegro was also involved. By the middle of July she saw that her cause was hopeless and she consented to make peace. By the Treaty of Bucharest, signed on August 10, 1913, Serbia and Greece secured larger possessions than they had ever anticipated, and Rumania was given the territory she desired. Turkey also recovered a large area which she had lost earlier including the important city and fort of Adrianople. All this was at the expense of Bulgaria, who paid for her arrogance and unconciliatory temper by losing much territory which she would otherwise have secured. Bulgaria was deeply embittered and only waited for an opportunity to tear up the Treaty of Bucharest which she refused to consider as morally binding as a permanent settlement of the Balkans. The year 1913 remains a bitter memory in the minds of all Bulgarians.

**Results of Balkan Wars (1912-13).** In territory and population, Turkey was the only loser. Before the war, the European population was estimated to be 6,130,200 and her area 65,350 sq. miles. Of population, she lost 4,239,200 and she was left with only 882 sq. miles of territory. Greece was the largest gainer, increasing her population from 2,666,000 to 4,363,000 and her area from 25,014 sq. miles to 41,933. Serbia increased her population from just under three million to four and a half, and nearly doubled her territory, increasing it from 18,650 sq. miles to 33,891 sq. miles. Rumania added 286,000 to a population which was the largest in the Balkans, amounting to about seven and a half millions, and gained 2,687 sq. miles of territory entirely at the expense of Bulgaria. The net gains of Bulgaria were only 125,490 in population and 9,663 sq. miles; while Montenegro raised her population from 250,000 to 480,000 and her area from 3,474 to 5,603 sq. miles.

According to Grant and Temperley, "No single event influenced the outbreak of War in 1914 more than the Balkan War of 1912-13. Other incidents, as Algecirras, Bosnia or Agadir, disturbed the situation because they affected the Balance of Power in the future. But the overthrow of the Turks caused an immediate danger, for it affected the Balance of Power in the present. Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece and Rumania were revealed as conquering military States. The Turkish army trained by Germany as a potential ally was utterly beaten. Serbia added a million to its population, erased the humiliations of the Bosnian annexation, and triumphantly asserted her prestige in an outburst of Pan-Serb and Yugo-Slav enthusiasm, which swept Dalmatia and Bosnia like a prairie-fire. Serbia, hitherto rebuffed and discredited, appeared armed, victorious and triumphant. As Italy had arisen from Piedmont so a united Yugoslavia was to arise from Serbia. The prestige gained by Greece and Rumania was only second to that of Serbia. All three States now looked forward to a time when each flag would cover all their kinsmen in the Balkans, a greater Greece, a greater Rumania, a greater



Serbia. And their brethren beneath the Turkish or Hapsburg rule looked forward to the day when the arms of their free countrymen would break the hated yoke from off their necks. A perpetually increasing nationalistic agitation in Austria-Hungary and Turkey, where such agitation was so dangerous, was the direct result of the Balkan War."

**Greece.** The significance of changes effected in the map of "Turkey in Europe" cannot, however, be measured solely by statistics. The settlement made by the Treaty of Bucharest was neither satisfactory nor complete. Of the recent belligerents, Greece had most cause for satisfaction. To the north-east her territorial gains were not only enormous in extent, but of the highest commercial and strategic importance. The acquisition of Salonika was in itself a variable triumph for the Greek cause, and Greece would have been well advised to be content with it. The insistence upon Kavala, whatever her ethnographic claims might have been, is now recognised as a political blunder. On the north-west, Greece acquired the greater part of Epirus, including the great fortress of Janina, but she was still unsatisfied. For many months she continued to urge her claims to portions of southern Albania, assigned by the Powers to the new autonomous State. But to press them would have brought Greece into conflict with Italy. "Italy," said the Marquis di san Gialiano, "will even go the length of war to prevent Greece occupying Valona; on this point her decision is irrevocable." On that side, Greece remained unsatisfied. There remained the question of the islands. Crete was definitely assigned to Greece, and on December 14, 1913, it was formally taken over by King Constantine, accompanied by the Crown Prince and the Prime Minister M. Venizelos. The question of the rest of the islands was reserved to the Powers, who ultimately awarded to Greece all the islands of which the Porte could dispose, except Imbros and Tenedos, which were regarded as essential for the safeguarding of the entrance to the Dardanelles, and were left to Turkey. The Sporades, including Rhodes, remained in the occupation of Italy. Greece, therefore, had reason for profound dissatisfaction. Some 300,000 Greeks still remained under Bulgarian rule in Thrace and Eastern Macedonia, while in the Ottoman Empire Greece still claimed some 300,000 "unredeemed" co-nationals.

**Rumania.** As regards Rumania, in proportion to her sacrifices, her gains were considerable. However, for the satisfaction of her large claims, the Balkan Wars afforded no opportunity. The "unredeemed" Rumanians were the subjects either of Austria-Hungary or of Russia. Transylvania, Bukovina and Bessarabia were the provinces to which Rumania laid claims.

**Bulgaria.** Bulgaria's position in 1913 was less favourable, but her misfortunes were largely of her own making. When the Treaty of London was signed in May, fate seemed to hold for Bulgaria the promise of a brilliant future. Despite the hostility of the Greeks and the rivalry of the Latins, Bulgaria was the first favourite for the hegemony of the Balkans. The Bulgars lacked some of the cultural qualifications of their neighbours and they were



the latest comers into Balkan society, but they had given proof of a virile and progressive temper, and were advancing rapidly in the arts of peace and war. Then suddenly they flung away in a short month the great position secured to them by the patient labours of a generation. As it was, they got an area relatively circumscribed, with a wretched coast line. Above all, they lost the coveted districts of Ochrida and Monastir. The impartial judgment of history will probably incline to the view that in defining so narrowly the share of Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia showed short-sightedness and parsimony. Bulgaria ought at least to have been allowed a wider outlet on the Aegean littoral, with Kavala as a port. Nothing less could reconcile Bulgaria to the retention of Salonika by Greece.

**Serbia.** Serbia showed herself lacking in prudent generosity. The gains of Serbia were very considerable. The division of Novi-Bazar between herself and Montenegro brought her into immediate contact with the southern Slavs of the Black Mountain. The acquisition of Old Serbia and central Macedonia carried her territory southwards towards the Aegean. But Serbia's crucial problem was not solved. She was still a landlocked country and deprived of her natural access to the Aegean, and pushed into immediate conflict with the Bulgarians, perhaps into ultimate conflict with Greece. Disappointed for her dearest ambition, flushed with victory, duped by interested advice, Serbia can hardly be blamed for having inflicted humiliation upon Bulgaria, and for having yielded to the temptation of unexpected territorial acquisition.

**Montenegro.** Montenegro shared both the success and the disappointment of her kinsmen. King Nicholas's disappointment at being deprived of Scutari was acute, and was hardly compensated by the acquisition of the western half of Novi-Bazar. His position as regards sea-head was less desperate than that of Serbia, but she too had an account to settle with the European Concert.

**Albania.** The Powers were determined to secure autonomy for Albania. Such a solution offered obvious advantages. It might stifle the pretensions of Italy and Austria-Hungary. It might arrest the inconvenient claims of Greece upon the "Northern Empire". It might interpose a powerful barrier between the southern Slav and the Adriatic. It might repair the havoc which the formation of the Balkan alliance had wrought in German plans in regard to the Near East. Autonomy was given to Albania in November 1913, but disorders broke out in the country and its various parts were occupied by the various Powers.

Germany claimed special credit for the peace of Bucharest. William II sent congratulations to King of Rumania for his "wise and truly statesmanlike policy". To quote him, "I rejoice at our mutual co-operation in the cause of peace." The King of Greece was given a baton as Field Marshal in the Prussian Army.

It cannot be denied that Austria-Hungary tried its utmost to enlarge the area of war. Before the peace of Bucharest was concluded, Austria-Hungary communicated to Germany and Italy "her intention of taking action against Serbia, and defined such action



as defensive." Both Italy and Germany put a check on Austria-Hungary and consequently the attack was postponed. However, the attack did come within a year in the form of the World War I. It was pointed out that Serbia had committed two unpardonable sins and therefore she must be annihilated. She had strengthened the barrier between Austria-Hungary and Salonika and also added to her prestige as the representative of the aspirations of the Slavs. However, Serbia was not alone. Rumania and Greece also seemed to be menacing Austria-Hungary. No wonder, Austria-Hungary took action in 1914, and Europe was involved in a great conflagration.

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## CHAPTER XXV

### SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA

**Partitioning of Africa.** From the 15th century onwards, many points on the African coast were occupied by the maritime nations of Europe. However, the scramble for power in Africa took place during the later half of the 16th century. Up to that time, most of Africa was regarded as the "Dark Continent" and not much was known about it to the world at large. Explorers and missionaries opened the way and pointed out the potentialities of Africa. The names of Stanley, Livingstone, Baker, Burton, Grant and Speke are famous in this connection. These persons explored the courses of the four great rivers, viz., the Nile, the Niger, the Congo and the Zambezi. Christian missionaries carried on active propaganda in South Africa and on the Guinea Coast. The curiosity and interest of Europeans were aroused by the publication of the books of Stanley. His most important books were *How I Found Livingstone*, *Through the Dark Continent* and *In Darkest Africa*.

Leopold II, King of Belgium, took keen interest in African affairs. He summoned, in 1876, an International Conference of Geographers from all parts of the world to consider ways and means for the exploration and the civilization of Africa. Suggestions were invited for opening the interior of Africa for industry and commerce. An International African Association was set up and its branches were also established in many countries. The voyages of Stanley directed the attention of the African Association to the Congo and it was decided to concentrate on its exploration. As the enterprise was financed by King Leopold himself as an individual, the Congo Free State became the personal monopoly of King Leopold himself. The gains of Leopold aroused the jealousy of others. Both Portugal and France also put forward their claim to the Congo. Many European nations sent their agents to the various parts of Africa to acquire concessions. Separate treaties were entered into with the native chiefs and thus spheres of influence were acquired. In 1884-85, a conference was held at Berlin and most of the agreements made with the native chiefs up to that time were recognised. Even after that, the process of penetration into African continued with the result that with the exception of Abyssinia and Liberia, practically the whole of Africa was acquired by the various European Powers.

Up to 1908, the Congo Free State continued to be the personal property of King Leopold II of Belgium. However, there was a lot of criticism against that arrangement, and consequently in 1908 the Government of Belgium took over the territory from the King. Portugal also established her hold over the province of Angola situated to the south of the Belgian Congo. Portugal also established



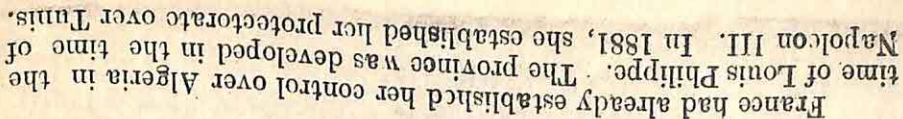
Both France and Great Britain had dual control over Egypt, but in 1882 France refused to co-operate with Great Britain to put down the revolt of Arabi and the result was that from 1892 Great Britain came to have sole control over Egypt and France was ousted. France possessed a big colonial empire in North and West Africa and she intended to penetrate to the East of Africa. For that purpose, Marchand was sent by the French Government. In 1898, there occurred the famous Fashoda crisis. There was a possibility of war between England and France but it was avoided by Delcassé and Salisbury. The agreement of 1899 demarcated the sphere of influence of France and Great Britain. The Entente Cordiale of 1904 provided that England was to have a free hand in Egypt but she was to support France in Morocco. When France tried to establish her stronghold over Morocco, three crises took place in 1905-6, 1908 and 1911. Ultimately, in 1912, Morocco became practically a protectorate of France. In 1936, France acquired the island of Madagascar. She had her control over the whole of the Sahara region. She also had her holdings on the Senegal, the Ivory Coast and the Congo.

### South Africa.

As regards South Africa, the Bushmen, Hottentots, Kars, Zulus and other kindred races came into conflict with the Europeans. There was also competition between the Dutch and the British. The Dutch Boers were backward and cruel, but the British colonists, officials and soldiers were more advanced and were also supported by the British Government. There were frontier wars between the Kars and the Europeans. The Great Trek of 1836-40 resulted in the migration of more than 7,000 Dutch Boers from British South Africa to the valleys of the Orange and Vaal rivers. The British policy towards the Boers was not a consistent one. For some time, they were allowed to be independent. However, in 1842, the British Government put forward its claim to Natal, and 1848 the Orange River Colony was annexed by Great Britain. The Boers once again migrated into the Transvaal. Great Britain recognised the independence of the Transvaal and restored to the Boers the Orange River Colony. Disraeli wanted to bring about a union of all the States of South Africa under British control and he wanted the Boers of Transvaal to join the union. He commissioned Sir Bartol Frere for that purpose, and after a lot of trouble the Transvaal was annexed. However, the Boers proclaimed their independence on 16th December 1880 under the leadership of Kruger. The war was a short one and was suddenly ended by the British Government after four disasters. The last disaster took place at Majuba Hill in February 1881. That defeat could easily have been repaired and General Roberts had already been sent to South Africa from India with an expeditionary force. However, the British Government changed its mind and Gladstone came to the conclusion that the Boers were determined to have their independence and it was no use shedding blood by defeating them in the battle-grounds merely to restore the prestige of British arms. No power could change the determination of the Boers to be independent. Under the circumstances, a treaty was made with the Boers in



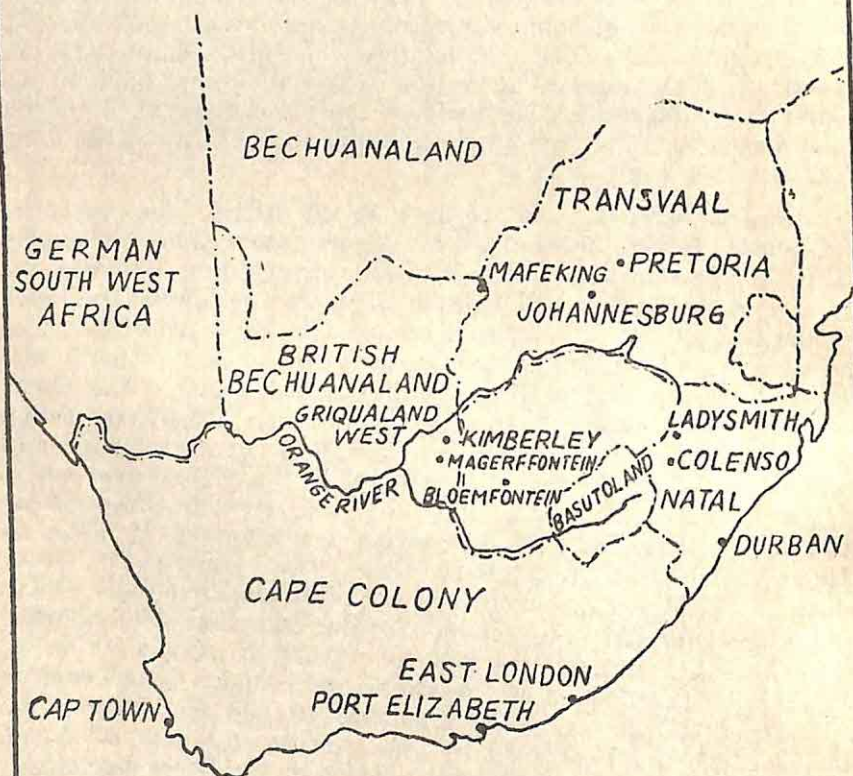
South-East Africa, the Cameroons and Togoland.





March 1881. The Boers were given complete self-government under the suzerainty of the British Crown.

## THE BOER WAR 1899-1902



The conciliatory policy of Gladstone towards the Boers was interpreted by them as a sign of British weakness and a strong nationalist movement started among them under President Kruger. As a reaction, an equally strong nationalist movement was started among the British colonists as well and the leader of the movement



was Cecil Rhodes. Rhodes was great imperialist and he dreamt of expanding the British control from the Cape to Cairo. Under his guidance and patronage, a chartered Company was set up and that Company acquired what is called Rhodesia. The Dutch found their position endangered. This discovery of diamond and gold fields added to the attraction of Transvaal. Under the leadership of Dr. Jameson, a raid was made in 1895 on Transvaal, but it was unsuccessful. The raiders were overpowered without much difficulty. President Kruger was congratulated by William II, the German Emperor, and the famous telegram created a lot of bitterness between Great Britain and Germany. In spite of the failure of the raid, the struggle for supremacy continued and ultimately that resulted in the Boer War of 1899-1901. The Boers put up a very stiff fight but ultimately were defeated. Peace was made in 1902 and the two Boer Republics of Transvaal and Orange Free State were annexed to the British Crown. There was a lot of criticism of the British Government during the days of the Boer War. Within five years of the peace, Transvaal and the Orange Free State were given responsible self-governments. In 1909, all the British possessions of South Africa were united into the Union of South Africa. When the World War I broke out in 1914, the Boer armies under Smuts and Botha conquered German East Africa.

**Egypt.** After the departure of Napoleon I, there was anarchy in Egypt, but by his personal initiative and resourcefulness, Mehmet Ali, an adventurer, was able to establish hold over that territory. He helped the Sultan in the Greek War of Independence and was given the Island of Crete as a reward for his services. He was not contented with that and he managed to establish his control over Syria and Asia Minor. He even threatened Constantinople. As the Sultan entered into the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi in 1833 with Russia, Mehmet Ali had to keep quiet. The war was renewed once again by the Sultan but he was defeated and killed. However, by the Treaty of London of 1840, the European Power came to the rescue of the young Sultan. Mehmet Ali was ousted from Syria and ultimately by the treaty of 1841, he was recognised as the hereditary Governor of Egypt. Before his death in 1847, Mehmet Ali was able to bring prosperity to Egypt. He left behind him canals, roads, factories, arsenals, schools and hospitals. He introduced into the Delta of the Nile the cotton plant which was destined to add to the wealth and prosperity of that country.

Mehmet Ali was succeeded by his son Ibrahim, the hero of the Greek War of Independence, but he died within a few months. Abbas came to the throne in 1849 and ruled for 5 years. He was cruel, sensual and avaricious and was murdered by a slave. He was succeeded by Said who ruled from 1854 to 1863. The construction of railways started in the country and the first railway was built in 1855 between Alexandria and Cairo. The construction of the Suez Canal was also taken up during his reign. Said encouraged the discovery and preservation of the old monuments and founded a museum at Cairo. In 1862, he contracted a loan of £3,292,800 at



the rate of 8% interest without making any adequate arrangement for paying it:

**Ismail.** Ismail the son of Ibrahim, came to throne in 1863. He spent a large sum of money on the construction of railways, telegraphs, lighthouses, harbours and the Suez Canal. The Suez Canal was opened for traffic in 1869. Egypt contributed approximately one-half of the total money spent on the construction of the canal. Many rulers and statesmen of Europe were invited to Egypt on the occasion of the opening ceremony and a lot of money was spent on that occasion. A lot of money was also wasted on the war in the Sudan. The construction of royal palaces involved a lot of expenditure. Ismail was careless about money matters and he kept no accounts. He was his own finance minister. Although he considered himself to be clever, he was tricked by others. Each loan cost the State more than 12%. The railway loan of 1866 actually cost the State 26.9%. The £32 million loan of 1873 pledged all the available securities of the State but the Egyptian treasury actually received the sum of £20,700,000 only. The financial position became so serious that on 8th April 1876, the payment of Treasury Bills was suspended.



On 2nd, May 1876, the Commission of Public Debt was set up by a decree of Ismail. France, Austria and Italy appointed their commissioners but the British Government refused to appoint their nominee. Ultimately, Dual Control was established over Egypt by Great Britain and France.

In 1879, Great Britain joined the French Government in demanding a full enquiry into the financial position of Egypt and Ismail had to submit. He was also forced to recognise the principle of ministerial responsibility in Egypt. The Dual Control was suspended and responsible ministers remained in power for 5 years. Most of the property of the Khedive was taken over by the State and a fresh loan was raised on that security.

Early in 1879, Ismail demanded the resignation of his ministers. This created a very difficult situation. Italy was friendly inclined



towards the Khedive and Russia kept aloof. Turkey played a waiting game. England, France and Germany joined hands and demanded the deposition of Ismail by the Sultan. In June 1879, the Khedive was deposed by the Sultan and his son Tewfik was appointed in his place.

**Tewfik.** Tewfik Pasha succeeded to a bankrupt State and an undisciplined army and discontented people. On account of his youth and inexperience, he was unable to cope with the situation. An attempt was made by Turkey to tighten her hold over Egypt. The Anglo-French Dual Control was revived. Confidence was restored once again. Half the annual revenue of the State was earmarked for the creditors of the State. Things seemed to be improving when in 1881, Tewfik dismissed his War Minister on the demand of rebels.

About 1881 was started a movement with the slogan of "Egypt for the Egyptians". In September 1881, Arabi, an Egyptian officer accompanied by 5,000 soldiers, surrounded the royal palace and demanded an increase of the army, a change of ministry and a national assembly. The government submitted and Arabi himself was promoted. Arabi became a national hero. However, the problem became complicated by the arrival of a Turkish mission.

Gambetta invited Great Britain to discuss matters for the security of Tewfik and proposed a joint assurance of sympathy and support to him. The note was accepted and communicated to Tewfik. It is pointed out that the Anglo-French note of January 1882 was an unfortunate step. Tewfik was not grateful and everybody else was angry at the idea of foreign intervention. The National Party, the military and Chamber united in a common bond of opposition to England and France. According to Dr. Gooch the Anglo-French Note was a blunder of the first magnitude. It brought strength not to Tewfik but to Arabi who became the hero of the nation. He was appointed the Minister of War and the power of the nation decreased. According to Lord Cromer, "From the moment the joint note was issued, foreign intervention became an unavoidable necessity." After the note was communicated, Gambetta fell and he was succeeded by Freycinet. The Sultan opposed the intervention of the Powers in Egypt. Bismarck was the least concerned. He declared that Egypt was the Schleswig-Holstein of the two Western Powers and they would intervene together but quarrel over the spoils.

There were riots in Alexandria in June 1882 and many persons were killed. Freycinet began to think in terms of coming terms with Arabi. However, the British Government decided to crush Arabi. As the Egyptians began to fortify Alexandria, the safety of the ships in that harbour was threatened. The British Squadron was instructed to destroy the earth-works if the erection of batteries was continued. France was asked to co-operate but she refused to do so and the French Fleet sailed away from Alexandria. Many reasons have been given to explain the withdrawal of the French Government. The proposed bombardment of Alexandria was an



act of war and that could not be done without the consent of the Chamber of Deputies. France established her protectorate over Tunis in 1881 and she found her hands too full. The French Government was also afraid that Bismarck might be laying a trap for her in Egypt. It was under these circumstances that England was left all alone in Egypt. England requested Italy to join but she also refused. It is stated that the British Foreign Minister was happy at the refusal. To quote him, "We have done the right thing. We have shown our readiness to admit others and we have not the inconvenience of a partner." In the case of a joint action there was every possibility of friction in the future. The Sultan offered to send troops but his conditions were not accepted. England declared that the Suez Canal would be safeguarded.

General Wolseley sailed from Port Said and in September 1882 crushed Arabi in the Battle of Tel-el Kabir. Thus England became the master of the situation. Bismarck was delighted at the news of British victory and declared that "the friendship of the British Empire is much more important for us than the fate of Egypt." He did not oppose the annexation of Egypt by England but he was also not prepared to advise its annexation. France was offered the presidency of the Commission for debt, but it was declined on the ground that it was inconsistent with the dignity of France to accept the position of a cashier. There were some sharp diplomatic exchanges and after that France "resumed her liberty of action". The hostilities between the two countries on the question of Egypt continued up to 1904 when the Entente Cordiale gave England a free hand in Egypt and France a free hand in Morocco.

When Great Britain was consolidating her position in Egypt, there broke out in Sudan the fanatical rising of the Mahdi against the Egyptian rule. The Mahdi defeated the Egyptian Army. The British Government was in a fix and did not know what to do. After some delay, it was decided to withdraw from Sudan and General Gordon was sent for that purpose. Unfortunately, the General went beyond instructions and was besieged. Before help could reach him, he was caught and killed in Khartum. The Mahdi was able to set up a reign of terror and destruction. The British Government followed a policy of caution but ultimately Kitchener was sent to complete the conquest of Sudan. After its conquest, Sudan was put under the joint control of England and Egypt.

When England occupied Egypt in 1882, the Government of Gladstone declared that it would not stay there for long. Lord Granville "contemplated shortly commencing the withdrawal of the fresh troops from Egypt." Lord Dufferin was sent from Constantinople to Cairo on a special mission "to advise the government of Khedive in the arrangements which would have to be made for the re-establishment of His Highness's authority." Arabi Pasha was tried and sent to Ceylon to spend his days of exile. Lord Dufferin recommended the improvement of Egypt by stages. Egypt was to be governed neither from London nor by an irresponsible centralized bureaucracy but by the representative institutions of the people.



The Legislative Council and the Assembly were to be created but they were to be merely consultative bodies. The army, police, the judicial system and the taxation system were to be overhauled and the help of foreigners was to be taken for that purpose. His recommendations were accepted by the British Government and carried out by stages. Granville declared that "His Majesty's Government are desirous of withdrawing as soon as the state of the country and the organization of proper means for the maintenance of the Khedive's authority will admit of it." The Suez Canal was to be neutral in times of war and open to all the Powers in times of peace.

Lord Northbrook visited Egypt in 1884 and submitted two reports to the British Government containing his recommendations. However, those were not accepted by the government. In 1888, the Suez Canal Treaty was made which was satisfactory to France. However, England reserved to herself the right to close the Canal in times of war.

**Cromer in Egypt.** The British Government appointed Mr. Baring in 1882 as agent and Consul-General and he continued his work up to 1907. Later on, he was called Lord Cromer. During his tenure of office, he accomplished a lot of work and added to the peace and prosperity of the country. Law and order was restored and maintained. The deficit budget was turned into a surplus budget. The police was reorganized on modern lines. Education was encouraged and public health was also promoted. Irrigation facilities were increased. The Egyptians were encouraged to go abroad and acquire higher education. These Egyptians brought from abroad the ideas of progress and nationalism. Corruption was removed from administration and inequitable taxes were abolished. The whole of the taxation system was put on a sound footing.

**World War I.** It was under these circumstances that World War I broke out in 1914. Nominally, Egypt was still under the Turkish rule. As Turkey was fighting against England, it was decided to put an end to the Turkish rule in Egypt. On 18th December 1914, the British Government declared that "in view of the state of war arising out of the action of Turkey, Egypt is placed under the protection of His Majesty and will henceforth constitute a British protectorate." The Khedive, Abbas Hilmi, who was then in Constantinople, was deposed and his uncle, Hussein Kiamil, was recognized as the future ruler and given the title of the Sultan. This action of Great Britain was resented by the nationalists of Egypt who felt that in spite of the repeated declarations of the British Government that they were determined to withdraw as soon as possible, the British stranglehold over the country was being strengthened. In spite of the resentment, there was quiet in Egypt during the period of war. Turkey and Germany made two attempts to get control of the Suez Canal and invaded Egypt, but both of those attempts were unsuccessful. In April and July 1915, attempts were made on the life of the Sultan.



Russian port of Vladivostok, the intended terminus of the Trans-siberian Railway. If Japan annexed the Liao-tung Peninsula, there would be no possibility of Russia getting an ice-free port in the south. Under the circumstances, Russian interests demanded that Japan must be ousted from those regions. France joined hands with Russia as her faithful ally in world politics. William II, the German Emperor, was prepared to join hands with a view to meeting the "yellow peril". His view was that Christendom must stand firmly against the pagan Orient. He wanted to cultivate good relations with Russia and no wonder he tried to show himself more zealous than France as a friend of Russian imperialism. He wanted to weaken the Franco-Russian Alliance and rob it of its anti-German sting. The memoirs of William II and Tirpitz shown that at that time Germany desired to have a naval base in the Far East. It is these considerations that brought Russia, France and Germany together.

Having deprived Japan of her spoils of victory, the three powers were most anxious to get whatever they could from the Chinese Government. France got control over all the mines in the three southern provinces adjoining French Indo-China. She also got the right to extend the French railway-line from Annam to China. Russia started her influence in China by the establishment of the Russo-Chinese Bank. She also got Port Arthur. Germany got the lease of the port and district of Kiao-Chow for 99 years and concessions for two railways in Shantung. Great Britain acquired the lease of Wei-hai-Wei "for as long a period as Port Arthur shall remain the possession of Russia." It cannot be denied that the Treaty of Shimonosheki opened China for European aggression.

**The Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902).** The Anglo-Japanese Treaty was signed in January 1902 and both Japan and England had their own reasons for doing so. As regards Japan, she had been deprived of her gains from the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 by the combined action of Russia, France and Germany. She was forced to give back the Liao-tung Peninsula and Port Arthur to China. Port Arthur was occupied by Russia herself in 1897. Russia also got certain concessions regarding the Trans-Siberian Railway. All these were resented by Japan. England was the only country which did not join the other Powers against Japan. No wonder while Japan came to have a grudge against other European Powers, especially Russia, she began to look to England as a friend to check Russian ambitions. It was in these circumstances that the seeds of the Anglo-Japanese alliance were planted. It is stated that Joseph Chamberlain talked of an Anglo-Japanese alliance in 1898. Russia tried to exploit the situation created in China by the Boxer Rising. She overran Manchuria and tried to secure a recognition of her position by her influence over the Dowager Empress. There was a lot of opposition from the other Powers to the establishment of Russian military protectorate over Manchuria and Russia was forced to withdraw. Both Japan and England felt that a check could be put on Russian advance by an alliance between the two countries. Count H. yashi told Lord Lansdowne that the Japanese



had "a strong sentimental dislike to the retention by Russia of Manchuria from which they had at one time been expelled." However, Japan was not so much interested in Manchuria as in Korea. The Russian attitude was that while she was determined to control Manchuria herself she was not prepared to allow Japan to have a free hand in Korea. There was every possibility of intervention by foreign Powers into the affairs of Korea and that Japan could not tolerate as *Korea in hostile hands was "a dagger thrust at the heart of Japan."* Korea "could not possibly stand alone—its people were far too unintelligent and sooner or later it would have to be decided whether the country was to fall to Russia or not." The Japanese "would certainly fight in order to prevent it, and it must be the object of their diplomacy to isolate Russia with which Power, if it stood alone, they were prepared to deal." According to Lord Newton, the biographer of Lord Lansdowne, "Japan was prepared to fight for Korea single-handed, but not if other Powers such as France and Germany were to intervene." Hence the necessity of a British alliance.

England also had her own reasons to enter into an alliance with Japan. Throughout the 19th century, England had followed a policy of splendid isolation and consequently had not entered into any alliance with any country. In 1879 was formed the Austro-German alliance and in 1882 was made the Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy. In 1894, Russia and France entered into an alliance. Thus, while other European Powers had entered into alliance, England had remained completely aloof from them but she began to feel towards the end of the 19th century that isolation was dangerous and not in the best interests of the country. A similar feeling was there on the occasion of the Fashoda incident of 1898. The attitude of the European Powers during the Boer War also made England feel that her policy of isolation was not a right one. She wanted to enter into an alliance with Germany but the attitude of William II was not helpful. All the efforts of men like Joseph Chamberlain to bring together Germany and England failed. The last effort was made in 1901 when William II came to England on the occasion of the death of Queen Victoria. When William II was approached for an alliance, his famous reply was: "The road to Berlin lies through Vienna." Chamberlain is reported to have stated that if the people in Germany had no sense, there was no help for that. It was under these circumstances that England decided to enter into an alliance with Japan and it was done in the beginning of January.

There was another reason why England wanted to enter into alliance with Japan. Both England and Japan were determined to check the further advance of Russia in the Far East and it was this community of interests that brought the two countries together.

**Terms of the Treaty.** (1) Both Japan and England declared that they had no idea of aggression in China or Korea. They also expressed their anxiety to maintain the *status quo* in both the countries.



(2) It was agreed between England and Japan that England had her interests in China and Japan had her interests both in China and Korea. It was agreed that it would be admissible for either of them to take such measures as might be indispensable in order to safeguard those interests if threatened either by the aggressive action of any other Power or by disturbances arising in China or Korea.

(3) If either England or Japan was involved in a war with another Power while safeguarding those interests, the other party was to maintain strict neutrality. It was also to do its utmost to prevent other Powers from joining hostilities against its ally.

(4) If any other Power or Powers should join in hostilities against that ally, the other party was to come to its assistance and conduct the war in common and make peace in mutual agreement with it.

(5) Both England and Japan agreed that neither of them was to enter into a separate arrangement with another Power to the prejudice of the interests of the other without consulting the other.

(6) Whenever, in the opinion of either England or Japan, the above interests were in danger, the two governments were to communicate with each other fully and frankly.

(7) The agreement was to come into force at once and was to remain in force for five years.

The Anglo-Japanese Treaty of 1902 was revised in 1905. According to the revised agreement, each country was to come to help the other if the latter were attacked even by a single Power and the scope of the alliance was also extended to embrace British India. The alliance was to last for 10 years. In 1911, the agreement was again revised in order to remove any danger of England being involved in a war between the United States and Japan. The alliance continued up to 1923.

**Importance of the Treaty.** The importance of the Anglo-Japanese alliance cannot be over-emphasized. It is rightly pointed out that there was no other treaty from which both the parties gained so much as did Japan and England from the treaty of 1902. Japan wanted an ally on whom she could depend to put a check to the further advance of Russia in the Far East. This she got in England. According to the treaty, if she was involved in a war with Russia, England was to do everything in her power to prevent other Powers from joining Russia against Japan. This was to enable Japan to deal effectively with Russia. Japan was not so much afraid of Russia alone as she was afraid of the help that Russia might get from some other Powers. Having secured herself by the Treaty of 1902, there is no wonder that Japan chose her own opportunity to begin the war with Russia in 1904 only two years after the Treaty.

Great Britain also gained a lot from this Treaty. She was as much interested in checking the further advance of Russia in the Far East as Japan herself. She would like to help Japan in



every way so that latter might be able to deal a blow to Russia. Moreover, England was getting worried over the naval programme of Germany. Germany was building her navy at a tremendous speed and that was liable to threaten the very existence of Great Britain. Under these circumstances Great Britain wanted to withdraw her ships from the Pacific. This she could do after entering into an alliance with Japan which was a Great Power in the Pacific.

It is pointed out that this alliance was of very great importance to Japan from another point of view. It raised the status of Japan. She was admitted on terms of equality by the greatest of the world Empires.<sup>1</sup> Japanese ambitions to expand got an impetus.

According to Lansdowne, the treaty was concluded "purely as a measure of precaution." It did not threaten "the present or the legitimate interests of the other Powers." It was intended to make for the preservation of peace and if peace was unfortunately broken, it was to have the effect of restricting the area of hostilities.

The Treaty of 1902 gave Japan a free hand in the Far East. It was undoubtedly a great landmark in her history of expansion in the Far East. She could depend not only upon her own strength but also upon the help which she was to get under the amended Treaty of 1905 which required England to come to the help of Japan if Japan went to war even with one single Power.

According to Grant and Temperley, "This Treaty was of epoch-making importance in every direction. Its intention, so far as Japan was concerned, must remain a little mysterious. The English diplomats seem to have thought that they would be able to keep Japan in order and to prevent her aggression against Russia. It is easy to see now that this was an entire mistake. Japanese military and naval organisation would be complete by the end of 1903, and after that, England's alliance would (and did) enable them to attack Russia as soon as they found it convenient to do so. This was not only British mistake. Her negotiators seem to have believed that the effect of this treaty would be confined to the local area of China. But the diplomacy of the Great Powers is world-wide in its action and extent, and an alliance affecting the Sea of Japan was found to trouble the Mediterranean and the North Sea. England's situation, however, was not so perilous as it appeared. She was not indeed on friendly terms either with Russia or with France, but then neither was she with Germany. Even after the Japanese Alliance England could have joined either the Triple or the Dual Alliance. Germany seems still to have expected or hoped for the former."

According to Taylor, "The Anglo-Japanese agreement, signed on 30th January 1902, gave both parties what they wanted. The Japanese got recognition of their special interest in Korea, and the assurance that Great Britain would keep France neutral in case they went to war with Russia. The British prevented any Japanese combine with Russia and strengthened the barrier against any

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1. It is pointed out that Great Britain did not feel it below its dignity to accept "the friendship of a barbarian Mongolian nation."



further Russian advance. The price they paid was small now that the Boer War was over; the British could easily spare the ships to counter France in the Far East; their only sacrifice was Korea, and that was only a sacrifice of principle. The gain, however, was not so great at the time as it was made by later unforeseen events. No one, not even the Japanese, supposed that they were capable of sustaining a serious war against Russia; and both parties hoped to strike a bargain with Russia, not to go to war with her. Nor did the agreement threaten Russia's position in Manchuria; at the most it made further Russian expansion more difficult. Again, the alliance did not mark the end of British isolation; rather it confirmed it. Isolation meant aloofness from the European Balance of Power; and this was now more possible than before. On the other hand, the alliance certainly did not imply any British estrangement from Germany. Rather the reverse. The British would no longer have to importune the Germans for help in the Far East; and, therefore, relations between them would be easier. The Germans had constantly suggested alliance with the Japanese to the British; and they were given advance notice of its conclusion. They believed that it would increase the tension between Great Britain and Russia, and welcome it much as Napoleon III. had welcomed the Prussian alliance with Italy in the spring of 1866." (*The Struggle for Mastery in Europe*, p. 400).

According to Gottschalk and Lach, "Though the Americans feared the consequences of giving Japan a free hand in Korea, the possibility of Russo-Japanese cooperation in eastern Asia appeared an even greater danger. Secretary Hay was primarily concerned that, no matter what happens eventually in northern China and Manchuria, the United States shall not be placed in any worse position than while the country was under the unquestioned dominion of China." And President Roosevelt expressed the opinion: "We cannot possibly interfere for the Koreans against Japan. They could not strike one blow in their own defence." Thus the United States government, agreeing with Great Britain that the realities required the courting of Tokyo, was prepared to refrain from interference with Japan's obvious designs upon Korea.

"The end of England's diplomatic isolation and the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance helped to crystallize the alliance systems of Europe. Great Britain's hostility to the Asiatic ambitions of Russia was viewed hopefully in Berlin as presaging a conflict involving two of Germany's potential enemies. The Germans were also hopeful that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance might add to the hard feelings between France and England because of France's commitments to Russia against such an eventuality by providing for their neutrality in case of hostilities in the Far East limited to Russia and Japan alone. Under the terms of her alliance France was similarly protected from involvement on the side of Russia in an outbreak in eastern Asia. Neither the Anglo-Japanese nor the Franco-Russian treaty, therefore, put obstacles in the way of an entente of France and England regarding their common interests in Europe and Africa, and an Anglo-French entente was soon to become a reality."



The importance of this defensive and offensive alliance was realized at once. William II expressed his satisfaction over the Treaty. Both Austria and Italy sent congratulations. However, both Russia and France "made little attempt to conceal their disappointment"

The Anglo-Japanese alliance ended the British policy of isolation. After 1902, she entered into the Entente Cordiale with France and in 1907 she made the Anglo-Russian Convention with Russia.

**Russo-Japanese War (1904-5).** Manchuria has been rightly called the granary of the Far East. In addition to her agricultural products, she is rich in timber and minerals and no wonder its importance to Japan was very great. In 1895, Japan reluctantly gave up her control over the Liao-tung Peninsula as she felt that she could not face the combination of Russia, France and Germany. However, Russia got for herself the lease of Port Arthur and the neighbouring harbour of Talien-Wan for 25 years. She also secured the right to carry the Trans-Siberian Railway across Manchuria to Vladivostok. Port Arthur was also linked up by the railway with the Trans-Siberian Railway. The Manchurian section of the Trans-Siberian Railway was known by the name of the Chinese Eastern Railway. It appeared to Japan that the Chinese Eastern Railway was as much a commercial project as a strategic railway. Thousands of Russian troops were garrisoned in Manchuria. Port Arthur was strengthened and a large fleet was stationed there. Japan dreaded that Russia would next pounce upon Korea. The situation was a serious one.

However, in 1902, a treaty was signed between China and Russia by which Russia undertook to respect the integrity of China and evacuate Manchuria. China agreed to be responsible for the safety of Russian subjects and Russian enterprises in that province. The evacuation was to be completed in three stages of 6 months each. At the end of each stage, a part of Manchuria defined in the treaty was to be restored to China. In October 1902, Russia fulfilled the terms of the treaty. However, in April 1903, the second section of Manchuria was still in the hands of Russian troops and the Russian Government informed China that any further evacuation was to be a conditional one. That was to take place only if China agreed to give certain concessions to Russia in Manchuria. This new demand of Russia was against the terms of the Treaty of April 1902. China was supported by Great Britain, the U.S.A. and Japan and consequently she refused to concede the Russian demand. At that time, Russian subjects were carrying on some activities in North Korea. Bezobrazoff, a Russian speculator was engaged in extorting a concession obtained from the Korean Government. That concession carried with it the right to cut timber on the Yalu river. Bezobrazoff had great influence on persons in the entourage of the Czar. Work was begun on the Yalu river in April 1903 and on that pretext Russian troops were moved towards the river. This was a direct violation of the agreement between Russia and Japan with regard to Korea. Japan had already spent a lot of money and



taken great pains to develop her influence and control over Korea and consequently she was not prepared to allow Russia to have her own way. Japan made representations at St. Petersburg and protested that the activities of the Russian agents were not in accordance with the pledges made by the Russian Government. Japan was willing to enter into a new treaty by which Russian interests in Manchuria could be safeguarded but Japan's interests in Korea were also to be recognised and guaranteed. Russia gave her reply in October 1903. While certain restrictions were to be put on Japan with regard to Korea, Russia was to have a free hand in Manchuria and on the Yalu river. Fruitless negotiations were continued between the two countries for many months. Russia took advantage of this interval and tried to strengthen her military position in the Far East. On 13th January 1904, Japan agreed to regard Manchuria as outside her sphere of influence but she also demanded that Russia should give a similar undertaking with regard to Korea. Japan asked for an early reply on account of brisk movements of the Russian troops. As no reply was received, Japan decided to end the negotiations and on 5th February 1904 diplomatic relations with Russia were cut off.

It is to be observed that in the beginning of February 1904, Russia had, east of Lake Baikal, about 80,000 field troops, 25,000 fortress troops and about 3,000 troops as frontier guards. Those forces were scattered over the immense area lying between Lake Baikal on the west, Vladivostok on the east, Nikolaievsk on the north and Port Arthur on the south. The distance between the two main groups was about 900 miles. The rate at which the resources of European Russia could be made available in the Far East was dependent upon the capacity of the Eastern Siberian Railway. Neither the permanent way of the Eastern Siberian Railway, nor the number and accommodations of stations and sidings, nor the quality of the rolling stock was such as to put up with the strain of heavy military traffic. However, the greatest headache was presented by Lake Baikal which created a gap of about 100 miles over which the railway had still to be constructed. On account of this gap, the passengers and goods had to be carried over an area of 30 miles of area. During a part of the winter season, the water was frozen and things had to be carried on the snow. However, when the snow melted, all traffic came to a standstill till such time as the water became navigable. That pointed to the difficulties in the way of the Russian Government while fighting against Japan. It was not possible to send sufficient reinforcements before the end of April. Japan was sure that she would have to deal with a very small army of Russia to begin with.

As compared with Russia, the position of Japan at the beginning of the war was that she had an active army of 1,80,000 men with a first reserve of 200,000 strong and 470,000 other trained men or about 850,000 trained men in all.

Japan was fully prepared for war. The huge indemnity which she had got from China was used profitably for the development of



the army and the navy. "Her spies and secret agents had thoroughly familiarised themselves with the topography and resources of Korea and Manchuria ; and her diplomatists had secured a clear ring for the fight by the treaty of Alliance with Great Britain. Her soldiers had the opportunity of comparing themselves with the Russians in the Boxer campaign. The result had not discouraged them. Her credit in the great money markets was good, and her supply of ammunitions and stores was complete down to the last gaiter button. She threw down the gauntlet to one of the greatest Powers of Europe to the astonishment of the world—but with the most complete confidence in herself, a confidence that was shared by every unit in the Empire, from the Heaven-descended Emperor on the throne down to the humblest private in the ranks." (Longford)

The Russo-Japanese war was fought both on land and sea. The greatest battle of the war was that of Mukden, the capital of Manchuria. The fighting was so bitter that each side lost about 60,000 men in killed and wounded. The battle was won by Japan. However, as she was too much exhausted she could not follow up the victory. Russia sent her Baltic fleet to the Far East. When it entered the Straits of Tsushima between Korea and Japan, it was completely destroyed by Admiral Togo. The naval battle of Tsushima has been compared to the Battle of Trafalgar. It was a decisive battle. Japan got control of the Pacific.

Both parties were completely exhausted and peace was ultimately brought about through the good offices of President Theodore Roosevelt of the U.S.A. By the terms of the Treaty of Portsmouth which was signed in September 1905, Russia recognised Korea within the sphere of interest of Japan. She also transferred to Japan her lease of the Liao-tung Peninsula. She also gave the southern half of the Island of Sakhalin to Japan and agreed to evacuate Manchuria.

**Its Effects.** (1) The Russo-Japanese war had far-reaching effects. It affected the history not only of Russia and Japan, but also that of China, India, the East in general and also the West. The Russian dreams of having a warm-water port in the Far East were shattered completely. As Russia got a setback in the Far East she began to concentrate more and more in the Far East and Middle East. The defeat of Russia also exposed the weakness of the autocratic regime of the Romanovs. The liberal and revolutionary forces in Russia became active and consequently the Czar was forced to make concessions in 1905. That led to the liberal experiment in that country for some time.

(2) Japan had been deprived of her gains in 1895 by Russia and her collaborators. By defeating Russia in 1904-5, Japan felt that she had got her revenge. She had suffered from a sense of frustration for some time, but after 1905, she felt that she could go ahead with her programme of expansion and conquest. Korea was completely at her mercy and she could annex it in 1910. Japan became a full-fledged imperialist country after 1905. She got a lead in the Far East and also entered into an open competition and



rivalry with other European Powers in China. That process continued till the end of the Second World War.

(3) The Russo-Japanese war had its repercussions on European politics also. It was during this war that William II, the German Emperor, tried to win over Russia. Germany helped the refuelling of the Russian ships in the Baltic. Attempts were made to convince Russia that she could depend upon Germany in her hour of difficulty. Russia could not depend upon England as she was already in alliance with Japan. In July 1905, William II and Nicholas II met at Bjorko. Both the monarchs agreed that in the event of British attack on the Baltic, they were to safeguard their interests by occupying Denmark during the war. The Kaiser produced the draft of a treaty which was signed by the Czar in the presence of two witnesses. According to the draft treaty, if any European State should attack either Power, the other was to aid with all its forces and neither of the two was to conclude a separate peace treaty. The treaty was to come into force on the conclusion of peace with Japan and was to be cancelled only after a notice of a year. Russia was to make the terms of the treaty known to France and invite her to join it. It is pointed out that the Kaiser was happy at his achievement. The alliance was to be of use to Russia as it was to create confidence in the minds of the people with regard to peace and was likely to encourage financial circles in foreign countries to invest money in Russian enterprises. That was likely to cool down the self-assertion and impertinence of William II. It was accepted that Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden and Norway would be attracted to the new centre of gravity and revolve in the orbit of the great bloc of Powers. It appeared that the old dream of William II to create a combination of the continental Powers under the leadership of Germany was going to be realised.

However, the Czar did not seem to be enthusiastic about the Bjorko pact. After the conclusion of the war with Japan, he informed his Foreign Minister of what had transpired at Bjorko. It is stated that the Russian Foreign Minister "could not believe his eyes or ears." The Bjorko pact had to be denounced because France was opposed to it and the Russian Ministers also doubted its efficacy. The Czar also hesitated and repented. William II reminded Nicholas II of the moral obligations arising out of the Bjorko pact and asked Nicholas II to spend more time, labour and patience to induce France to join the pact. He reminded him of their joining these pacts before God and taking of the vows: "What is signed is signed; God is our testator." The pact could not make any headway. The Russian Ambassador at Paris informed the Czar that France was not prepared to join the German League on any conditions. Nicholas II pointed out that the pact was not followed as it did not bear the signatures of the Foreign Ministers. It was under the circumstances that the Bjorko pact became a dead letter. It was treacherously extorted and quickly denounced and consequently did not affect the course of European politics.

(4) However, as a result of the efforts of France, Edward VII, Grey and Izvolski, the Anglo-Russian Convention was signed in 1907.



This could be said to be an indirect effect of the Russo-Japanese war.

(5) The Russo-Japanese war shook China from her slumber. She felt humiliated at the thought that two foreign Powers made her territory as the battle ground. The patriots of China would like to break with the past traditions and carry out revolutionary changes in their country with a view to putting their country on her feet. No wonder, the reform movement in China got an impetus from the war of 1904-5.

(6) The Russo-Japanese war profoundly influenced the imagination of the people of the East. It was for the first time in modern history that an Asiatic Power was able not only to face a Western power but also to defeat her completely. This gave encouragement to the nationalist forces in the East. It is pointed out that the Battle of Tsushima was more disastrous to the prestige of the West than the First Afghan War. To the East it held out fresh hopes and feelings of confidence. The victory of Japan profoundly affected the national agitation in India.

**The World War I.** When the First World War broke out in 1914, Japan also declared war against the Central Powers. She took full advantage of the preoccupation of the Great Powers in the European theatre of war. She captured Kiaō-Chau and the other German concessions in Shantung. These possessions were guaranteed to Japan by the secret treaty with the allies. In January 1915, Japan presented the famous "Twenty-one Demands" to China. An attempt was made to conceal the contents of those demands from other Powers, but they leaked out. Those demands related to Shantung, Manchuria, Eastern Inner Mongolia and coal and iron concessions. It was also demanded that China must not alienate any of her gulfs, harbours and coasts to any other Power. Its object was to close China to Europe and keep Asia for the Asiatics. It has been characterised as the "Asiatic Monroe Doctrine". Japan also demanded the appointment of a Japanese adviser, purchase of Japanese ammunition, control over the police and the right of carrying religious propaganda. Japan tried to put all kinds of pressure on China to get those demands accepted. The Chinese President Yuan Shih-kai was offered support for his own imperial schemes. He was also threatened with war. In May 1915, an ultimatum was presented to China and the latter had to accept most of the demands of Japan. It was pointed out that the treaty of 1915 between China and Japan "was the outcome of a Private deal between Yuan Shih-kai and Japan. From a legal point of view, it has never been passed by Parliament and therefore cannot be enforced from the practical point of view. Yuan Shih-kai had at this time already become a criminal traitor to the Chinese Republic and had no claim to represent the people who at that time regarded Japan with a universal and bitter hatred".

In 1917 Japan entered into the Lansing-Ishii agreement with the U.S.A. by which the latter recognised "that territorial propinquity creates special relations between countries" and Japan "has therefore special interests in China." In other words, the U.S.A. also accepted the special claims of Japan in China.



As both Japan and China fought on the side of the allies, the Japanese and Chinese delegations at the Peace Conference presented opposing claims. However, the claims of Japan were accepted and those of China were rejected. Japan was given all the rights which Germany had in Kiao-Chou and the province of Shantung. She was also given the German island north of the equator. Obviously, China was disappointed by the peace settlement.

**The Washington Conference (1921).** The U.S.A. was not happy at the increase of the power of Japan and consequently she would like to put some check on her power. Japan was the greatest naval Power in the Far East and the Americans could not put up with that fact. Consequently the American Government invited Japan, Great Britain, France, Italy, China, Portugal, Belgium and Holland "to participate in a conference on the limitation of armaments, in connection with which Pacific and Far Eastern questions would also be discussed." The Washington Conference was held in November 1921. Three treaties were signed at Washington, viz., Four-Power Treaty, Five-Power Treaty and Nine-Power Treaty. The Four Power Treaty was made between Great Britain, Japan, France and the U.S.A. All the Powers agreed to respect the rights of one another in relation to their insular possessions in the Pacific. They were to consult one another if there was any dispute among them. They were also to consult one another if there was a threat of war from any other Power. The Five-Power Treaty provided for naval disarmament. It fixed the ratio of the navies of the various countries. There was to be naval parity between the U.S.A. and Great Britain. Japanese Navy was to be 60 % of British or American Navy. The strength of the French and the Italian Navies was fixed at 35% of that of England or the U.S.A. These limitations related to the capital ships and did not apply to light cruisers, destroyers and submarines. The contracting parties were to maintain the *status quo* in the Pacific. By the Nine-Power Treaty, all the Powers assembled at Washington pledged themselves to respect the territorial integrity of China and "to refrain from taking advantage of the conditions in China to seek special rights of privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects and citizens or friendly States. At the Washington Conference Japan also agreed to return Kiao-Chou territory to China. It cannot be denied that the Washington Conference put a check on the growing power of Japan. She was given an inferior position with regard to her naval strength and was also forced to surrender the gains of the World War I. The Japanese patriots were not prepared to accept such terms for long and there was bound to be trouble in the future.

**Manchuria.** Japan was keenly interested in the affairs of Manchuria. Her population was increasing by leaps and bounds and she wanted additional territory for her surplus population. Her factories wanted not only raw materials but also new markets for the finished products. Japanese capital needed some area for investment. Manchuria was near Japan and her strategic importance was not unknown to the Japanese military strategists. She had already got control over the South Manchurian Railway. For the



protection of that railway, she was entitled to keep 15,000 soldiers in Manchuria with their headquarters at Mukden. The terminus of the railway was at Derien which was under Japan and through that port passed more than half the foreign trade of Manchuria. The Japanese built towns along the railway and also executed modern projects which added substantially to the prosperity of the area. The foreign banking business of Manchuria was completely in the hands of the Japanese. By 1931, Japanese investment in Manchuria amounted to about one million dollars.

Japan had her eyes on Manchuria for a long time and she found that the year 1931 was the most appropriate one for the acquisition of that territory. Europe was busy with her own problems. World-wide depression confronted European statesmen. The latter had to face the problems of unemployment, debt moratoria, disarmament, tariff barriers, etc. Political situation in Germany and Italy was abnormal. China also was passing through a great crisis. After the death of Dr. Sun Yat Sen in 1925, many groups struggled to secure supremacy in China. Although General Chiang Kai-shek established his supremacy in the country he had still to face many rivals. There was no unity in the Chinese ranks. The hold of the central government over the outlying provinces was not secure. There was treachery in the dealings of the various parties. Famines and floods in the country added to the misery of the people. The local military chiefs were busy in their bandit activities. If Japan really intended to conquer Manchuria, there could not be any better opportunity for it.

On the night of 18-19th September 1931, a Japanese patrol claimed to discover a detachment of Chinese soldiers near Mukden trying to blow up the South Manchurian Railway. It was a good enough excuse for the Japanese. There was some fighting and about 10,000 Chinese soldiers in Mukden were either disarmed or dispersed. Within four days all the Chinese towns within a radius of 200 miles north of Mukden were occupied by the Japanese. The Chinese Government in Manchuria evacuated Mukden. By November 1932, practically the whole of North Manchuria was in the hands of the Japanese. By January 1932, the whole of the Manchuria was completely conquered by Japan.

The Chinese Government protested against the Japanese action in the League of Nations and appealed to the member-States in the name of collective security to intervene. The Japanese delegate in the League of Nations tried to remove the fears of the Powers by declaring that his government had no intention to annex Manchuria and the Japanese troops would be withdrawn as soon as the lives and property of the Japanese in Manchuria were secured. Japan characterised her action as merely a police action. In spite of the fact that Japan was the aggressor, the Council of the League of Nations decided not to take action against her and a resolution was passed unanimously on 30th September, 1931, by which an opportunity was given to Japan to withdraw from Manchuria. The American Government also felt concerned over the Japanese attack. She would like to do all that lay in her power to maintain the territorial



integrity of China. Although the U.S.A. was not a member of the League of Nations, she participated in the deliberations of the Council of the League of Nations and offered to co-operate if action was taken against Japan. While the League of Nations hesitated to take action against Japan, the attitude of Japan became all the more stiff. She resented the interference of other Powers in the affairs of Manchuria.

When it became clear that Japan was determined to persist in her course of action the League of Nations appointed the famous *Lytton Commission* to investigate on the spot "any circumstances which affecting international relations, threaten to disturb peace between China and Japan." However, the Commission was instructed not "to interfere with the military arrangements of either party." After completing its work, the Lytton Commission submitted its report in November 1932. The report attempted to perform the impossible task of pleasing both the parties. Its recommendations were couched in a very guarded language. It recommended direct negotiations between the belligerents. China was asked to set up an autonomous government in Manchuria under her own suzerainty. It also made some recommendations with regard to the reorganization of railways, etc. in Manchuria. It recommended the employment of experts from outside for political and financial purposes. The report avoided to mention Japan as the aggressor. To quote, "The present case is not that of a country which has declared war on another country without previously exhausting the opportunities for conciliation provided in the Covenant of the League of Nations, neither is it a simple case of the violation of the frontier of one country by the armed forces of a neighbouring country." In spite of this, when the Lytton report was discussed by the Assembly of the League of Nations, the Japanese delegation left the hall and Japan gave a notice of terminating her membership of the League.

While Japan took a decisive action with regard to the League, the latter failed to take any effective action against Japan. That was partly due to the attitude of the various Powers. Sir John Simon, the British Foreign Minister, declared that his country was not prepared to go to war against Japan on the question of Manchuria. Mr. L.S. Amery, a leading Conservative statesman, declared thus in 1933 in the House of Commons: "I confess that we see no reason whatever that either in act or in word, or in sympathy, we should go individually or internationally against Japan in this matter. Japan has got a very powerful case based upon fundamental realities. When you look at the fact that Japan needs markets and that it is imperative for her, in the world in which she lives; that there should be some sort of peace and order, then who is there among us to cast the first stone and to say that Japan ought not to have acted with the object of creating peace and order in Manchuria and defending herself against the continued aggression of vigorous Chinese nationalism? Our whole policy in India, our whole policy in Egypt stands condemned if we condemn Japan."

As the League of Nations took no action, Japan was able to retain Manchuria under her control. The failure of the League



was a great blow to the principle of collective security. It was bound to encourage persons like Mussolini and Hitler in their aggressive designs. Japan also felt that she could snatch away the other parts of China and no one would come to oppose her. No wonder, her imperialism got an impetus.

Regarding the conquest of Manchuria by Japan, Hardy has made the following observation: "The shock; therefore, which the incident administered to the whole system of collective security was tremendous and well-nigh fatal and the only question on which opinion can be divided is as to whether the responsibility for this lies wholly at the door of Japan or whether it must be shared by those who planned a system which the world is incapable of working. There are, indeed, persons who think that the application of sanctions was practical, but the difficulties were so great and the prospect of plunging the world in war so formidable that the inaction of the members of the League must be considered pardonable if not wholly justified." According to Mackintosh, "Both Italy and Germany concluded that there was little risk in making treaties and carrying out aggressions, since the League Powers seemed loath to act in concert. Japan called the bluff of the League and proved to the world that even a slight danger of war was enough to cool the ardour of its supporter." It is also pointed out that the action of the League "struck a fatal blow at the collective system, killed any chance of disarmament and started the present drift towards a world war which, when it comes, will be infinitely most devastating to the present social and imperial order than anything that could have resulted from applying the Covenant to Japan."

The acquisition of Manchuria by Japan added to her hunger and Japanese patriots, industrialists and soldiers began to think in terms of bringing the whole of Eastern Asia under their control. The Japanese Government threatened other Powers with war if they tried to support the Chinese Government against Japan: "We oppose, therefore, any attempt on the part of China to avail herself of the influence of any other country in order to resist Japan; we also oppose any action taken by China calculated to play one Power against another Power. Any joint operation undertaken by foreign Powers even in the name of technical or financial assistance at this particular moment after the Manchurian and Shanghai incidents are bound to acquire political significance. While negotiations on normal questions of finance or trade would not be objected but supplying China with war aeroplanes, building aerodromes in China and detailing military instructions, or military advisers to China or contracting a loan to provide funds for political uses, would obviously tend to alienate friendly relations between Japan, China and other countries and to disturb peace and order in Eastern Asia. Japan will oppose such projects." It is true that Great Britain and the U.S.A. repudiated the above claims of Japan, but in spite of that nothing was done to stop the further disintegration of China. Japan was determined to oppose tooth and nail every foreign attempt to help China. She also left no stone unturned to create dissensions among the Chinese. She decided to finish China once for all before the Chinese patriots were



able to whip up the national enthusiasm to present a united front to the aggressor.

An attempt was made by Japan in 1935 to separate the northern province of China from the rest of the country. However, her efforts failed on account of the timely action of the Chinese. The local Japanese Military authority was able to set up a puppet government under the name of East Hopei autonomous government. Attempts were made by Japan to injure the Chinese finances by encouraging smuggling on a large scale. There was a lot of resentment against Japan in China, and in 1936 many Japanese were murdered in that country. In July 1937, there was a clash between Chinese troops and Japanese troops near Peking. There was no formal declaration of war but hostilities between the two countries assumed large dimensions. Like the Germans, the Japanese steam-roller continued unchecked its work of conquering the whole of China. Peking was captured. Nanking fell into the hands of the Japanese. Although the Japanese attitude towards the Britishers in China was humiliating and even outrageous, Great Britain refused to be drawn up into the arena of war. The League of Nations contented itself by merely passing pious resolutions. Japan continued its work of conquest unhampered from any quarter. Hankow and Canton were also captured. Japan was able to establish her control over all the Chinese ports and the coastline. For some time, China got help from Russia, but that was lessened in course of time. In 1939, Japan was able to cut off the railway line to Indo-China. China was still getting her supplies through the Burma Road, but even that became superfluous after the conquest of Burma by Japan. On December 7, 1941, Japan attacked the Pearl Harbour and thus the U.S.A. entered the war. For some time, Japan was able to have her own way. Singapore fell into her hands. French Indo-China, Siam, Malaya and Burma were conquered by Japan. Even the security of Australia and India was threatened. Ultimately, as a result of the joint action of the United Nations, the Japanese were beaten back. The throwing of two atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 brought about the surrender of Japan.

### Suggested Readings

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|-----------------|--|
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| Asakawa         | : <i>Russo-Japanese Conflict.</i>                |
| Causton         | : <i>Militarism and Foreign Policy in Japan.</i> |
| Chamberlain     | : <i>Japan over Asia.</i>                        |
| Chang, C.F.     | : <i>The Anglo-Japanese Alliance.</i>            |
| Colegrove       | : <i>Militarism in Japan.</i>                    |
| Douglas         | : <i>Europe and the Far East.</i>                |
| Gibbons         | : <i>New Map of Asia.</i>                        |
| Hershey         | : <i>Modern Japan.</i>                           |
| Hornbeck        | : <i>Contemporary Politics in the Far East.</i>  |
| Mellaren, W. W. | : <i>A Political History of Japan.</i>           |
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| Wildes          | : <i>Japan in Crisis, 1934.</i>                  |
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| Yen, E. T.      | : <i>The Open Door Policy.</i>                   |



## CHAPTER XXVII

### AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

→ **Mexico.** The U.S.A. emerged as a Great Power after the Civil War of 1861-65 and she began to assert herself both in American and world politics. To begin with, she applied the Monroe Doctrine against France in Mexico. France under Napoleon III had intervened in Mexico when the government of that country repudiated her international debts. Napoleon sent a large army to conquer that country and having done so, he put Maximilian, the brother of the Austrian Emperor, on the throne of Mexico. France maintained her control over Mexico so long as the Civil War continued in the U.S.A. However, after peace was restored in the U.S.A. the American Government applied the Monroe Doctrine and demanded that France must leave Mexico. Napoleon III could not put up with the pressure and consequently decided to withdraw his army. As Maximilian delayed matters, he was shot dead. It was in this way that the American Government liberated the Mexican soil from the French troops.

**'Alabama' Claims.** The *Alabama* cruiser sailing from an English port had inflicted great losses on American commerce during the Civil War. Naturally, the U.S.A. demanded damages for the loss suffered by her. The situation was serious but ultimately both the governments agreed to submit the dispute to arbitration. After prolonged negotiations between the two countries, the Treaty of Washington was signed in May 1871. It expressed "in a friendly spirit the regret felt by Her Majesty's Government for the escape, under whatever circumstances of the *Alabama* and another vessel from British ports and for the depredation committed by these vessels." The treaty adjusted in minute details the outstanding disputes such as the fisheries between Canada and the U.S.A. It also referred the question of Vancouver boundary to the arbitration of the German Emperor who gave his award against Great Britain. New principles of international law involving greater diligence in preventing the equipment of ships in neutral harbours for use against friendly belligerents were accepted. It was agreed to refer the *Alabama* Claims to a tribunal of five persons nominated by Great Britain, the U.S.A., Italy, Switzerland and Brazil. As a result of the arbitration award, Great Britain had to pay £250,000 as damages to the U.S.A. Gladstone was primarily responsible for this arbitration and regarding the award, he expressed the opinion that "the sentence was harsh in its extent and unjust in its basis." Again, "I regard the fine imposed on this country as dust in the balance compared with the moral value of the example set when these two



great nations of England and America, went in peace and concord before a judicial tribunal rather than resort to the arbitrament of the sword."

**Venezuela Boundary Disputes.** There was a dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela with regard to the boundary lines



between the two countries. Many attempts were made to solve the difficulties but failed. In 1895, Mr. Olney, the Secretary of State



under President Cleveland, demanded that Great Britain must submit the dispute to arbitration. The demand was startling and the terms in which it was made was nothing short of insolence. The American Government justified its interference on the basis of the Monroe Doctrine. The despatch of Olney contained the following passage : "That the distance of 3,000 miles of intervening ocean makes any permanent political union between an European and an American State unnatural and inexpedient will hardly be denied. The States of America, South as well as North, by geographical proximity, by natural sympathy, by similarity of governmental constitutions, are friends and allies, commercially and politically, of the United States. Today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition. There is then, a Doctrine of American public law, well founded in principle and abundantly sanctioned by precedent, which entitles and requires the United States to treat as an injury to itself the forcible assumption by an European Power of political control over an American State.

Although the despatch of Olney was highly provocative in tone, Lord Salisbury refused to be provoked. He politely questioned the applicability of the Monroe Doctrine to the particular dispute and insisted that the United States was not entitled to affirm "with reference to a number of states for whose conduct it assumes no responsibility, that its interests are necessarily concerned in whatever may befall those States, simply because, they are situated in the Western hemisphere." However, Lord Salisbury made it clear that he had no intention to allow Great Britain to be drawn into a serious quarrel with the U.S.A. In spite of the attitude of Lord Salisbury President Cleveland sent the following message to the American Congress on 7th December 1895 : "If any European Power, by an extension of its boundaries, takes possession of the territory of our neighbouring republic against its will and in derogation of its rights, it is difficult to see why, to that extent, such European Power does not thereby attempt to extend its system of government to that portion of this continent which is thus taken. This is the precise action which President Monroe declared to be dangerous to our peace and safety." There was every possibility of a war between the two countries. However, "Lord Salisbury had a very good sense of humour, and declined to take the matter too seriously." Both Great Britain and Venezuela agreed to submit their conflicting claims to a committee of investigation appointed by the United States. As a result of the arbitration, Great Britain got a lot of territory in dispute. However, by her action, the U.S.A. proved that she was the guardian of the Latin States of South America.

The American intervention in the dispute of Venezuela brought to end the period of American isolation in world politics. According to an American writer, "Cleveland's policy as to the Venezuelan boundary announced to the world with seismic suddenness and violence that the American democracy was of age." The U.S.A.



could not retrace her steps from the position asserted by Cleveland and Olney. From the position taken up by the U.S.A. it followed that she could not avoid her responsibility for the doings if its neighbours and the general maintenance of order. Some of her neighbours were weak and turbulent and no wonder President Theodore Roosevelt declared in 1904 that "the adherence of the United States to the Monroe doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of wrong-doing or impotence, to the exercise of an international policy power."

**War with Spain (1898).** On 21st April 1898, war broke out between Spain and the U.S.A. That was partly due to the unsatisfactory state of affairs in the Island of Cuba which was under Spain. The people of Cuba had revolted in 1868 and that state of affairs continued for practically 10 years. It is true that a compromise was arrived at in 1878, but the local Government was oppressive and corrupt and in 1895, a fresh revolt took place. General Weyler was sent to Cuba with powers to deal with the situation in any way he pleased. He employed barbarous methods to put down the revolt. The U.S.A. had intimated commercial relations with Cuba. The Americans had invested a lot of money in that island and consequently they suffered a great deal on account of the lawlessness in that country. In 1897, The United States offered its good offices to Spain but the latter did not avail of them. Meanwhile, there was great indignation in the U.S.A. against the atrocities of Weyler. A Cuban Relief Committee was set up in the U.S.A. President Cleveland threatened intervention. Matters came to a crisis in 1898 when the *Maine*, an American battleship in the harbour of Havana, was blown up. The Americans attributed the incident to the Spanish agency and clamoured for war. The American Congress and President McKinley moved with the tide of popular feeling. Resolutions were passed demanding that Spain should grant independence to Cuba and give up all intention to annex it. Spain was provoked to declare war against the U.S.A. The internal supremacy of U.S.A. brought the war to a speedy end. The Spanish army and navy were both concentrated at Santiago where they were blockaded by the American forces. The Spanish Admiral was ordered to run the gauntlet of the blockade. The result was that the Spanish Admiral and his entire fleet were destroyed after fighting for a few hours. After a fortnight, the city of Santiago was also captured.

During this war, Porto Rico was acquired by the U.S.A. and Spain disappeared from the Caribbean Sea. Cuba was occupied for some time by the American troops, but later on it was declared independent. It was feared that the inclusion of Cuba into the U.S.A. would have complicated matters. However, the U.S.A. reserved to herself the right of interfering whenever circumstances demanded.

The war between Spain and the U.S.A. was not confined to the Atlantic Sea alone. It expanded to the Philippines also. The



Spanish rule in Cuba was oppressive, tyrannical and ineffective. The islands were ruled in the name of the King of Spain by the missionary friars. As there was chronic trouble, there was a demand for the expulsion of the missionary friars from the Philippines. A movement was also started for that purpose. In 1896, the people of the Philippines petitioned to the Emperor of Japan to annex the islands. Instead of accepting the offer, the ruler of Japan communicated the contents of the offer to the Spanish Government. The result was that a reign of terror started in the country. The colonists demanded a constitutional government, freedom of the press, equal laws and the exclusion of the friars.

Such was the state of affairs in the Philippines when the war started between Spain and the U.S.A. An American squadron under the command of Admiral Dewey appeared before Manila and within two hours destroyed the entire Spanish fleet. In July, Manila surrendered. When everything seemed to be lost, Spain made peace at Paris in December 1898. The Philippine islands were given to the U.S.A. and she paid to Spain a sum of 20,000,000 dollars as compensation for her losses. The Americans were not in a mood to restore the Philippine Islands on any condition. There was no possibility of their being declared independent. President McKinley sent the following instructions to the American Peace Commission: "Without any original thought of complete or even partial acquisition, the presence and successes of our armies at Manila impose upon us obligations that we cannot disregard. The march of events rules and overrules human action. Avowing unreservedly the purpose which has animated all our efforts and still solicitous to adhere to it, we cannot be unmindful that without any desire or design on our part, the war has brought us new duties and responsibilities which we must meet and discharge as becomes a great nation on whose growth and career from the beginning the Ruler of Nations has plainly written the high command and pledge of civilization."

The decision to annex the Philippines marked an important departure in the Pacific policy of the United States. "The Yellow Peril, the strategic and commercial advantages of the Philippines, and the active competition of the Germans for them helped to overcome idealism in Washington. In part, the switch over to imperialism can be accounted for by the rapid transition from agriculture to industry that was then taking place in the United States with a consequently greater interest in foreign trade and empire. Besides, Protestant missionaries were eager for opportunities to penetrate untried areas. Finally, President McKinley believed that the Filipinos were not yet ready for independence, and that to grant it would merely be to invite the Japanese or some European power to move in. The scramble for concessions in China, he believed, furnished an abject lesson as to what the future held in store for an oriental nation unable to protect itself from outside pressures."

Although the Philippines were given to the U.S.A. by the Treaty of Paris of 1898, peace could not be maintained. The insur-



gent leader, Aquinaldo by name, had been deported in 1897. In 1898, he was allowed to return to Manila. However, Aquinaldo proclaimed the independence of the Philippines and established a republican government there with himself as President. This happened in February 1899 and the U.S.A. was forced to act once again. All organised resistance was smashed by the end of 1899. However, Aquinaldo was still at large and guerilla warfare continued for two more years. In April 1901, Aquinaldo was captured and in July the insurrection was finally declared to be at an end. When peace was restored the Philippines were handed over to a civil government with Judge Taft as its head. In 1902, a parliamentary form of government was set up there and the natives were given a large share in the administration of the country. President Theodore Roosevelt made the following declaration in a message to the Congress in 1904: "I firmly believe that you can help them (the Filipinos) to rise higher and higher in the scale of civilisation and of capacity for self-government, and I must earnestly hope that in the end they will be able to stand, if not entirely alone, yet in some such relation to the United States as Cuba now stands." By degrees, the Philippines were given more and more autonomy and ultimately given their independence after the World War II.

**Sandwich Islands (1898).** The U.S.A. has shown great interest in the future of the Sandwich Islands for more than a full half century. In 1854, she entered into a treaty with the native Government to annex the islands, but in spite of that, nothing was done to annex them. There was internal feuds among the chiefs and in 1887, King Kalakana accepted a form of government which involved control by the white settlers. In 1892, the native party reasserted itself and effected a *coup d'état*. It was followed by a counter-revolutionary movement and a European Government was set up once again. A treaty of annexation was signed at Washington with the representatives of the Provisional Government and sent to the Senate for approval. However, it was withdrawn by the President later on. In July 1898, the Sandwich Islands were finally annexed to the U.S.A. In 1909, they were constituted as a territory of Hawaii.

**Samoa Islands.** Germany showed a lot of activity in the Pacific for some time. In December 1885, friction arose between the German administrators and the natives. In January 1886, Mr. Bayard, Secretary of State at Washington, instructed the American Minister at Berlin "to express the expectation that nothing would be done to impair the rights of the United States under the existing treaty." The reply was in friendly terms and a conference was held in which Turkey, U.S.A. and Great Britain participated. In July 1886, Germany suddenly declared war on the reigning King of Samoa, deposed and deported him and set up her own nominee with a German commissioner as his adviser. In September 1888, the natives revolted against the German protegee and his adviser and put another person on the throne. Thereupon the Germans landed a force of marines who were ambushed by the native forces and consequently



suffered heavy losses. The Germans protested that the ambushing force was led by an American citizen and that led to unhappy relations between Germany and the U.S.A. However, Bismarck was anxious to maintain peace and another conference was held at Berlin in 1889. The result was that the Samoa Islands were placed under the joint control of Great Britain, Germany and the U.S.A. As the joint control did not work satisfactorily, the Samoa Islands were divided between Germany and the U.S.A. Great Britain got her compensation somewhere else.

**Policy of open door in China.** The U.S.A. followed a policy of open door in China. She believed in maintaining the territorial integrity of the Chinese Empire and along with all the nations to have an equal opportunity to trade with that country. Mr. John Hay, Secretary of State of the U.S.A. explained the open-door policy in these words : "We are of course opposed to the dismemberment of that Empire and we do not think that public opinion in the United States would justify this government in taking part in the great game of spoliation now going on. At the same time, we are keenly alive to the importance of safeguarding our great commercial interests in that Empire and our representatives there have orders to search closely everything that may seem calculated to injure us, and to prevent it by energetic and timely representations. We do not consider our hands tied for future eventualities, but for the present we think our best policy is one of vigilant, protection of our commercial interests, without formal alliances with other Powers interested." Great Britain accepted the open-door policy of the U.S.A. and other Powers also accepted it on account of their mutual jealousies. The co-operation between Great Britain and the U.S.A. was so great that there were rumours of an alliance between the two countries. However, an alliance was not possible without a ratification by the American Senate and no such alliance actually took place.

Hay's policy of open-door was nearly wrecked by the Boxer Rising of 1900. The Boxer movement was anti-foreign and it aimed at turning out the foreign devils and preserving China for the Chinese. It was partly due to the activities of the Christian missionaries in China and also to the rapacity of the Powers in seeking spheres of influence in China. The Empress and the Chinese Government were in secret sympathy with the Boxer leaders. The Boxers attacked the foreign legations in Peking and practically besieged them. For practically a month, no news reached the outside world. The situation was serious and there was every possibility of the surrender of the foreign legations on account of their insufficient resources and the lack of supplies. The U.S.A. joined other Powers in sending reinforcements to crush the Boxers. When the revolt was put down, the other Powers insisted on capturing the Chinese territory. However, Secretary Hay insisted on the withdrawal of the foreign troops and limited the demand on China to a war-indemnity. It is stated that he "held on like grim death to the Open Door." With the help of England and Japan, Hay was able to avert the immediate partition of China. The U.S.A. got her share of the war-



indemnity but she later on, returned a part of it and that money was utilised for scholarships for Chinese students in American universities.

**Blockade of Venezuela.** Venezuela had many creditors and among them were England, Germany and Italy. As the creditors could not realise their claim by ordinary methods, Great Britain, Germany and Italy instituted a "pacific blockade" of the coast of Venezuela. In 1902, England and Germany cut off diplomatic relations with Venezuela. They also planned to bombard and occupy her ports. The U.S.A. protested and Great Britain expressed its willingness to withdraw. Germany refused to refer the debts to arbitration. Roosevelt cut the gordian knot by summoning the German Ambassador to the White House and informing him that Dewey had been given orders to take a squadron to Venezuela and prevent the seizure of any territory. If Germany withdrew, the whole matter would be kept secret and the Kaiser would be given credit for the generous deed. Germany found herself all alone and consequently the German fleet sailed away. The debts were referred to arbitration and being scaled down considerably, were finally paid. In this connection, Roosevelt referred to the policy of "speaking softly and carrying a big stick."

**Panama Canal.** The U.S.A. had the natural desire to cut a canal across one of the Isthmuses of Central America. However, the Treaty of 1850 was a great barrier in her way. By the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850, Great Britain and the U.S.A. had agreed that in the event of the construction of the Panama Canal, neither party should obtain exclusive control over it. However, on account of the acquisition of colonies in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, the U.S.A. felt that she must have the sole possession of the canal. President Theodore Roosevelt was able to persuade the British Government to give up its special position by cancelling the Treaty of 1850 and by substituting a new agreement for it. This was done by the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901 by which the British Government recognised the right of the U.S.A. to construct and fortify a canal across the Isthmus of Panama under her own exclusive jurisdiction. The American Congress was divided between the advocates of Nicaragua and the Panama Isthmuses. However, the Congress authorised the President to build the canal through Panama if a satisfactory treaty could be made with the Republic of Colombia or otherwise through Nicaragua. Secretary Hay offered Colombia a lump sum of \$ 25 million with an annual rental of a quarter of a million for the right of way. The offer was accepted by the Colombian Minister and a treaty was signed at Washington. However, there was a lot of opposition in Colombia itself and the result was that the Congress of Colombia almost unanimously rejected the Treaty. President Roosevelt took up the challenge and in a message to the American Congress, advocated the seizure of the Isthmus of Panama and the building of the Canal without waiting for further negotiations. He defended his high-handed action on the ground that such a step was necessary in the interests of civilization.



The people of Panama who had revolted more than once against the Central Government of Colombia, were disappointed at the rejection of the Treaty. The representatives of the French Company who had commenced the digging of the canal and who hoped to get compensation of 40 million dollars were also disappointed. However, there was a Treaty of 1846 between the U.S.A. and Colombia by which the U.S.A. had guaranteed the neutrality of Isthmus of Panama and the sovereignty of Colombia. The U.S.A. had intervened more than once to prevent insurrections in Colombia. However, the situation was completely changed and a new policy was made necessary. Roosevelt himself was in favour of the revolt of the people of Panama against Colombia. He wrote thus to a friend : "Privately, I freely say to you that I should be delighted if Panama were an independent State or if it made itself so at this moment ; but for me to say so publicly would amount to an instigation of revolt and therefore I cannot say it." The rebel leaders of Panama were encouraged. An American battleship was sent to Colon with orders "to prevent the landing of any armed force, either Government or insurgent, at any point within 50 miles of Panama." As the only access to the Isthmus was by sea, the measure was intended to create a situation favourable to a revolution. The expected revolution did take place in Panama and three days after, the Republic of Panama was recognised by the United States. A treaty was signed with the new Republic by which the U.S.A. secured the required strip on very favourable terms. Undoubtedly, the whole of the Panama affair was a good thing for the people of Panama, the French stock-holders, the U.S.A. and the general interests of civilization itself. However, the people of Colombia bitterly resented it. Roosevelt acknowledged the part played by him in securing the Isthmus and defended his actions as wise and necessary. Later on, some compensation was paid to Colombia as well. The work of the construction of the Panama Canal was pushed forward with great energy and eagerness and the canal was completed in 1914 at the cost of 400 million dollars.

**Boundary dispute with Canada.** The U.S.A. purchased Alaska from Russia in 1867. For a long time, Alaska was neglected on account of its distance. However, the discovery of gold mines in 1897 brought her to limelight. The boundary between Alaska and Canada was defined as "lying 30 miles behind the windings of the coast." The Canadians claimed that the 30 miles were to be measured from the narrow bays and thus they were to have the right to deep water. The Americans regarded their claim as baseless. Theodore Roosevelt was not prepared to refer the matter to arbitration as he felt that arbitrators usually compromised and U.S.A. had a very good claim. He offered to refer the question to a joint commission but at the same time he made it known that in case the members of the joint commission failed to come to a conclusion, the matter would not be arbitrated upon and he would order the troops to Alaska to run to the line which he regarded as the correct one. In these circumstances, the joint commission was set up and the matter was decided in favour of the U.S.A. as a majority of the commissioners



voted for it. Roosevelt was criticized in England and the U.S.A. for appointing on the commission those persons whose views on the controversy were already well known.

**Santo Domingo.** Santo Domingo was heavily in debt and Roosevelt appointed in 1905 an American Receiver of Customs in that island. The result was that a virtual protectorate was established over Domingo. The danger of foreign intervention to collect debt was removed by the Hague Conference of 1907 by accepting the Calvo doctrine. It provided that the creditor Power was not to collect debts by force until arbitration had been refused by the debtor State.

**Russo-Japanese War.** Theodore Roosevelt intervened in the Russo-Japanese war. It is pointed out that both Russia and Japan were exhausted by the war but neither Power was willing to talk of peace on account of prestige politics. Partly on humanitarian grounds and partly with a view to safeguarding the American interests, Roosevelt offered to mediate and bring about peace. The result was that the peace conference was held at Portsmouth (in New Hampshire) and Roosevelt remained in close touch with the deliberations. He was able to persuade Japan to give up the idea of a war-indemnity in the form of money. He also persuaded Russia to give to Japan the lower part of the Island of Sakhalin. It was in this way that the danger in the East was removed. However, Japan maintained that she was deprived of the legitimate fruits of her victory. The result was that there was a lot of tension between the two countries after 1905.

A large number of Japanese migrated to the western coast of the U.S.A. every year and there was a demand in the U.S.A. to stop their immigration. In 1906, matters were precipitated by the school authorities of San Francisco by closing the schools to Japanese children. After a lot of trouble, a compromise was arrived at and it was decided to exclude only those Japanese from the ordinary schools who were above 16 years of age. Secretary Root exchanged notes with the Japanese Ambassador at Washington by which Japan promised to prevent the immigration to America of coolie labourers and respect the *status quo* in China. This "gentleman's agreement" of 1908 was a diplomatic victory for the U.S.A.

President Roosevelt established a big fleet and ordered it to go on a trip around the world. While making that decision, he did not wait for the grant of funds by the Congress. He knew full well that if the fleet reached the Pacific the Congress would be forced to grant money to bring it back. The voyage of the American fleet was a great success.

President Roosevelt emphasized the new bonds of common interest between the U.S.A. and Great Britain in these words: "One practical problem of statesmanship must be to keep on good terms with the Japanese and their kinsmen on the mainland of Asia, and yet to keep the white men in America and Australia out of home



contact with them. It is equally to the interest of the British Empire and of the United States that there should be no immigration in mass from Asia to Australia or to North America. It can be prevented, and an entirely friendly feeling between Japan and the English-speaking people preserved, if we act with sufficient courtesy and at the same time with sufficient resolution."

**Algeciras Conference.** The U.S.A. also participated in the Algeciras Conference of 1906. It is pointed out that the essential negotiations for the Conference were conducted in Washington and the plan finally adopted at the Algeciras Conference was signed by Secretary Root. The negotiations were helped by the close personal friendship between President Roosevelt and the Ambassadors of Germany and France at Washington. Roosevelt used all his powers of persuasion to prove to the German Ambassador the dangers of a war. The American delegate at the Conference refused to support the Austrian and German plan for a division of Morocco into virtual spheres of influence and proposed a plan of its own prepared by Secretary Root. That plan was adopted with minor alterations.

**World War I.** When the World War I broke out in 1914, the ex-President Roosevelt condemned the German invasion of Belgium and urged upon the American Government to intervene. However, President Wilson maintained for a time an attitude of "watchful waiting". In 1917, he declared war against Germany when the latter began an unrestricted submarine warfare which led to the loss of the *Lusitania* and American lives. The entry of the U.S.A. into the war on behalf of the Allies turned the scale against Germany. After the ending of the war in 1918, President Wilson played an important part in the peace settlement. It was on his insistence that the Covenant of the League of Nations was embodied in the Treaty of Versailles.

**Washington Conference.** In 1921 was held the Washington Conference to which were invited Great Britain, Japan, France, Italy, China, etc. Its object was to limit the armaments and also discuss the affairs of the Pacific and the Far East. Three treaties were signed at Washington. By one treaty, the U.S.A., Great Britain, France and Japan agreed to respect the rights of one another in the Pacific and also to consult one another in case of any dispute. Another treaty provided for naval parity between Great Britain and the U.S.A. The strength of the Japanese navy was fixed at 60% of the American and British navy. The strength of the French and Italian Navies was fixed at 35%. The parties also agreed to maintain the *status quo* in the Pacific. By the third treaty, all the nine Powers participating in the Washington Conference pledged themselves to respect the independence and integrity of China and not take advantage of her weak position. The main object of the Washington Conference was to put a check on the growing power of China. Although Japan submitted at that time, she had her own way later on.

**Manchuria.** In 1931, Japan attacked Manchuria and occupied it in due course of time. The U.S.A. was upset. She



offered her services to stop the Japanese aggression. She was prepared to take part in the proceedings of the League of Nations on the question of Manchuria. In spite of that, Japan had her own way in Manchuria and it was completely conquered. The U.S.A. could do nothing as the other Powers did not co-operate with her.

During the 1930's, the U.S.A. resorted to neutrality legislation by which she tried to keep out of the arena of the war. Even after the outbreak of the World War II in 1939 she did not formally enter the war but merely helped England, France and other countries. She was dragged into the war by the Japanese attack on the Pearl Harbour in 1941. She was largely instrumental in the defeat of the Axis Powers in 1945.

#### Suggested Readings

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Buell

: *A History of the Foreign Policy of the United States.*  
: *The Washington Conference.*



## CHAPTER XXVIII

### BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY

**Policy of Isolation.** After the overthrow of Napoleon in the Battle of Waterloo in 1815, England followed a policy of aloofness from Europe politics. It is true that from 1815 to 1822, she co-operated with the other members of the Quadruple Alliance to maintain peace in Europe but after the death of Castlereagh in 1822, Canning came to power. He was not enamoured of international co-operation, and consequently the era of congresses ended after the Congress of Verona in 1822. In spite of this, Canning had to intervene in the Greek War of Independence. Palmerston also intervened in Belgium, Egypt and the Balkans. After the defeat of Russia in the Crimean war, England kept aloof from European politics for more than a decade. In 1877, the famous "Bulgarian atrocities" took place. Thousands of Christians were destroyed by the Turks. Gladstone appealed to Disraeli to come to the help of the oppressed Christians, but the latter refused to do so. Russia came to the help of Bulgaria and declared war against Turkey. The latter was defeated and forced to sign the Treaty of San Stefano in 1878. By this treaty, Russia came to have a dominant position in the Balkans. This could not be tolerated by Great Britain and Austria. The result was that they asked her either to submit the Treaty of San Stefano to a Congress of European statesmen or take the consequences of non-compliance. When Russia found that Great Britain and Austria were making military preparations on a large scale and there was every likelihood of war being declared, she decided to submit. She was already exhausted and could not afford to fight against the fresh soldiers of Austria and Great Britain. At the Congress of Berlin, Great Britain was able to deprive Russia of her gains by the Treaty of San Stefano. She also got the Island of Cyprus. When Disraeli came back from Berlin to London, he declared that he had brought "peace with honour".

On the whole, Great Britain followed a policy of isolation towards European affairs. This policy was considered to be in the best interests of the country. There was no necessity of continuously interfering in European politics when the same purpose could be served by occasional interference. However, it became clear to be British statesmen towards the end of the 19th century that it was impossible to continue to follow a policy of splendid isolation. A more positive policy was made necessary by certain developments in European affairs since 1870.

Bismarck established the hegemony of Germany in Europe. Between 1871 and 1890, he was the most dominant personality in European politics. As he had injured the national pride of France



in 1871 by taking away Alsace and Lorraine he feared a war of *Revanche*. He knew full well that France would try to get back Alsace and Lorraine and consequently he tried to isolate France in Europe. With that object in view, he formed the Three Emperors' League in 1873. It brought together the Emperors of Russia, Germany and Austria-Hungary. The League broke down in 1878 as a result of the difference between Austria-Hungary and Russia on the occasion of the Congress of Berlin. In 1878-79 the relations between Russia and Germany became very bitter and that led to the making of the Austro-German Alliance of 1879. By this alliance Germany and Austria-Hungary bound themselves to help each other in the case of an invasion from Russia. Although this alliance was made for 5 years, it was renewed every time it fell due and continued to exist up to 1914. In 1882, Italy joined the Dual Alliance of 1879. Thus the Triple Alliance came into being in 1882.

When Bismarck was in power, he tried his utmost to isolate France and with that object in view maintained friendly relations with Russia. He was able to revive the Three Emperors' League in 1881 and it continued up to 1887. As the differences between Russia and Austria became very acute in 1887 on account of the Bulgarian question, Bismarck entered into the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia in 1887. This continued up to 1890 when Bismarck resigned. The Treaty of 1887 lapsed on account of the attitude of William II, the Kaiser of Germany. The mutual interests of Russia and France brought them together and the Franco-Russian Alliance was made in 1894. Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy were on one side and France and Russia were on the other.

It was at this time that Great Britain felt that she was all alone in European politics. It was feared that in the event of a war, Great Britain might find herself in a difficult position. She thought of having allies and her first preference was for Germany. Queen Victoria was the maternal grandmother of William II. There was also a theory in those days that the English came from Germany. Moreover, the competition between France and England in Africa left her no other choice. However, there was no good response from the German side.

**"Fashoda Incident."** In 1898, there took place the famous Fashoda crisis. Marchand had been sent by the French Government to penetrate into Central Africa and reach the Eastern coast. At that time, the Britishers were also consolidating their position in the Sudan. At a place called Fashoda on the Nile, Marchand unfurled the French flag. When Kitchener came to know of it, he rushed to the spot and asked Marchand to leave the place. There was every likelihood of a clash, but better counsel prevailed and both Marchand and Kitchener agreed to refer the matter to the Home Governments. As a result of the pro-British policy of Delcasse, the Foreign Minister of France, and the conciliatory attitude of Lord Salisbury, the Fashoda crisis was amicably settled. In 1899, France appealed to Great Britain to settle the other outstanding disputes between the two countries, but Salisbury did not show any eagerness to do so.



**Britain Approaches Germany.** At this time, efforts were being made by men like Chamberlain to win over Germany. When Victoria died in 1901, William II went to England and stayed there for many days. He expressed feelings of profound sorrow at the death of Queen Victoria. People were impressed by it. He boasted of Germany's links with Great Britain. He took pride in the fact that he had been associated with the British navy. The result was that great honours were showered on him. The British statesmen thought that that was the most opportune time for entering into an agreement with Germany. The offer was duly made, but unfortunately there was no friendly response. The reply of William II was that "the road of Berlin lies through Vienna." The reply had a damping effect on those enthusiasts who were clamouring for an alliance with Germany. The result was that all attempts to win over Germany were given up and Great Britain thought of finding allies in some other direction.

**Anglo Japanese Alliance (1902).** The first breach in the policy of splendid isolation was made in 1902 when Great Britain entered into a Treaty of Alliance with Japan. The treaty declared that Great Britain and Japan were actuated "solely by a desire to maintain the *status quo* and general peace in the extreme East." Their object was to uphold "the independence and territorial integrity of the Empire of China and the Empire of Korea." Equal opportunities for commerce and industry were to be guaranteed to all nations. England was stated to have special interests in China, and Japan both in China and Korea. It was provided that if either Japan or England was involved in a war with any other power in defence of her interests the other country was to remain neutral. If Japan or England was involved in a war with two or more Powers the other country was to join the war. The result of this treaty was that Japan got the protection of British sea-power against the hostile intervention of France or Germany or both in the case of a Russo-Japanese war. The story of 1895 was not to be repeated again when Japan was deprived of her gains in the war against China. By this treaty, Great Britain was able to withdraw her navy from the Pacific Ocean and thereby concentrate herself in the North Sea where she was apprehending danger from Germany.

**The Entente Cordiale (1904).** England was not satisfied with an alliance with Japan alone. As the menace from Germany began to grow, her search for friends increased. In 1903 Edward VII visited France and he was cordially received everywhere in that country. It left a very good impression on his mind. Edward VII personally hated William II who called him by the name of old peacock and loved France. This created a congenial atmosphere in which the two countries could come near each other. After the visit of Edward VII, President Loubet of France and Delcasse visited England. There was an exchange of views among the statesmen of England and France with regard to the outstanding disputes between the two countries. The ultimate effect of all this was the *Entente Cordiale* of 1904. The *Entente* was not an alliance but it certainly removed the cause of friction between the two countries



and thereby made it possible for them to co-operate more and more with each other. By the *Entente*, France recognised the special interests of England in Egypt and Great Britain agreed to back the special interests of France in Morocco. As regards the Newfoundland Fisheries, it was agreed that France was to give up her claims to the coastline and Great Britain was to give all facilities to French fishermen to fish on the coastline of Newfoundland. The other outstanding conflicts were also resolved by mutual negotiations.

It is to be noted that as time went on, the *Entente Cordiale* became stronger and stronger. There were certain factors which forced Great Britain and France to come nearer each other. The defeat of Russia in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) forced France to depend more and more on England. The growing strength of the German navy compelled Great Britain to concentrate all her naval forces in the North Sea. The result was that she had to withdraw her naval forces from the Mediterranean. That could be done safely only if the French navy took over the defence of the Mediterranean Sea. This forced England to depend more and more on France.

The attitude of Great Britain on the occasions of the three Morocco crises showed that she was coming nearer and nearer to France. When France tried to establish a foothold in Morocco in 1905, William II went to Tangier and declared that Germany would not tolerate the establishment of French control in Morocco. Germany also demanded the dismissal of Delcasse and the summoning of a conference on Morocco. Both of these demands were accepted and preparations were made for the Algeciras Conference in 1906. On the eve of the Conference, military and naval staff talks were held between France and England. At the Conference itself, England backed France and Germany found herself practically all alone. Likewise in 1908 and 1911, Great Britain backed France against Germany. When Lord Haldane went to Berlin in 1912, the British Foreign Minister declared that England would not sacrifice France for any price. Thus the ties between England and France kept on strengthening with the passage of time.

**Anglo-Russian Convention (1907).** It was in the interests of France that a reconciliation should be brought about between England and Russia. Delcasse had done his best to achieve that. Even after his dismissal, efforts continued in that direction. The result was that in 1907 was made the famous Anglo-Russian Convention. As a result of this agreement, a solution was found for the settlement of the disputes between England and Russia with regard to Afghanistan, Tibet and Persia. As regards Afghanistan, it was agreed that Russia would not interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and deal with that country only through the British Government. The agreement was disliked by the Government of Afghanistan because she was not consulted with regard to its terms. As regards Tibet, both England and Russia agreed not to interfere in the internal affairs of that country. Both the countries accepted the suzerainty of China over Tibet. As regards Persia, its northern



portion was recognised as within the sphere of influence of Russia and its southern part was recognised as the British sphere of influence. Central Persia was left under the control of the native government of that country. The Anglo-Russian Convention created what is known as the Triple Entente.

It is clear from above that at the beginning of the 20th century, Great Britain gave up her policy of splendid isolation and entered into those alliances which resulted in the war of 1914.

**Sir Edward Grey (1905-16).** After the resignation of Lord Lansdowne, Sir Edward Grey became Foreign Minister of England in December 1905. He was England's Foreign Minister at a time when she was passing through a very critical period. It goes to the credit of Sir Edward Grey that he handled the situation in a masterly manner and did all those things which enabled England to win the World War I.



Sir Edward Grey

If one were to ask the question as to what exactly was the policy which determined Grey's attitude at the Foreign Office, one cannot do better than quote Grey himself. According to him, "If all secrets were known, it would probably be found that British Foreign Ministers have been guided by what seemed to them the immediate interests of this country when making elaborate calculation for the future." If that was the statement which he made about the British Foreign Ministers in general, he himself was no exception to the general rule. He was never opposed to the Triple Alliance, but would like to have reconciliation between the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. There was one definite object which could be seen in all his actions. He was determined to find allies for England. He was not a follower of the policy of isolation. He did not want war, but his policy was to see that if war came, England was not all alone. He directed his foreign policy with that objective in view.

**Grey and Morocco Crises.** Grey's attitude in 1905-6, 1908 and 1911 with regard to the problem of Morocco shows that he was determined to fight against Germany, and not willing to allow her to crush France. There was a definite commitment on the part of the British Government to allow France to have a free hand in



Morocco. As France had agreed to British control over Egypt, there was no justification on the part of England to hesitate from fulfilling her part of the bargain. Germany demanded the dismissal of Delcasse and that was done. She also demanded that the Morocco question should be referred to a conference and France also gave way on that point. France had to submit before Germany because she was not sure of any definite help from England.

So far, the attitude of England might have created some doubt in the minds of the French. But when the French Ambassador, Cambon, put before Grey the possibility of an unprovoked attack by Germany, Grey, with the consent of the British Prime Minister, allowed the holding of "military conversations" between the French and British staffs. Prof. Trevelyan approves of this. According to him, "To contemplate a contingent possibility of British intervention and yet have no war plan ready would have been madness, for while Britannia was fumbling with her sword, the Germans might be in Paris in a month. The military conversation of 1906 were amply justified, as events of August 1914 were to show." However, this action of Grey was criticised by his opponents. It was contended that the "Staff Talks" paved the way for a military alliance. It was further maintained that although Grey professed to give no guarantee of help to France, yet by his actions, he committed England to come to the help of France if the latter was attacked by Germany. Grey declared that neither government was bound by the "Staff Talks" to any particular policy. England was committed to any policy from which she could not deviate if her interests so demanded.

The "Staff Talks" took place in January 1906. When the Conference met at Algieras to decide the Morocco question, Grey stood by France. The importance of Grey's attitude on the occasion of the Conference has been put in these words by Trevelyan: "Germany had resented Lansdowne's settlement of Anglo-French quarrels in 1904 and wished to show France that she could not depend on England: Grey showed her that she could. It was the testing of the *Entente*." Although England supported France, she tried to impress that she was not bound. However, the impression created on Germany was that France would be helped by England at the time of her difficulty.

In the Casablanca case of 1908, Grey supported France against Germany and the latter had to keep quiet. In 1911, Germany, objected to the interference of France in Morocco. The Sultan of Morocco was afraid of his safety on account of the rise of a pretender. On the pretext of protecting the Europeans in Fez, the French sent their troops to the capital of Morocco. The Foreign Minister of Germany did not approve of this move of France. While putting pressure on Paris, he ordered the German gunboat, the *Panther*, to proceed to Agadir. Germany refused to withdraw her ship unless her own interests were safeguarded. Sir Edward Grey was shocked at the German attitude. He regarded the voyage of the *Panther* as an unprovoked attack on the *status quo* and made the following



declaration: "We were of opinion that a new situation had been created by the despatch of German ship to Agadir. Future developments might affect British interests more directly than they had hitherto been affected. We could not recognise any new arrangements that might be come to without us." He told the French Ambassador that "the British Government deems a discussion necessary between France, Germany, Spain and England." Although the attitude of Germany was rather provoking, the Mansion House speech of Lloyd George in 1911 made it clear to Germany that England would fight if her honour and interests were attacked. It was under these circumstances that Germany came to her senses and adopted a reasonable attitude.

**Anglo-Russian Convention (1907).** Sir Edward Grey tried to bring England and Russia together by removing the causes of friction between the two countries. It was in the interests of the *Entente Cordiale* that friendly relations should be established between Russia and England. Russia was a friend of France. In the event of a war between Russia and England, France was bound to suffer. Through the efforts of the Government of France and Sir Edward Grey, the Anglo-Russian Convention was made in 1907. By this Convention, the two countries settled their differences with regard to Afghanistan, Tibet and Persia. Both of them recognised the suzerainty of China in Tibet and pledged themselves not to interfere in her internal affairs. Russia agreed to deal with Afghanistan through the British Government. She also agreed to give up her right to deal directly with the Government of Afghanistan. Likewise, Russia was given Northern Persia as her sphere of influence and she recognised the interests of England in Southern Persia. As a result of the efforts of Grey the *Entente Cordiale* of 1904 was converted into the *Triple Entente* of 1907. Although the Anglo-Russian Convention was attacked on the ground that England sacrificed her interests in Persia and gave very favourable terms to Russia, Trevelyan is of the opinion that the Convention "was the only possible course consistent with our own safety."

Grey's attitude towards Russia and France requires elucidation and appreciation. Both the countries complained that although England professed to be their friend, she was reluctant to commit herself to come to their help whenever they were attacked by any other Power. However, Grey's policy had a great advantage and was calculated to maintain the peace of Europe. While he kept the hands of England free to follow any policy she considered necessary for her own safety, it had a very healthy influence on the attitude of France and Russia. If Grey had committed England to help Russia and France whenever they were attacked, that would have encouraged them to pick up a quarrel with Germany and Austria-Hungary. This is clear from the events of 1914. At first, France and Russia hesitated, but when it became clear to them that England would come to their help, Russia at once declared herself on the side of Serbia and thus the Great War of 1914 started. However, the hesitant and indefinite attitude of Grey served a purpose. In the absence of such an attitude, war would have come earlier.



**Grey and Germany.** It is wrong to say that Grey was in any way inimical to Germany. He was not an enemy of Germany as such. His cry of August 3, 1914, in the House of Commons, "I hate war, I hate war, I hate war," gives a peep into his mind. Grey had no intention to fight against Germany. He was always ready to do all that lay in his power to remove the cause of friction between the two countries. Grey's policy towards Germany can best be explained in the following words of Lichnowsky, German Ambassador from 1912 to 1914: "It was not his object to isolate us, but to the best of his power to make us partners in the existing association... Without interfering with England's existing friendship with France and Russia, a friendship which had no aggressive aims... he wished to arrive at a friendly *rapprochement* and understanding with Germany in order to bring the two groups nearer." Grey's policy was to bridge the gulf between the Franco-Russian Alliance and the Triple Alliance. It was unfortunate that William II consistently rejected the opinions and advice of his ambassadors and followed that of his military and naval experts.

Grey made every effort after 1906 to remove all causes of friction between Germany and England. He did his best to tackle the problem of Anglo-German naval rivalry. He made it very clear to the German Government that Britain's naval supremacy would be maintained at all costs, but she was prepared to come to a settlement with Germany to have a proportionate reduction in the navies of the two countries. Unfortunately, William II treated every British offer as a sign of weakness. The policy of Tirpitz was to keep peace by frightening his rivals. He believed in the "exaggerated estimation of fear as an instrument of negotiation." Germany believed that she could terrify England into submission, but she was sadly mistaken. No doubt England was in favour of maintaining peace, but it is wrong to maintain that she was prepared to do so at the cost of her safety and self-respect.

William II refused to make any naval concessions unless Britain undertook to remain neutral in the event of a Franco-German war. Without such a guarantee, the Kaiser was not prepared to reduce his navy. His contention was that he "did not wish good relations at the expense of the fleet." It was under these circumstances that the negotiations broke down in 1912. Grey was not prepared to sacrifice France in order to maintain good relations with Germany.

The failure of the naval negotiation in 1912 did not discourage Sir Edward Grey. He continued his efforts to bring about an understanding between England and Germany. By June 1914, an agreement was reached with regard to the Berlin-Baghdad Railway, and the fate of the Portuguese colonies in case Portugal abandoned them. The friendly settlement averted a quarrel and, brought the two countries nearer.

On the occasion of the Bosnian crisis of 1908-09, there was every likelihood of a war. However, Grey used his good offices to avert the crisis and Europe was saved from a catastrophe.



**Grey and the Balkan Wars (1912-13).** Reference may be made to the attitude of Sir Edward Grey towards the Balkan Wars of 1912-13. He did his level best to localize the trouble in the Balkans. A conference was held in London under his presidentship and he was very much impressed by the success of the experiment in international co-operation. But for his tactful handling of the delicate situation, there is reason to believe that the trouble might have spread to various parts of Europe and that was not in the interests of Europe which at that time was a powder magazine.

When Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, was murdered in 1914 at Sarajevo, Grey suggested a conference for the settlement of the dispute. If William II, instead of giving a *carte blanche* to Berchtold, had agreed to the suggestion of Grey, there is reason to believe that the Great War might have been avoided.

It goes without saying that Grey's foreign policy strengthened the position of England in the international field. She had allies on which she could depend. She was not all alone in Europe. Grey's policy was responsible for postponing the war for some time. Unfortunately, on account of the working of powerful adverse forces, war broke out in 1914 and England was also dragged into it.

**Anglo-German Relations (1890-1914).** During the latter half of the 19th century, the relations between Germany and England were friendly. Germany was not suspected as a rival by Great Britain. On the occasion of the Franco-Prussian War, public opinion in England regarded Napoleon III as a danger and not Bismarck. The Iron Chancellor made it a cardinal principle of his policy to keep on good terms with the British Government. He was not prepared to do anything which might result in the alienation of Great Britain. That was one of the reasons why he refused to develop the navy and acquire colonies for his country. He knew full well that Great Britain would not tolerate the building up of a strong navy by Germany as that was liable to threaten the very existence of that country. On more than one occasion, Bismarck suggested to Disraeli and Salisbury the formation of an alliance between the two countries. He remarked thus in 1889: "The peace of Europe can be secured by the conclusion of a treaty between Germany and England." However, Salisbury refused to enter into an alliance with Germany. Bismarck appointed his son, Herbert, as the German ambassador in England. Frederick, the son of William I, was married to the daughter of Queen Victoria and this brought the two countries together. In England, a theory was prevalent at that time that the ancestors of the English came from the north of Germany. All these factors brought the two countries together.

**Exchange of Zanzibar for Heligoland (1890).** Chamberlain the Colonial Secretary of Great Britain, proposed to Herbert Bismarck the transfer of the Island of Heligoland to Germany with a view to strengthen the friendly relations between the two count-



ries and in 1890, a treaty was signed by which Germany recognised the British protectorate over Zanzibar and the basin of the Upper Nile up to the border of Egypt as within the British sphere of influence. Great Britain promised to urge the Sultan to sell the coastal strip to Germany. Germany also got the Island of Heligoland which was very near to her and could be developed for naval fortification. The deal was criticised in both the countries but Salisbury and Caprivi defended it. The contention of Salisbury was that Heligoland was of no strategic value to Great Britain. It could be captured by Germany at any time in the event of a war with that country. To quote him, "We have made an agreement which removes all dangers of conflict and strengthens the good relations of nations, who by their sympathies, interests and origin, will always be good friends." Zanzibar was to be the key of an empire in Eastern Africa. According to Stanley, Great Britain exchanged a trouser-button for a suit of clothes. The contention of Caprivi was that Germany could not surrender Zanzibar as she had never owned it. Moreover, there was no possibility of acquiring it as the British position was stronger there than that of Germany. To quote him, "We must ask ourselves how much colonising strength we possess, how far the available money and human resources will go. Germany has too many irons in the fire. It is no use having her hands full of things of which she cannot make use. The worst thing that could happen to us would be to give us the whole of Africa, for we have got quite enough as it is." William II approved of the deal in these words: "Without a battle, without the shedding of a tear, this beautiful island has passed into my possession. We have acquired it by treaty, freely concluded with a country to which we are indebted for the transfer." However, Bismarck criticised the deal on the ground that Germany would have got the island without paying the price she actually paid.

William II professed feelings of great friendship for Great Britain from time to time. When the Prince of Wales visited Berlin in 1890, the Kaiser put on the uniform of an English Admiral and referred to the brotherhood of arms at the battle of Waterloo (1815) and expressed the hope that the British Navy and the German army would keep the peace of the world. During his visit to England in 1891, William II remarked thus: "I have always felt at home in this lovely country, being the grandson of a queen whose name will never be remembered as a noble character and a lady great in the wisdom of her counsels. Moreover, the same blood runs in the English and the German veins. I shall always, so far as it is in my power, maintain the historic friendship between our nations. My aim is above all the maintenance of peace. Only in peace can we bestow our earnest thoughts on the great problems, the solution of which I consider is the most prominent duty of our time."

Friendly relations between the two countries were thus maintained. William II crossed to Cowes every summer and the members of the English royal family were always welcomed in



Berlin. The German Chancellor declared thus in 1893: "I fully agree that the aim of our policy is gradually to win England for an official adhesion to the Triple Alliance." Towards the end of the same year, agreements relating to the delimitation of the Kilimanjaro district and the hinterland of the Cameroons were also amicably settled. The boundaries of Togoland were also amicably fixed.

However, according to Dr. Gooch, "*The sky began to darken in 1894 and Anglo-German relations were never to regain the confidence and intimacy of the opening years of the reign of William II.*" Bad blood between the two countries was created by the partitioning of Africa. A treaty of 1894 between Great Britain and the Congo Free State leased the Bahr-el-Ghazel district to King Leopold of Belgium for life. In return, Great Britain got a strip of territory west of Tanganyika for the proposed Cape to Cairo Railway and telegraph line. The British Government had no right to give Bahr-el-Ghazel to Leopold and the British acquisition of the territory west of Tanganyika was opposed to the terms of the Congo-German Treaty of 1884. Germany protested and Great Britain gave up that strip of territory. However, the incident left unpleasant memory.

On the occasion of the opening of Kiel Canal William II invited all the Great Powers. According to Gooch, "The host had a friendly welcome for all his guests but his warmest words were reserved for Great Britain." He observed thus on that occasion: "Ever since our fleet was established we have tried to form our ideas in accordance with yours and in every way to learn from you. The history of the British Navy is as familiar to our officers and the seamen as to yourselves. I am not only an Admiral of the Fleet but the grandson of the mighty Queen. I hope you will express our heartfelt thanks to Her Majesty for her graciousness in sending you here."

At this stage, a change was noticed in the manners of William II. His behaviour became objectionable. He tried to dominate. He called his uncle "an old peacock". Besides this personal factor, many other factors complicated the situation. A section of the British Press began to criticise William II and advised him to be considerate like his grandmother. Lord Salisbury was not friendly towards Germany. His views on the question of Armenia were different from those of Germany. He was convinced that Turkey could not be reformed and, consequently, he stood for its partition. However, the policy of William II was one of maintaining the integrity of Turkey and establishing the most friendly relations with that country.

The situation in Africa also complicated the position. President Kruger of Transvaal had visited Germany in 1885 and asked for help from Bismarck, but the latter had refused it. However, things changed after the resignation of Bismarck. Germany began to take more and more interest in South Africa and Kruger could hope to get help from Germany. In 1894, two German warships



were sent to Delagoa Bay as a demonstration against British interference. The German consul in Pretoria declared in January 1895 that Germany was determined to support the Transvaal in its efforts to maintain political equilibrium. Naturally, Great Britain protested, but Germany maintained that she was doing only which was necessary to safeguard her own interests. The British Government was asked to put a check on the activities of Jameson and Rhodes.

**Kruger Telegram.** Both Great Britain and Germany were in opposite camps in South Africa and were trying to put a check on each other. There could be a clash at any time between the two countries. On 30th December, 1895, Jameson's troops crossed Mafeking. The German ambassador informed the British Government that the attack on the Transvaal could not be tolerated. The raid failed and Jameson and his companions were arrested. When William II heard the news of the failure of the raid, he sent the following telegram to President Kruger: "I heartily congratulate you on the fact that you and your people, without appealing to the aid of friendly Powers, have succeeded in your unaided efforts in restoring peace and preserving the independence of the country against the armed bands which broke into your land." The President sent the following reply: "I express to Your Majesty my deepest gratitude for Your Majesty's congratulations," William II wrote thus to Nicholas II: "I hope all will come right, but come what may, I will never allow the British to stamp over the Transvaal." The Kruger telegram had a very unfortunate effect on the Anglo-German relations. The *Morning Post* wrote thus: "The nation will never forget this telegram and it will always bear it in mind as the further orientation of its policy." Lord Salisbury observed thus in 1899: "*The raid was a folly, but the telegram was even more foolish.*"

In spite of this, the relations between the two countries were friendly for a brief period and that was due to certain circumstances. Great Britain was opposed to Russia and France, both in Asia and Africa. In 1898, England and France were on the verge of a war on the question of Fashoda. Great Britain was also opposed to Russian penetration into China and was determined to check it. The Triple Alliance Powers supported Great Britain against Russia and France and that brought the two countries together. William II sent a telegram of congratulations to the British Government on the occasion of the victory of Atbara. In 1898 the Duke of Devonshire and Chamberlain arranged an interview with the German Ambassador in London and a proposal for an Anglo-German alliance was put forward. However, there was no response from the other side in spite of the fact that the offer was made thrice, William II seemed to be more interested in maintaining friendly relations with Russia than in entering into an alliance with England. His feeling was that Great Britain was trying to find "a constitutional army to fight for their interests." Much could not be expected in these circumstances. However in October 1898,



Great Britain and Germany entered into a secret treaty by which they divided the Portuguese colonies into spheres of influence. But nothing came out of it as Portugal recovered from her financial difficulties. Mr. Rhodes visited Berlin in 1899 and William II extended to him a heart welcome. Germany promised to allow Rhodes to carry the telegraphic wires through German East Africa. Rhodes was so much pleased with the interview that he referred to William II as "a big man, a broad-minded man." He asked William II to send a number of Rhodes' scholars to the Oxford University every year. According to Dr. Gooch, "This visit was one of the factors in the Kaiser's friendliness to Great Britain during the Boer War."

When the Boer War started in 1899, the world opinion seemed to be on the side of the Boers and Great Britain was considered to be the bully. In 1900, Russia and France proposed intervention in the Boer War, but William II refused to do so. He also refused to meet Kruger when the latter ran away from the Transvaal, although he was warmly greeted in Paris. In 1899, William II paid a visit to England and he was given a hearty welcome. Chamberlain availed of this opportunity to discuss the possibility of an Anglo-German reconciliation and cooperation. He referred to the "natural alliance" between the two countries. To quote him, "At bottom, the character of the Teutonic race differs very slightly indeed from the character of the Anglo-Saxon race." Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria declared thus : "*In this war, I am on the side of England.*" When Queen Victoria died in 1901, William II went to England and shared the grief of the royal family. Englishmen were very much impressed by his attitude on that occasion. It appeared as if there was a possibility of bringing the two countries together. Both Great Britain and Germany cooperated with each other on the occasion of the Boxer Rising in January, Waldersee, a German, was selected the Commander of the Peking Legation as a result of the backing of Salisbury. Germany also promised to support England in her efforts to check the Russian influence in China.

In 1901, Chamberlain proposed to discuss with the German Government all the outstanding disputes between the two countries and thereby prepare the ground for an alliance with that country. Although William II was favourably inclined, Bulow refused. The British Government asked Germany to collaborate with her to oppose the fortification of the settlement of Tientsin in China by Russia, but the latter refused to do so. In March, 1901, Germany proposed that if she guaranteed the British Empire, the latter should join the Triple Alliance and also bring Japan with her. However, the negotiations were to take place at Vienna. Lord Lansdowne, the British Foreign Minister, refused to do so. The view of William II was that Great Britain wanted to use the German sword against Russia. The same was the view of Waldersee.



William II referred to the Ministers of King Edward VII as "unmitigated noddles". Such an atmosphere was not congenial to an alliance between the two countries and no wonder Chamberlain gave up all hopes by June 1901. To quote him, "If the people in Berlin are short-sighted, there is no help." It was in these circumstances that Great Britain entered into an alliance with Japan in 1902.

In 1902, it appeared that the relations between the two countries were going to improve. Lord Roberts and Broadrick accepted an invitation to attend the manoeuvres of the German army. William II also refused to meet the Boer generals who came to Germany to collect funds. He also visited England. In 1903, Germany and England cooperated in the blockade of Venezuela. However, there was again a set-back on account of the question of the Berlin-Baghdad Railway. Public opinion in England demanded that under no condition should the British Government agree to cooperate with Germany. That was bound to endanger the very safety of the British Empire in India. In 1904, Great Britain made the *Entente Cordiale* with France. She also supported France on the occasion of the Algeiras Conference in 1906. The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 created misgivings in the mind of William II as he began to feel that the Triple Alliance was not a match for the Triple Entente. Great Britain also supported France on the occasions of the Morocco crises in 1908 and 1911. There was also going on a naval competition between the two countries. Germany under William II and Tirpitz was determined to defeat England in the field of naval development. The British Government was not prepared to allow itself to be beaten. The result was that the relations between the two countries became strained to the maximum.

Lord Haldane, British Minister of War, was sent on a mission to Berlin with a view to arrive at some settlement with the German Government. The main object of the mission was to lessen the tension between the two countries arising out of naval competition. Unfortunately, his mission was a failure. William II was not prepared to give up naval programme of his country. Germany was determined to beat Great Britain in the field of naval strength and thus the Britain Government was not prepared to concede. No wonder, his mission was a failure.

There was a lot of bitterness between the two countries on the question of the Berlin-Baghdad Railway. Great Britain was not prepared to allow Germany to endanger her position in India by the construction of the railway and consequently opposed it tooth and nail. That made William II furious and its result was more and more bitterness between the two countries.

There was no ground for reconciliation between Great Britain and Germany. Great Britain was not prepared to allow William II



to make Germany the strongest power in the world. The simple problem was who was stronger out of the two and that could be decided only by a war which was fought to the finish. It was under these circumstances that the war of 1914 became inevitable. No wonder, when Germany backed Austria-Hungary on the question of Serbia, Great Britain took up the cause against Germany and supported France and Russia who in turn supported Serbia.

#### Suggested Readings

- |                 |  |
|-----------------|--|
| Grey            | : <i>Twenty-Five Years.</i>                            |
| Montageles      | : <i>British Foreign Policy Under Sir Edward Grey.</i> |
| Trevelyan, G.M. | : <i>Grey of Fallodon.</i>                             |
| Woodward        | : <i>Great Britain and the German Navy.</i>            |



## CHAPTER XXIX

### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (1871-1914)

The period between the ending of the Franco-Prussian War and the beginning of World War I witnessed revolutionary changes in the alignment of the Great Powers in Europe. There seemed to be comparative calm in 1871, but in 1914, Europe was divided into two armed camps. It is both interesting and instructive to describe the grouping of the European States during this period.

**Three Emperors' League.** It is to be observed that between 1871 and 1890, there was the hegemony of Germany in European affairs. Bismarck, the Chancellor of Germany, seemed to be the arbiter of European politics. After 1871, Germany was a saturated country and as such had no desire to add to her territories. However, as Bismarck had wounded the pride of France and therefore feared an attack from that country, his main concern in foreign affairs was to isolate France so that she might not be able to have revenge against Germany. With that object in view, Bismarck created the Three Emperors' League or the *Dreikaiserbund* in 1873. The rulers of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia agreed to co-operate with one another for the preservation of peace and to consult one another "in order to determine a common course of action" in case of a threat of war. This League continued up to 1878 when it was broken on account of the Treaty of Berlin. Germany and Austria co-operated and Russia felt that she was betrayed by Germany. The relations between Germany and Russia were positively hostile between 1879 and 1881. However, Bismarck was able to renew the Three Emperors' League in 1881. According to the new agreement, the three Powers mutually promised benevolent neutrality in case any of them was involved in a war with a fourth Power. This arrangement was made for three years and was renewed in 1884 for another period of three years. It is to be observed that the Three Emperors' League was not a strong union from the very beginning. Bismarck gave an undertaking to Austria that in the event of any difficulty between Austria and Russia, Germany would back Austria against Russia, and the understanding of 1881 would not stand in her way. Moreover, Germany followed a policy of protection which was partly against the import of Russian grain into Germany. As the rivalry between Austria-Hungary and Russia began to grow after 1878 in the Balkans, the relations between the two countries became bitter and consequently these two countries could not pull on together. The bitterness between these two countries weakened the Three Emperors' League.

**Reinsurance Treaty.** The Three Emperors' League broke down in 1887. Russia and Austria were in opposite camps on the



question of Bulgaria and no wonder they failed to pull on together. Bismarck had already bound Germany with Austria in 1879, but he could not afford to lose the goodwill of Russia. There was every possibility of Russia joining France if she was left alone. Moreover, there was every likelihood of a war between Austria and Russia if the latter joined another camp. No wonder, Bismarck entered into the Russo-German *Reinsurance Treaty* in 1887. The Treaty was to last for three years. According to it, if one Power found itself at war with a fourth Power, the others were to observe benevolent neutrality and try to localise the conflict. Russia, in agreement with Germany, declared her firm resolution to respect the interests of Austria arising from the Treaty of Berlin. Any modification in the territorial *status quo* of Turkey in Europe was to be accomplished by means of an agreement among the parties. They recognised the principle of the closing of the Straits. They were to see that Turkey did not make any exception in favour of any Power. If Turkey did so, the three Powers were to regard Turkey as putting herself in a state of war. It is rightly pointed out "*that new friendship of Germany and Russia prevented an Austro-Russian War and a Franco-Russian Coalition.*"

According to Seaman, "Signed in June 1887, it reaffirmed Bismarck's recognition of Russia's rights in Bulgaria. Before the end of August 1887 Russia was asking Bismarck to support her in ejecting Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg from Bulgaria, and Bismarck was again failing to fulfil his obligations. So far apart had Russia and Germany become, indeed, that as his career was closing, Bismarck was toying with the idea of bringing in England to help him prop up the Habsburgs. The English were not interested; and an alliance between England and the two German powers would almost certainly have produced the war against Russia that Bismarck so anxiously wished to avoid.

"Arguments as to how far the Reinsurance Treaty was incompatible with the Dual Alliance of 1879 are largely academic. The important fact about it is that it did not appreciably slow down the steady movement of Russia towards France. Indeed, by driving Russian bonds off the Berlin stock market at the end of 1887, Bismarck did as much as anybody to increase those financial links between France and Russia which preceded the closer military and diplomatic links."

According to Prof. Taylor, "In later years the Reinsurance Treaty acquired an exaggerated importance, a process begun by Bismarck in 1896 in order to discredit his successors. In reality it did not amount to much. Perhaps it put Alexander III in a better temper with Germany; and, as Bismarck noted, Our relations with Russia depend exclusively on the personal feelings of the Tsar Alexander III.' But the Reinsurance Treaty did not prevent a Franco-Russian alliance, which indeed, as later concluded, was technically compatible with its terms. The Franco-Russian alliance was retarded, though not finally prevented, solely by the French reluctance to give Russia a free hand in the Near East; and Russia



announced her attention of supporting France in 1887, not in 1891. The Reinsurance Treaty demonstrated the approaching failure of Bismarck's policy. In January he had hoped that the respect of Constantinople would make the Russians abandon France. Now, in the Reinsurance Treaty he offered them Constantinople, yet had to acquiesce in an implicit Franco-Russian alliance. Again, he had always refused to support Austria-Hungary in the Balkans and had hoped that this would be enough to preserve Russo-German friendship. The Russians now showed that they would be satisfied with nothing short of German neutrality in an Austro-Russian war; and, failing this, they kept themselves free to support France. In fact, the treaty set it down in black and white that Germany would one day face war on two fronts, unless she abandoned the Habsburg monarchy. The Austro-German alliance imprisoned Germany; and Bismarck continued to dream that he might some time make Germany more secure by escaping from it. No doubt this alliance was a lesser evil in Bismarck's eyes than the demagogic Greater Germany that must have been the alternative. All the same, the Reinsurance Treaty was, at best, an expedient for postponing the catastrophe of war on two fronts which Bismarck's diplomacy had made inevitable. It is becoming fashionable to argue that estrangement with Russia was forced on Bismarck by economic developments. The Prussian landowners, once the pillars of Russo-German friendship, now wanted tariffs against the cheap Russian grain; and no doubt there was something in this change of sentiment. All the same, the friendship would have continued if Bismarck had been able to promise neutrality in an Austro-Russian war; this political conflict eased the path for economic hostility, not the other way round.

"Much has been made of Bismarck's dishonesty in making the Reinsurance Treaty. There was certainly no dishonesty towards the Austrians. He had always insisted that he could not support them in Bulgaria nor at the Straits. He had taken a similar line with the British. When he opened negotiations with the Russians he took the added precaution of trumping up a colonial dispute with England so as to have a further excuse for not backing them at Constantinople; but this was a triviality and he did not support them even though his colonial 'grievances' were redressed. The British accepted Bismarck's argument that Germany's forces were locked away in defence against France; all the same, they would have been shocked to learn that he had given Russia promise of definite diplomatic support. But the Russians would have been more shocked had they known that, immediately before concluding the Reinsurance Treaty, he had engineered the Mediterranean coalition against them or that Moltke was constantly advising the Austrians, with Bismarck's encouragement, how to improve their striking power in Galicia. The Reinsurance Treaty was a fraud on the Russians; or, more exactly, it was a fraud on Alexander II in which Giers and the Shuvalovs took part with their eyes open. Napoleon III had played the same sort of fraud a generation earlier. Alexander II had been easy-going and soft-hearted; it was probably



a mistake to play tricks on Alexander III." (*The Struggle for Mastery in Europe*, pp. 317-19).

**The Austro-German Alliance (1879).** The immediate cause of the dual alliance between Germany and Austria was the Congress of Berlin. The policy of Bismarck since 1871 was one of maintaining friendship with Austria and Russia and thereby keeping France isolated. This he achieved by the *Dreikaiserbund* which he started in 1873 and which lasted till 1878. The interests of Austria and Russia conflicted in the Balkans. It was very difficult for Bismarck to keep them together. He managed it till 1878. But on the occasion of the Congress of Berlin, it became evident that they could not pull on together. Russia had established her hold over the Balkans by the Treaty of San Stefano. But Austria was not prepared to allow Russia to retain all that she had got. Austria had won over England to her side and on the occasion of the Congress these two powers acted together. The result was that Russia found herself alone before a combination of England and Austria. Bismarck who called himself the "honest broker" had to make a decision as to whether he would side with Austria or Russia. The choice had to be made as Russia and Austria were not prepared to pull on together. Ultimately, he decided to side with Austria. "The outstanding results," says Dr. Gooch, "of the Congress of Berlin in the realm of high politics was the estrangement of Russia from Germany."

The Russians felt bitterly about the attitude of Germany. They were utterly disappointed at what they had got. It appeared to them that Bessarabia and Batoum, Kars and Ardahan were no compensation for the amount of money that they had spent and the amount of blood they had shed. Aksakoff remarked thus: "The Congress is a conspiracy against the Russian people in which the Russian representatives have taken apart. The diplomacy of St. Petersburg is more dangerous than Nihilism. It is a disgraceful treachery to the historic mission of Russia and has lost for ever the respect and affection of the Slavs. Russia has been crucified by her own statesmen. A fool's cap and bells have been set upon her head." Katkoff proclaimed that Germany had left Russia in the lurch. Milutin, the War Minister of Russia, worked openly for a French alliance, Schuvaloff who was the chief Russian plenipotentiary at the Congress was recalled from London and disgraced. Gortchakoff, the Foreign Minister of Russia, was hostile towards Bismarck and would like to have nothing to do with him. The Czar also was very bitter. He spoke bitterly of the European coalition under Bismarck's leadership.

Another factor increased the bitterness of Russia. The German representatives on the international commission appointed to carry out the delimitations supported the Austrians against the Russians. Russia thought that it was being done intentionally. But the fact is that the German agents had got the instructions that they should side with the majority. Since Austria was supported by England and Russia was all alone, the German agents also supported



Austria. It is wrong to say that they had special instructions to go against Russia. However, the fact remains that the siding of the German agents with the Austrians annoyed the Russians. The bitterness was so great that in 1879, Italy was approached as to whether she could co-operate in a war against Austria. Similarly, the French Government was also approached regarding her attitude. But these soundings brought no result. The Russian troops were mobilized and concentrated on the German and Austrian frontiers. In June 1879, the Czar cancelled a visit to Berlin for the golden jubilee wedding of his uncle. The Czar was heard to say: "If Germany wished the friendship of a hundred years to continue, she must alter her ways." He wrote a letter to the Kaiser in which he complained of the German attitude. He reminded the Kaiser of his services in 1870, "which you said you would never forget" and added that the consequences would be disastrous for both the countries. The Kaiser was pained by the violence of the letter and asked Bismarck to draft a reply. If the Kaiser had replied in a similar tone, there would certainly have been a war. Germany was not prepared to kneel before Russia. The Kaiser merely denied the charge.

But after this incident, Bismarck chalked out a new policy. He flared up at the conduct of Russia. The press campaign in that country annoyed him. He was denounced everywhere. He regarded this as the height of ingratitude on the part of Russia. In 1888, he wrote thus: "I conceived my role almost as if I were a third Russian delegate. No Russian wish reached me which I did not adopt and fulfil. I behaved in such a manner that at the end of the Congress I thought to myself, 'If did not already possess the highest Russian order in brilliance, I ought to receive it now.' I had the feeling that I had performed a service for a foreign power which a minister is seldom in a position to render. The campaign therefore surprised me."

Bismarck had to make a choice. He had already sided with Austria on the occasion of the Congress of Berlin. He thought over once again. It is true that from the material point of view, Russia would have been more advantageous. But he preferred Austria because it had a large population of Germans and consequently they would be more favourably inclined towards Germany.

Another event forced him to hurry up. He heard the news that Andrassy, the Foreign Minister of Austria, was going to resign. Andrassy was the man whom he had favoured in the Congress of Berlin. Before he resigned, Bismarck made up his mind to enter into an alliance with Austria. Andrassy was also anxious to insure against Russia. Both the statesmen were anxious for an alliance. There was to be no delay. The statesmen met at Gastein. They discussed the problem and the danger of Russia. They parted to meet again and in the meanwhile to consult their masters. Andrassy wrote back saying that Francis Joseph was willing to allow Austria to join with Germany. But the Kaiser protested. He told the Iron Chancellor that he could not agree to it. The Kaiser refused



to enter into an alliance with Austria against Russia whose ruler was his cousin. He had an interview with the Czar in September. The Czar apologized for the letter and told the Kaiser that he would like his country to remain a friend of Germany. The Kaiser was satisfied that the Czar had no ill-will. Next day, he met Giers and Milutin and assured himself that they also were not in any way against Germany. The result was that the Kaiser came back satisfied.

He refused to allow Bismarck to enter into an alliance with Austria against Russia. He refused to change the old traditional policy of Germany towards Russia. "Put yourself in my place for a moment. I am in the presence of a personal friend, a near relative and an ally, in order to come to an understanding to some hasty and indeed misunderstood passages in the letter, and our interview also leads to a satisfactory result. I will not absolutely deny that the danger set forth in your memorandum may arise one day, particularly on a change of rulers; but I am utterly unable to see that there is any imminent danger. It is against my political convictions and my conscience to bind my hands for the sake of a possible eventuality, but I do not authorize you to conclude a convention, to say nothing of a treaty—I cannot tell you how painful this episode has been to me, when it seemed, for the first time in 17 years, as if we do not agree."

In spite of what the Kaiser said, Bismarck was determined to bring about an alliance with Austria. He pointed out that there was no idea of attacking Russia. If Austria were attacked and in danger, Germany would be compelled by self-interest to support her, alliance or no alliance, since Germany's position, confronted by a victorious Russia, a defeated Austria and a hostile France, would be untenable. The Czar was only friendly till he could win France or Austria or both. The Chancellor persisted in his attitude. He won over the King of Bavaria to his side. He brought influence from all quarters on the Kaiser and tried to convert him. The Kaiser was virtually besieged. The Prince who was deputed to win over the Kaiser complained that while on the one side Bismarck threatened to resign, on the other the Kaiser threatened to abdicate. The Kaiser was heard to remark: "Rather abdication than perfidy." But Bismarck was determined to get it done. The Kaiser hesitated but ultimately had to give way on 5th October, 1879. The treaty was signed in Vienna and ratified by both the Governments the same month.

**Terms of the Alliance.** By the dual alliance, the two countries were bound together and the following were its important provisions:—

1. Should, contrary to their hopes and desires, one of the two be attacked by Russia, the other was bound to assist and to conclude peace only in common.
2. Should any of the two be attacked by another Power supported by Russia, the other Power would assist. If any Power



attacked either Austria or Germany and was not helped by Russia, the other party was to keep neutral.

3. The treaty was to remain secret.

4. The treaty was to last for five years and was to be prolonged for three years, unless the parties wanted to stop it.

It is said that both Andrassy and Bismarck were happy at the completion of the negotiations. The Chancellor was overjoyed. He said : "The fear of war has everywhere given place to confidence in peace." "It is the completion of my work of 1866," said Bismarck with pride. Andrassy had secured for Austria exactly what he wanted. He was proud of his handiwork. Next month, Bismarck remarked to the French ambassador : "Six weeks ago, Russia was dreaming of fire and flame. My deal with Austria has brought her to reason. A week after it was notified in St. Petersburg, the *Detente* began. The press campaign against Germany and Austria has been wholly stopped, and the heir to the throne is coming to pay his respects to the Kaiser."

Dr. Rose says that to the end of his days Bismarck maintained that the Austro-German alliance did not imply the lapse of the Three Emperors' League, but that the new compact by making a Russian attack on Austria highly dangerous, if not impossible, helped to prolong the life of the old alliance. Obviously, however, the League was a more "loud-sounding nothing" when two of its members had to unite to guard the weakest of the trio against the most aggressive. Dr. Rose maintains that the old Triple Alliance slowly dissolved under the influence of new atmospheric conditions. The three Emperors met for friendly intercourse in 1881, 1884 and 1885, and at or after the meeting of 1887, a Russo-German agreement was formed by which the two Powers promised to observe a friendly neutrality in case either was attacked by a third Power. Probably the Afghan question of Nihilism, brought Russia to accept Bismarck's advances ; but when the fear of an Anglo-Russian war passed away, and the revolutionists were curbed, this agreement fell to the ground ; and after the fall of Bismarck the compact was not renewed.

It might be contended that the immediate effect of the Austro-German alliance was not the estrangement of Russia. Bismarck was able to repair in 1881 the wire to St. Petersburg and continued friendly relations till 1890, but none can deny that it was this alliance which brought the two countries into the battlefield in 1914. Russia regarded this treaty as a blow if not a menace. "Russia lost Austria after San Stefano, and now she has lost Germany." But the King of Italy was satisfied and Waddington of France described it as a pledge of peace. Lord Salisbury remarked in October, "The papers say a defensive alliance of Germany and Austria has been concluded. If true, it is good tidings of great joy."

Whatever might be the reactions of the various powers on the conclusion of this treaty, it started a game which when followed by every country, was most dangerous. Italy joined the Dual Alliance



in 1882. In 1893-94, Russia and France entered into an alliance of a similar nature. No one can deny that the disease started in 1879 and it made almost all the European nations its victims. It was to a large extent responsible for World War I and Bismarck cannot be excused for starting the nightmare of alliances.

According to Prof. Fay, "The Austro-German alliance consolidated the Central Empires and became henceforth, until their collapse in November 1918, the very foundation-rock of German policy. It indicated a political course from which neither Bismarck nor his successors ever seriously swerved. In its origin, and as long as Bismarck remained at the helm, it was essentially defensive in purpose and fact. Germany and Austria mutually protected each other against the rising tide of Pan-Slavism; and Germany, if attacked by an outbreak of French *revanche*, could count upon Austria's neutrality, just as Austria could count on that of Germany in case of an outbreak of Italian Irredentism. Contemporary opinion regarded Bismarck's establishment of this Alliance as a master-stroke."

**The Triple Alliance (1882).** The Austro-German Alliance of 1879 was transformed into the Triple Alliance in 1882 with the accession of Italy to the Dual Alliance. Even before that year, Italy had tried to come to an understanding with Austria and Germany. Bismarck in 1877 told Crispi: "If Italy is attacked by France, we should join and we will make a treaty for this purpose. But I do not expect such an attack unless France return to monarchy, i.e., to clericalism. I could not, however, consider the possibility of Austrian hostility. I am your friend, but I will not break with Austria. If she takes Bosnia, you can take Albania."

In 1879, Bismarck was prepared to welcome Italy as a third partner in the Austro-German alliance but the Italian Government did not accept the offer. However, the establishment of a French protectorate over Tunis by the Treaty of Bardo in 1881 brought about a change in Italian attitude. Italy had an eye on Tunis as it was near that country and was also considered to be a good place for Italian colonization. The establishment of French control over Tunis created a lot of indignation in Italy. The pride of the Italian patriots was wounded and they decided to do something against France. It was feared that Tunis might be a prelude to Tripoli. France might "encircle her with a ring of iron." There was some trouble at Marseilles. Many Italians were killed and many others left the city. There were anti-French demonstrations in Italy. It was felt that isolation was tantamount to annihilation. Italy would have loved to enter into a treaty with Great Britain as she was the strongest naval power in the Mediterranean, but Great Britain declined.

It was in these circumstances that the King of Italy, accompanied by his Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister, visited Vienna. The alliance was not proposed by the hosts and the guests avoided the risk of a rebuff. However, a friendly welcome and a general discussion of the situation prepared the way. Bismarck



informed the Austrian Foreign Minister that any agreement with Italy would be one-sided and Italy was not a trustworthy ally. He referred to the jackal policy of Italy and hinted that the inclusion of Italy might not be of much value. However, the Italians were very anxious to have an alliance and were determined to have it at any cost. It is true that the negotiations were not easy but ultimately they came out successful and the Triple Alliance was made in 1882.

Prof. Fay points out that the view that Bismarck was responsible for the Triple Alliance is not a correct one. It is true that Bismarck encouraged France to *pluck the ripe Tunisian fruit* and also helped her in her colonial adventures, but this does not mean that he even felt that France would forget her humiliation of 1870-71 and keep peace with Germany. The fact is that the Triple Alliance originated with Italy.

The Triple Alliance treaty was signed on 20th May 1882, between Italy, Germany and Austria-Hungary. It was to last for five years and its contents and existence were to be kept secret. By this treaty, Germany and Austria-Hungary bound themselves to assist Italy with their whole military strength if she was attacked by France without provocation. Italy bound herself to render reciprocal aid to Germany under similar circumstances. In the case of an unprovoked attack by Russia alone upon Germany or Austria, Italy was bound only to benevolent neutrality. If the attack was made by two or more Great Powers, her assistance was to be active. Italy was not informed of the contents of the secret alliance between Germany and Austria-Hungary by which Germany was pledged to help Austria against Russia. Italy wanted to bring Great Britain into the Triple Alliance. Austria was also in favour of it but Bismarck negatived the suggestion. However, declarations were made that the Triple Alliance was not "in any case to be regarded as directed against England."

Dr. Gooch rightly points out that "though Italy was the petitioner, she obtained greater advantages than Austria." Although Austria was bound to help Italy against a French attack, Italy was not pledged to help Austria against a Russian attack. Moreover, on account of the treaty, Italy was protected against an Austrian attack. Although Italy had played a minor part in the Congress of Berlin of 1878, she came to be recognised as a Great Power after 1882. Though she failed to secure the guarantee of her capital, her hold over it was strengthened. The treaty also brought solid advantages to the Central Powers. Bismarck was not only freed from the remote fear that Italy might join France in an attack, but secured a stab in the back if she was engaged in a life-and-death struggle against Russia. She could also count upon Italian assistance in repelling a Franco-Russian attack. Italy gained much, but she lost in one respect. The treaty closed the doors to her ambitions in the Adriatic and the Balkans.

It is pointed out that the Triple Alliance fitted Bismarck's purposes. He was able to kill "two birds with one stone. (1) The



pact with Italy further isolated France, since, in case of war, the French would have to fight not only the Germans and Austrians but the Italians as well. (2) It strengthened Germany's alliance system, since the pact diminished the ill-will between his two allies, making it impossible for Italy (or so it seemed) to clamour for the "unredeemed" Italian-inhabited Austrian districts of Southern Tyrol and Trieste, while at the same time impeding the Austrian Government's interest in restoring the secular power of the Pope. Thus, the mutually resented ambitions of both Italy and Austria-Hungary were checked, and a double danger to the peace of Europe was neutralized."

According to Prof. Fay, "The Triple Alliance in its wording and in its origin was essentially defensive in character and designed primarily to preserve the peace of Europe. This is now clear from the detailed negotiations concerning its formation, which have been revealed by Pribram from the Austrian archives, and by the extensive German documents in *Die Grosse Politik*. Its defensive character is now admitted even by French historians who are by no means friendly to Bismarck. Bismarck himself, in a private despatch which he never expected would be made public, referred to it as 'our League of Peace.' Its peaceful and defensive intent was especially marked in the case of Germany. But it became less so in the case of Italy and Austria, who later wished to use it to support their aggressive intentions. It was in fact, not long before Italy sought to make use of her new alliance to promote her ambitions in North Africa and elsewhere."

According to Prof. Taylor, "The Triple Alliance looked formidable and elaborate; its real aims were modest. Ostensibly it welded Central Europe together and recreated the Holy Roman empire at its most grandiose so far as foreign affairs were concerned. In practice it merely propped up the Italian monarchy and secured Italian neutrality in an Austro-Hungarian war against Russia. The Austrians paid little in return. Kalnoky would not allow the Italians any say in the Balkans and therefore did not ask their aid against Russia. The sole price for Austria-Hungary was a vague approval of the Italian monarchy and therewith an indirect, repudiation of that support for the papacy which had been traditional to the house of Habsburg. The price was paid by Germany; she promised to defend Italy against France, since Italian assistance was worthless, got nothing in return. In plain terms, Bismarck undertook to defend Italy in order to meet the Austro-Hungarian complaints against the League of the three Emperors; even this was better in his eyes than pledging support to Austria-Hungary in the Balkans. Besides, he knew that the French were not intending to attack Italy, and therefore he did not regard the obligation as onerous. The Italians knew this also; recognition as a Great Power, not protection from France, was their real need. The Triple Alliance gave them this; it bolstered up the myth of Italian greatness, and therefore staved off internal discontent for almost a generation. There was one striking omission in the original Alliance. Though humiliation over Tunis played only a secondary



part in driving Italy over to the Central Powers, the Italian politicians certainly wanted backing for their imperialist designs in the Mediterranean. In 1882 they did not get it. But just as the Austrians thought that the Austro-German alliance would gradually draw Germany into supporting their Balkan plans, so the Italians counted that the Triple Alliance would gradually involve Germany in their Mediterranean schemes. So long as Russia was peaceful and Italian neutrality therefore of academic interest, their hopes were thwarted; once the peace of the Balkans was disturbed, Italy had something of value to sell and then Germany had to pay a real price." (*The Struggle for Mastery in Europe*, pp. 275-76.)

It is to be noted that the Triple Alliance was renewed in 1887 and certain changes were made in favour of Italy. In 1882, Italy was the suiter, but in 1887, Austria was in fear of a Russian and Germany of a French attack, and consequently Italy could demand her own price. Austria was compelled to recognise Italy's interests in the Balkans and her claim to compensation if Turkey was partitioned. Italy refused to promise support if Austria was attacked. Germany undertook to take part in an offensive war if Italy's ambitions in North Africa demanded it. Austria was to allow Italian troops to cross her territory on their way to the western front.

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There was another difficulty and that was due to the presence of certain Austrian territories in the north of Italy which were inhabited by Italians. The Irredentist movement aimed at conquering those territories from Austria and consequently there was always bad blood between Austria and Italy. In spite of friendship and co-operation, there was rivalry and hostility.

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The growing estrangement between Italy and the Central Empires was further emphasized by the visit paid by the Czar Nicholas II to King Victor Emmanuel at Racconigi (1909). The two sovereigns agreed to do everything in their power to maintain the *status quo* in the Balkans. If that was found impossible, they were to encourage the development of the national States to the exclusion of both Austria and Italy. Russia agreed to maintain a benevolent attitude with regard to Italy's designs on Tripoli and Cyrenaica. Italy promised to reciprocate this attitude towards Russian ambitions with regard to the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. France and England agreed to adhere to the Racconigi Agreement. The Agreement marked the further progress of Italy from the Triple Alliance towards the Triple *Entente*. In spite of that, the Triple Alliance remained formally intact.

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was an event of capital importance not only for France and Russia, but for Europe. That a first-class Power should desire an alliance with France was an emphatic recognition that she had recovered from her catastrophic defeat. The glaring differences of political institutions and ideas were forgotten in the satisfaction of procuring a powerful France and the secrecy of its terms enabled eager patriots to hope that it might perhaps contain some assurance with regard to the recovery of the Rhine provinces. On the side of Russia, who had less cause to fret about prestige, the alliance was hailed as good business. Her plans of Far Eastern expansion, among them the Siberian Railway, required unlimited capital, which thrifty France was ready and indeed eager to supply at a moderate rate. From the standpoint of European politics, the conclusion of the alliance was a sign that the reign of Bismarck was over."

According to Prof. Fay, the Franco-Russian alliance was defensive in its origin but in the time of Delcasse, Izvolsky and Poincare, it was transformed into an offensive alliance. The defeat of Germany was the first and principal objective of the alliance in case of German aggression. To begin with Germany was not alarmed because she felt that the Triple Alliance was equal in strength to the Dual Alliance. She also believed that England would not join the Dual Alliance and consequently the balance of power would be maintained. However, it cannot be denied that the existence of the Dual Alliance forced Germany to show due respect to both Russia and France. In a way, the Dual Alliance tended at first to secure the peace of Europe in the same way as "one sword holds another in its sheath." The isolation of France was ended and France could afford to take a stiff attitude towards Great Britain and Germany. On many occasions, William II proposed to merge the Triple Alliance and the Dual Alliance into a grand "Continental League." His view was that such a combination would maintain peace and put an end to the domination of England in colonial affairs. To quote Fay, "Thus the first years of the Franco-Russian Alliance tended to strengthen rather than endanger the peace of Europe. It established a healthy counterpoise to the Triple Alliance. Neither group was so greatly superior as to be able safely to attack the other, or even to seek to dominate it by threats of force. But during the decade from 1894 to 1904, two changes occurred which tended ultimately to destroy this equilibrium. They are of the greatest importance in the development of the system of secret alliances—England's exchange of splendid isolation for an *Entente Cordiale* with France, and Italy's dubious loyalty towards her Allies."

**The Entente Cordiale (1904).** The year 1898 is a great landmark in the history of Anglo-French relations. In that year, Anglo-French rivalry reached its high water-mark and there was every possibility of a clash between the two countries. Great Britain and France had been rivals for a long time. During the later half of the 19th century, the scramble for Africa had made them keen rivals. The Anglo-French African settlement of 1890 had solved some of the thorny problems and France was allowed to establish



a protectorate over the Island of Madagascar, French influence was recognised as supreme in the Sahara. In spite of that, the rivalry between the two countries continued. That was due to the fact that the French wanted to penetrate from the west of Africa to the east of Africa and dominate the Sudan. The British Government was equally determined not to allow France to do so as she was determined to link up her possession in North and South Africa. The British Government regarded Anglo-Egyptian Sudan as their own preserve although it had not been conquered.

In 1897, Captain Marchand, a French soldier and explorer who was a passionate opponent of English colonialism started his march across dark Africa, taking with him in pieces the Steamer *Faidherbe* which he could reassemble when he reached the Nile. Its boiler was rolled on logs for hundreds of miles through the tropical forest. After more than a year, Marchand reached Fashoda on July 16, 1898. He restored the fort, made a treaty with the local chief who put his territory under the French rule and hoisted the French flag on the fort.

After a fortnight, Kitchener arrived on the scene with a much stronger force than that of Marchand. There was very likelihood of trouble. When Marchand undertook the expedition, he had been assured of his Government's help by the then French Foreign Minister in these words : "*You are going to fire a pistol shot on the Nile ; we accept all its consequences.*"

However, both Kitchener and Marchand behaved with dignity and gallantry and the situation was saved. There was the following conversation between the two. Kitchener said : "I must hoist the Egyptian flag here." The reply of Marchand was : "Why, I myself will help you to hoist it—over the village." Kitchener added : "Over the fort." Marchand replied : "No, that I shall resist." Kitchener said : "Do you know, Major, that this affair may set France and England at war?" Marchand records that to that question he bowed without replying. Ultimately they agreed that Kitchener should hoist the Egyptian flag over an outlying part of the fort and the French flag should remain over the fort itself. They also agreed to refer the dispute to their respective home governments.

At this time, a new ministry was formed and Delcasse became the Foreign Minister of France. The latter brought a new approach to the whole problem. His view was that France could not afford to fight against England. That was due to the fact that if France was to get back Alsace and Lorraine from Germany, the only way to do so was by getting help from England. Under the circumstances a fight with England was suicidal, and no wonder Delcasse decided to retire from Fashoda and sent orders accordingly. Negotiations started between the two countries with regard to the territory claimed by France but on account of the stiff attitude of England, Delcasse had to give way. An Anglo-French convention of March 1899 fixed a line beyond which Great Britain was not to seek territory or influence westwards and France eastwards. Although Delcasse asked the British Government to settle the other outstand-



part in driving Italy over to the Central Powers, the Italian politicians certainly wanted backing for their imperialist designs in the Mediterranean. In 1882 they did not get it. But just as the Austrians thought that the Austro-German alliance would gradually draw Germany into supporting their Balkan plans, so the Italians counted that the Triple Alliance would gradually involve Germany in their Mediterranean schemes. So long as Russia was peaceful and Italian neutrality therefore of academic interest, their hopes were thwarted; once the peace of the Balkans was disturbed, Italy had something of value to sell and then Germany had to pay a real price." (*The Struggle for Mastery in Europe*, pp. 275-76.)

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Austria resented the desire of Italy to secure Albania and Italy was opposed to Austria having control over Albania and Valona. Although both the countries agreed to maintain the *status quo* in Albania, each tried to strengthen her influence by more or less underhand means, Anti-Austrian riots broke out in Italy. The Austrian attempt to construct a railway through the Sanjak of Novi-Bazar added to the ill-feelings between the two countries.

Germany found great difficulty in maintaining friendly relations with Italy. German policy was to win over Turkey and she was doing her best to achieve that objective. However, Italy declared war against Turkey in 1911 and occupied Tripoli. During the period of the war, Germany found her position very awkward as she could not avert a war between the two allies.

It is to be observed that from 1902 to 1914, Italy had a foot in two camps and she was finding it difficult to reconcile her obligations under the Triple Alliance with her inclination and promises towards the Triple-Entente.

It was in these circumstances that the World War I broke out in 1914. In spite of the Triple Alliance, she did not join the war. She asked for compensation and hinted at Trentino. The suggestion was dismissed by Austria. The policy of Italy was to get whatever she could possibly get. "What is needed is a freedom from all pre-conceptions and prejudices, from every sentiment except that of sacred egotism." Italy was not in a hurry to join the war as she had not recovered from her exhaustion in the Tripolitan War. A request by Italy for Trentino was rejected by Austria. Germany put pressure on Austria to give something to Italy, but Austria refused. The Austrian policy was not changed even after the dismissal of Berchtold. Instead of accepting the demands of Italy at once and winning her over, the Austrian Government slowly and slowly went on raising the offer. Italy also went on raising its demands. Ultimately, the Italian Government demanded in April 1915 the whole of south Tyrol, Gorizia, Gradisca and Trieste, several islands off the Dalmatian coast, Italian sovereignty over Valona and Austrian disinterestedness in Albania.

It was natural that Italy's price of intervention should be higher than that for neutrality. It was equally natural that the Entente Powers should be more generous in their promises to Italy than Austria herself. France and Great Britain were willing to pay a higher price and consequently negotiations started in London. Italy's demands were considered exorbitant by Russia and France. Russia opposed Italian designs on the eastern coast of the Adriatic to which Serbia had a better claim. However, the military situation was in favour of Italy and the Allies badly needed the help of Italy. It was in these circumstances that the Treaty of London was signed in 1915.

By the Treaty of London, Italy was to get Trentino, the Southern Tyrol up to Brenner Pass, the city and district of Trieste, the country of Grādisca, North Dalmatia, Istria, etc. She was also to get the twelve islands. In Libya, she was to enjoy all rights and privileges. Italy was to be allowed to expand in Somaliland, Eritrea



and Libya. Great Britain was to help her to raise a loan and she was also to have a share in war-indemnity. The Treaty was to be kept secret and the new ally was to begin hostilities within a month. It cannot be denied that the treaty of London increased the material strength of the Allied Powers, but it undoubtedly took away from their moral prestige. The Serbs were furious at the prospect of the Adriatic Sea becoming an Italian lake.

Even after the signing of the Treaty of London, Italy continued negotiations with Austria with a view to finding out an excuse to attack the country. On 21st April 1913, Italy declared that the differences between the two countries were so wide that it was impossible to bridge them. On 3rd May, Italy denounced the Triple Alliance. The Austrian Government tried to make concessions to win over Italy, but it was too late. Italy declared war against Austria on 23rd May 1916. Curiously enough, war against Germany was not declared till 27th May 1916. *It is clear from this as to how Italy joined the Triple Alliance in 1882 and left it in 1915.* On both these occasions, Italy was actuated by her personal interests.

**Franco-Russian Alliance (1893).** It is to be observed that while the Austro-German Alliance was concluded within a very short period, the Franco-Russian Alliance was discussed in public and private for many years before official negotiations started, and even then it took many years before it was finally concluded. The delay was due to many causes. Between 1871 and 1890, Bismarck consistently followed a policy of isolating France and consequently he would not allow Russia to be aligned with France. He brought into existence the Three Emperors' League which continued from 1873 to 1878. Although the relations between Germany and Russia were strained from 1879 to 1881 and there was a possibility of an alliance between France and Russia during that period. Bismarck was able to avoid the eventuality by following a pro-French policy during that period. On the occasion of the Bulgarian crisis, Bismarck supported Russia against Austria. In 1881, he renewed the Three Emperors' League which continued up to 1887. He was able to keep Russia with Germany up to 1890 by entering into the Reinsurance Treaty with her in 1887.

Another cause was that the French ministries changed very often and the negotiations started by one ministry could not be successfully concluded by another. The Czar wanted to enter into a secret alliance and he felt that the secrecy of the alliance could not be maintained on account of the frequency of changes in French ministries. Russia was an autocratic country and France had a democratic government and it was felt that an alliance between democracy and autocracy was not a happy one. The Czar was hesitant to enter into an alliance with a democratic country which was the refuge of the revolutionaries. Giers, the Foreign Minister of Russia, had very bad health and consequently the negotiations had to be delayed to suit the convenience. Even the Czar himself changed his mind very often, and on certain occasions, refused to carry on negotiations for an alliance with France. However, in spite



of these difficulties the alliance between the two countries was concluded in the long run on account of the community of interests.

In 1873, the French Government enquired from the Russian Government whether the latter would help her if she was attacked. The Russian Government did not make any promise but stated that she desired to see France a Great Power.

On the occasion of the war scare of 1875, Russia gave a proof of her practical sympathy for France. Germany wanted to attack France and crush her before she became sufficiently strong to challenge Germany. On that occasion, the Czar and Gortchakoff, the Russian Foreign Minister, went to Berlin and pacified the Germans. Russia told Germany frankly that she should not count upon her neutrality in the event of a German attack on France. To the French the Russian action appeared as a harbinger of more intimate relations with that country in the future.

In 1877, Waddington came to power in France. He was in favour of maintaining good relations with Germany. Although during the tension that followed the Congress of Berlin the Russian Government offered to enter into an alliance with France the French Government refused. Waddington remarked thus : "I think Russia is inclined to a *rapprochement*, but Bismarck has his eyes on us. If a treaty were on the anvil, he might reply with war." Even Gambetta, who was otherwise an enemy of Germany, was in favour of maintaining good relations with Bismarck. To quote him, "France must play a secondary role in Europe and be very reserved till we have got a very strong army and then I shall like you to be a partisan of a Russian alliance." Bismarck remarked on 1881 that he would like to go "hand in hand" with France. Such was the cordiality of the relations between Germany and France and the French indifference towards Russia that in 1880, Freycinet refused the extradition of Hartmanns who was charged with planning a bomb attack on the Czar. The Czar was so angry that he recalled the Russian Ambassador from France. In 1885, the French Government annoyed the Russian Government by the release of Kropotkin from a French prison before the expiry of his sentence and the recall of the French ambassador to whom the Czar was greatly attached. In anger the Czar refused to welcome the new French ambassador:

The possibility of a Franco-Russian Alliance during the Bulgarian crisis, and a campaign was started in the two countries for that purpose. Katkoff wrote thus : "If Germany stands so big, is it not because she has climbed on Russia's shoulders ? If Russia was to resume her liberty of action, the phantom of German omnipotence would vanish. We are not asking for a Franco-Russian alliance. We wish that Russia should remain in free and friendly relations with Germany, but also that similar relations should be established with the other nations, and above all with France who occupies in an increasing degree a situation in Europe worthy of her power. What have we to quarrel about, and what are her domestic concerns to us ?" Again, "I hate France, for she has been and is a school of revolutionary propaganda. But now when Russia is threatened by Austria and Germany, an alliance is imposed upon



her by an ineluctable necessity." However, when a formal offer for an alliance was made to France in 1886, the latter refused.

In 1887, a new Government came to power in France. The new Foreign Minister was friendly towards Russia and he advised the Bulgarians to come to a settlement with Russia and not to quarrel. According to Dr. Gooch, "At a time when every European statement except Bismarck was a critic of Russia's high-handed conduct in Bulgaria, the support of the French Government caused pleasure and gratitude in Petrograd."

In the same year, the Boulanger crisis took place. The Russian Government intervened to pacify the Germans. As the tension was still persisting, there was every likelihood of a conflict between France and Germany. Bismarck enquired from the Russian Government what her attitude would be in the event of a war. The reply of the Czar was in these words: "Russia was neutral in the three wars though it would have been her plain interest to abandon neutrality. Today Russia must consult her own interests in a greater degree and cannot constantly aid Prussia, who is besides the ally of the Emperor Francis Joseph." The Czar refused to promise neutrality as the annihilation of France was bound to upset the balance of power in Europe. He wanted to keep his hands free. He also assured France that she could count upon her moral support.

In 1883, the Grand Duke of Russia visited Paris and he expressed a wish to inspect the new French rifles. The request was granted after some hesitation. In 1889, Russia asked France to manufacture 500,000 rifles. The French Government agreed to do so in case "they will not fire at Frenchmen." The manufacture of rifles started in 1890, but in the meanwhile the Russian officers studied the system of mobilisation, transport and supply from the French. A French engineer was sent to Russia to organise the manufacture of munitions.

In 1888, the Russian Government tried to raise a loan in France and it was over-subscribed. Russia was obliged to France. A similar loan was raised next year. These loans brought the two countries together.

The French ministry of Freycinet was inclined towards Russia. The fall of Bismarck in 1890 and the lapse of the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia, removed a great obstacle from the way of Franco-Russian collaboration. In 1890 the Grand Duke visited Paris again and remarked thus: "If I have any voice in the matter, the two will be one in time of war. And that, if it were known, would prevent war, for no one would care to challenge France and Russia". His parting words were: "In me, France has a friend."

In 1890, the French Chief of the Staff, General Boisdeffre, went to Russia to expedite an alliance with that country. However, nothing came out of it as the Czar was not convinced of the utility of an alliance. But the French were clamouring for an alliance. According to the Belgian minister, "The dream obsesses ever one at Paris. It comes from the very natural desire to lean on a great nation in resisting attack from the Central Powers: but it has become also a matter of sentiment. The infatuation for Russia



ing disputes between the two countries and thereby bring them together, the British Government declined the offer. That was partly due to the fact that England was more favourably inclined towards Germany than towards France. Moreover, the British Government had no faith in the stability of the French ministries. The matter had to be dropped for the time being.

The settlement of 1899 between France and England was not popular in France. It was maintained by the French patriots that Delcasse had surrendered before Great Britain. In spite of the best efforts made by Delcasse to make Frenchmen understand his point of view, the feeling remained. When the Boer War started the relations between England and France became bitter once again. The French supported the Boers in their fight against the British Government. On the other hand, Germany supported the British stand. No wonder, there was too much of anti-French feeling in England. The visit of William II to London on the occasion of the death of Queen Victoria and his attitude there brought England and Germany together and nobody thought of France. However, events took a different turn when William II was approached to enter into an alliance with England and he tried to put off by saying that the road to Berlin lay through Vienna. It was then that statesmen like Chamberlain who stood for an Anglo-German collaboration, felt disgusted with the German attitude and decided to seek friends elsewhere. It was in that spirit that Great Britain decided to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with Japan in 1902.<sup>1</sup>

Negotiations were started with France in 1902 when Chamberlain made a formal proposal to Cambon, the French Ambassador in London. The scope of those proposals was colonial and their object was to solve the Anglo-French disputes in the colonial field.

The Anglo-French differences fell into two classes. In the first category fell a long string of local colonial disputes. The French claims rested on treaties and were more detrimental to Britain than of advantage to her. Their main value was a bargaining counter. France could be persuaded to surrender them only by giving her compensation elsewhere. Although it was a tedious job, yet it was not so hopeless. To the second category belonged two questions of high policy and those were Morocco and Egypt. France had not forgotten how in 1883 she was deprived of her interests in Egypt as a result of the unilateral action of Great Britain. The bitterness against Great Britain on that score was very great and it was difficult to reconcile, her. French interest in Egypt had been long and intimate, dating back to the time of Napoleon I. At the same time, the Sultanate of Morocco was falling to pieces and could link the North and West African possessions of France. Moreover, the control of Morocco by any other rival power would have endangered French position. If this was the French view, the British Admiralty was not inclined to allow the falling of the southern shore of the straits of Gibraltar into the hands of France. Most of

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1. A full discussion of this alliance is to be found in the chapter on the Foreign Policy of Japan.



Morocco's small trade was done by British merchants and they were not prepared to lose it so easily. However, a bargain was struck between the two countries. Great Britain was to have a free hand. Egypt and France was to have a free hand in Morocco and both of them were to support each other. The problem of the straits was solved by a non-fortification clause and by reserving a northern strip to satisfy the historic claim of Spain. It was also provided that equal liberty of commerce was to be given to England for thirty years.

The ratification of the treaty needed a feeling of friendship in France towards Great Britain. However, that feeling was lacking for some time. The French newspapers were most bitter against England. However, President Loubet and Foreign Minister Delcasse sent friendly messages to Edward VII on his accession to the throne. The King was greatly impressed by them. Moreover, Edward VII had an inborn hatred for the Germans and their king who had insulted him many a time. He was extremely popular with the people of Paris whom he visited often. In 1903 when Edward VII visited France he was given a hearty welcome everywhere. The people ran after his carriage and cheered him. The visit was a grand success. In the same year, President Loubet and Delcasse went to London on a return visit and were warmly received. The result was that an Anglo-French Arbitration Treaty was signed in October 1903. However, the main treaty was signed in April 1904 and it dealt with Egypt, Morocco, Newfoundland, West Africa, Madagascar, Siam and New Hebrides. The Treaty was ratified both by Great Britain and France. The question of Newfoundland fisheries was amicably settled. France gave up her claim to the shores of Newfoundland where she had the right of fishing and drying her nets, but she was guaranteed the right of fishing as before. She got concessions in West Africa. She got 14,000 square miles of territory and uninterrupted access from her territories on the Niger to those in Lake Chad. The difficulties with regard to Siam, Madagascar and New Hebrides were also solved.

Both Lord Lansdowne and Delcasse were satisfied at the friendly settlement of the outstanding disputes between England and France. Answering the critics, Delcasse maintain that in Newfoundland France had only abandoned privileges which were difficult to maintain and in no way necessary, while the essential right of fishing in territorial waters was preserved. In West Africa the British concessions were of considerable importance. The Niger-Chad frontier was improved. To quote him, "Under our influence, Morocco would be a source of strength for our North African empire. If subject to a foreign Power, our North African possessions would be permanently menaced and paralysed." The sacrifice in Egypt was small. No change was made in the political status and all necessary guarantees for French financial interests were obtained. Great Britain also agreed to abide by the terms of the Suez Canal Convention of 1888.

It is wrong to think that the *Entente Cordiale* of 1904 was in



has gained upon all classes. This Power is as popular today as Poland under the Second Empire. Many are convinced of the existence of a sort of *Entente*—secret engagements, if not a treaty. Thus the arrival of any official personage acquires the proportions of an event, and the Grand Dukes can no longer travel in France without political significance being attached to the visits of courtesy which they pay to the authorities. A new journal, *L'Union Franco-Russe*, has just appeared, and reproduces the dithyrambs of the Paris press in honour of the Russian alliance. The contrast between the institutions of the two countries is not felt in Paris."

In 1891, Empress Frederick, mother of William II, visited France. When she went to Versailles and St. Cloud, there were hostile demonstrations. William II made it clear that if his mother was insulted in any way he would declare war on France. However, the danger was averted by the departure of the train an hour before the specified time. The Russians stood by the side of France on this occasion also. The Grand Cross of St. Andrew was presented to Carnot, the President of France. In spite of all this, Russia was still reluctant to enter into an alliance with republican France. There was a French exhibition at Moscow. The Czar openly opposed it and also ordered his brother who was the Governor of Moscow, not to appear and take part in the banquet. The exhibition was a complete failure.

However, the momentary tension between Russia and France was ended by the renewal of the Triple Alliance, Great Britain appeared to be sympathetic towards the Triple Alliance. Russia found herself alone and no wonder she felt the necessity of an ally. It was this fact which forced the Russian Government to invite the French Fleet to Russia. The Cronstadt visit took place in 1891 and the French were given a rousing welcome in Russia. The Czar ordered the naval band to play the Marseillaise, the French national anthem. According to Freycinet, "When the fleet weighed anchor, the *rapprochement* was made. It merely remained to translate it into official language. The Czar had committed himself." The visit of the French fleet created a profound impression in Europe. It was felt that an alliance between Russia and France was in the offing.

Giers informed the French Government that the Russian Government would be willing to discuss matters common to both the countries. In 1891, a political agreement was made between the two countries. It was declared by the two governments that they would confer with each other on every question which threatened peace and take consolidated action to meet the danger, whether actual or potential.

In 1891, the Russian Government raised in France another loan at 3% for a million bonds of 500 francs each and it was over-subscribed eight times. The Russian Government moved slowly in the matter and when Giers visited Paris the same year, he refused to commit himself for a military alliance. In spite of that, Russia had been completely won over. In 1891, Russia and France co-operated with each other in Turkey and the Sultan was informed



that both the countries would act together with regard to the Mediterranean.

Although a military convention was being discussed, the French were impatient of delay. The sickness of Giers was delaying matters. The Czar was worried about the secrecy of the terms of the alliance. It was not till October 1893, that a Russian squadron visited Toulon and thereby returned the visit of the French fleet in 1891. Both men and women in Paris ran with the carriages carrying the Russians and kissed or touched their hands as a token of their affection. They were compelled very often to appear on their balconies. Sometimes they cut their gloves into pieces for distribution among the crowds. A similar reception was given to the Russian officers at Marseilles and Lyons. After some delay, Giers wrote to the French Government that he was prepared to enter into a military convention, and the Military Convention was signed between Russia and France on 31st December 1893. The convention was of a defensive nature. If France was attacked by Germany or by Italy supported by Germany, Russia was to employ all her resources to attack Germany. If Russia was attacked by Germany or by Austria supported by Germany, France was to employ all her forces to fight Germany. Both France and Russia were to employ a certain number of troops against the enemy. The Staffs of the Armies of the two countries were to co-operate at all times in preparing and facilitating the execution of the measures above-mentioned. They were to communicate to each other all information regarding the armies of the Triple Alliance. The two countries were not to conclude separate treaties. The clauses of the treaty were to be kept secret and the treaty was to last as long as the Triple Alliance lasted. The military convention was ratified by both the countries in 1894.

The existence of the Dual Alliance between Russia and France was revealed to the world in January 1895, Premier Ribot declared : "France has associated her interests with those of another nation in the interest of peace and European equilibrium. This alliance which was ratified by the universal sentiment of the country, constitutes today our dignity and our strength." Regarding the alliance, William II wrote thus to Czar Nicholas II in September 1895 : "I perfectly know that you do not dream of attacking us, but you cannot be astonished that the Powers get alarmed seeing how the presence of your officers and high officials in an official way in France fans inflammable Frenchmen into a white-heat passion and strengthens the cause of chauvinism and *revanche*. If you are allied for better or worse with the French, well then, keep those damned rascals in order and make them sit still." Again, "It is not the friendship of France and Russia that makes me uneasy, but the danger to our principle of monarchism through the lifting up of the Republic on a pedestal. The constant appearance of princes, Grand Dukes, etc. at Reviews, Burials, Dinners, Races, with the head of the Republic makes Republicans believe that they are quite honest, excellent people, with whom princes can consort and feel at home."

According to Dr. Gooch, "The conclusion of the Dual Alliance



any way a military alliance between Great Britain and France. It was nothing of the kind. It was merely a settlement of the outstanding disputes between the two countries. However, the settlement of the disputes created an atmosphere of cordiality and friendship between the two countries. There was every possibility of strengthening the *Entente* in the future.

Although the *Entente* of 1904 did not commit the two countries to help each other, certain circumstances brought them together. There was the alarming growth of the German navy and it was feared in England that of Great Britain was to maintain her naval supremacy in the world, she must build more ships than the Germans did. The British Government also decided to withdraw her navy from the Pacific and concentrate all the British navy in the North Sea. That could be done only if Great Britain withdrew her navy from the Mediterranean also. That could be done only if a friendly power took over the control of the Mediterranean. It was the question of the withdrawal of the British navy from the Mediterranean that forced England to depend more and more on France whose navy could be entrusted with the command of the Mediterranean.

The *Entente* was treated in 1905-6, 1908 and 1911 on three occasions of the Morocco crises. On all these three occasions, Great Britain backed France. The testing of the *Entente* made it grow stronger. As a matter of fact, it was the community of interests between England and France that solidified the *Entente* and brought them nearer each other. Anglo-French collaboration had reached such a stage that on the occasion of Haldane's mission to Berlin in 1912 Grey declared that England would not sacrifice France for the sake of friendship with Germany.

It is desirable to refer to the views of Bulow and Dr. Gooch on the *Entente Cordiale*. According to Bulow, "I can only say that we have no reason to suppose that this agreement is directed against any power whatever. It seems to be an attempt to eliminate the points of difference between France and Great Britain by means of an amicable understanding. From the point of view of German interests we have nothing to complain of, for we do not wish to see strained relations between Great Britain and France, if only because such a state of affairs would imperil the peace of the world, the maintenance of which we sincerely desire. Concerning Morocco, which constitutes the essential point of the agreement, we are interested in this country, as in fact in the rest of the Mediterranean, principally from the economic point of view... We must protect our commercial interests in Morocco, and we shall protect them." According to Dr. Gooch, "It is regrettable that the British Cabinet did not perceive—or at any rate did not help France to perceive—the wisdom of securing German consent by a solatium. Though the Secret Treaties of 1904 reserved no share for Great Britain in the contingent partition of Morocco and though it has been argued it was reasonable for the contracting parties to make alternative arrangements in the event of Morocco collapsing from internal



weakness, our share in the transaction which suggested double-dealing involves the British Government in partial responsibility for the crises of 1905 and 1911."

According to Taylor, "The agreement, signed on 8th April 1904, therefore appeared to contain a gross inequality: the British gains in Egypt operated immediately; the French gains in Morocco depended on their future exertions. The inequality was apparent, not real. The British were already established in Egypt beyond all challenge; their gain was merely a free hand for Cromer and his financial schemes—gratifying, no doubt, but irrelevant to their imperial strength. The French, on the other hand, were at liberty to add the finest part of North Africa to their empire. But in politics it is the apparent which counts. When Delcasse gave up Egypt, he renounced a cause which ranked, however mistakenly, second only to the lost provinces; when Lansdowne gave up Morocco, he wrote off a country unknown to all except a few traders and experts in strategy. Both British and French opinion believed that France had paid the higher price. Because of the sentimental weight of Egypt, the *entente* was on trial in France as it was not in Great Britain. The *entente* was essential for France; it was merely an advantage for the British. But the French had paid cash down, the British with a promissory note. Hence the French could take an independent line—could try to go back in their bargain towards Spain and could flirt with Germany. British good faith was on trial; they had to back the French up in Morocco when international difficulties arose. Yet all the *entente* did for the British was slightly to lessen their naval needs in the Mediterranean and to give Cromer a field day in Egypt; for the French the situation in the Far East made it a matter of life and death." (*The Struggle for Mastery in Europe*, pp. 415-17)

**Anglo-French Military and Naval Talks.** It is desirable to refer to the military and naval talks between England and France from 1905 to 1914. The *Entente Cordiale* of 1904 bound England merely to give diplomatic support to France on the question of Morocco. However, after the visit of William II to Tangier, the British Government and the public opinion in England felt that Germany was trying to break up the *entente* by bullying France. It was also felt that France was being threatened merely on account of her friendship with England. There was also political and commercial rivalry between England and Germany. The rapid growth of the German navy was also worrying British statesmen. It was found that on the question of Morocco, the English press was "more French than the French." It was hinted that in the event of a war on the question of Morocco "England will stand unconditionally and actively on the French soil and will go against Germany, even with enthusiasm."

It was in this atmosphere that talks started between Lord Lansdowne, the British Foreign Minister, and Cambon, the French Ambassador in London. Great Britain was prepared to "take a step further" and offer to France more than mere diplomatic support. Negotiations had reached the final stage when Delcasse fell in 1905.



In December 1905, Sir Edward Grey became the Foreign Minister of England. It was the eve of the Algeciras Conference and Germany was adopting a threatening attitude towards France and consequently the French Government was feeling very nervous. It was in these circumstances that in January 1906, Cambon asked Grey whether the British Government would be prepared to render France armed assistance in the case of German aggression and whether it would sanction the continuation of military and naval talks. The reply of Grey was that although he could not give a definite reply without consulting his colleagues, his personal view was that if France was attacked by Germany on the question of Morocco, public opinion in England would be strongly moved in favour of France. The naval talks had already been done by Sir John Fisher himself and Grey assured Cambon that even military talks would take place on a satisfactory basis and it was actually done. While Grey encouraged the French to except British help in the case of necessity, he reserved himself the liberty of action.

Cambon quoted Grey that "in the event of an attack by Germany upon France, no British Government could remain neutral," but Grey pointed out that "a personal opinion was not a thing upon which, in so serious a matter, a policy could be founded." Much was to depend upon the manner in which a war broke out between France and Germany. While England was not prepared to fight against Germany to put France in possession of Morocco, the English public opinion would be in favour of helping France if she were attacked by Germany. To quote Grey, "Events might change, but as things are at present, I do not think it necessary to press the question of a defensive alliance."

It is true that Grey was favourably inclined towards France but he was not prepared to enter into any formal agreement with France which might bind England to go to war. Such an agreement had to be sanctioned by Parliament and the latter might not be willing to do so. Moreover, such an agreement was bound to add to the hostility between the two countries. The whole of the British Cabinet might not approve of his view. Consequently, Grey left the whole thing in the melting pot and approved the holding of military and naval conversations between the military staffs of both the countries. These talks continued up to 1914 and the military preparations in both the countries were linked up with each other. The British and French officers thoroughly surveyed the grounds upon which their armies were to fight in Belgium and France. Sir Henry Wilson, Director of Military Operations, spent his holidays cycling on the ground where the war was likely to be fought. The whole wall of his London office was covered by a big map of Belgium. Ways and means were found out for putting the English armies on the French soil within as short a period as possible. The estimate was that within 12 days of declaration of war, English troops would be fighting in Europe.

Prof. Fay has condemned Grey for concealing the military and



naval talks from the Cabinet for years. It was in 1912 that the British Cabinet came to know of them. The British Parliament and the public came to know of them in 1914. It is pointed out that that was not an honest way of doing things. Grey ought to have placed the whole matter before the Cabinet and not taken action in consultation with the Prime Minister alone. It is also maintained that the naval military talks committed England to come to the help of France although there was no definite pact to that effect between the two countries. The only justification of Grey was that he did everything in the best interests of his country and there was absolutely no dishonesty about what he did.

**The Anglo-Russian Entente of 1907.** During the 19th century, England followed a policy of splendid isolation and refused to commit herself in spite of the efforts made by Bismarck. However, by the end of the 19th century she came to realise that the policy of splendid isolation was not in her best interests and was another name for annihilation. It was this relation that was responsible for the Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902. It was with the same objective that the *Entente Cordiale* of 1904 was made with France and all the outstanding disputes between the two countries were amicably settled. Although the *Entente* of 1904 was not a military alliance, both the countries came nearer each other by the force of circumstances, and England backed France in 1906, 1908 and 1911 on the question of Morocco.

It is rightly pointed out that the Anglo-Russian *Entente* was a complement of the Anglo-French *Entente*. When Delcasse was in office, he did his utmost to bring Russia and England together. He felt that in the event of a war between England and Russia, French position would be very much weakened and even the utility of the Franco-Russian alliance of 1893 and the *Entente Cordiale* of 1904 would be very much lessened. France would be put in a very awkward position if her two partners quarrelled among themselves. No wonder, when the Dogger Bank accident took place, Delcasse worked hard to bring about a settlement between Russia and Great Britain. In spite of the tense atmosphere prevailing in England against Russia, the matter was hushed up and the possibility of a war between England and Russia was avoided. Delcasse felt that in the event of a war between England and Russia, the latter might join Germany and thereby endanger the very existence of France. Russia had been weakened very much in the Russo-Japanese War and there was every possibility of a conflict between Russia and Japan in the future. Russia needed peace for a long time to put herself on her feet and that was possible only if England, the friend of Japan "could be won over".

According to Taylor, "The Dogger Bank affairs marked, indeed, the end of an epoch in European history—the epoch in which an Anglo-Russian conflict seemed the most likely outcome of international relations. This conflict had been expected in the Near East for fifty years, in Central Asia for twenty, and in the Far East, with the greatest likelihood of all, for ten. After November 1904



the conflict was indefinitely postponed. The British has settled their differences with France ; they had escaped war with Russia. Their security, and therewith their isolation from continental affairs, seemed at its height." (*The Struggle for Mastery in Europe*, p. 425).

It appears that during the Russo-Japanese War, Edward VII and Izvolski, who later became the Foreign Minister of Russia, discussed the question of Anglo-Russian relations and the possibility of *rapprochement* between the two countries. Both of them seem to have approved of the idea of an *Entente* between the two countries. It was felt by Russia that if she could end her disputes with Great Britain, she could pursue an active forward policy in the Balkans and also in the Far East. If there was an Anglo-Russian *Entente* and reconciliation with Japan, there could come into existence a quadruplicate combination stronger than that of the triplicate.

Both Edward VII and Sir Edward Grey were in favour of an understanding with Russia. The first Morocco crisis (1905-6) and the growing naval strength of Germany created a lot of anxiety in England and there was a genuine desire to come to an understanding with Russia so that in the event of a war with Germany, British position might not be weakened. Sir Charles Hardinge who had worked as British ambassador in Russia, was also a strong advocate of friendly settlement with Russia. He exerted a lot of influence on Sir Edward Grey in favour of Russia. Sir Arthur Nicholson, the new British ambassador in Russia, also played an important part.

Negotiations started soon after Izvolski became Russia's Foreign Minister in May 1906. He admitted in October 1906 that such negotiations were going on. To begin with Russia was opposed to the partition of Persia into spheres of influence, but an account of the insistence in London, she had to give way. In March 1907, a Russian fleet visited Portsmouth. On the invitation of the British Government a deputation of Russian officers and sailors visited London and they were entertained as guests at the Admiralty. After the banquet, there was a gala performance which was attended by Sir John Fisher, First Lord of the Admiralty and Sir Edward Grey. This was an unusual thing.

The progress of negotiations was hampered by certain difficulties. It was difficult to reconcile English liberalism and Russian autocracy. Both the Czar and the Russian reactionaries and militarists was opposed to an understanding with England and Izvolski had to face great difficulties. The Liberal press of England condemned Russian programmes" and the reactionary and oppressive character of the Czarist regime. In spite of this, difficulties were overcome on account of the sincere efforts on both sides.

Another cause of delay was the British desire to bring Russia and Japan together. It was felt that there must be a satisfactory reconciliation between Japan and Russia on the question of China. An Anglo-Russian *Entente* was of no use if the two friends of Great



Britain were to fight with each other. So great was the interest taken by the British Government with regard to the Russia-Japanese negotiations that they were actually concluded before an Anglo-Russian agreement was made on 31st August 1907.

The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 dealt with Tibet, Afghanistan and Persia. As regards *Tibet*, both England and Russia recognised the sovereignty of China and agreed not to interfere in her internal affairs or get any concessions there. The hand of the Lamas was to remain a barrier between the Russian bears and the British lions.

As regards *Afghanistan*, Great Britain promised not to annex it and Russia pledged herself not to interfere with the affairs of Afghanistan. Russia declared Afghanistan outside the sphere of her influence. She withdrew her diplomatic agents from Herat. She agreed to deal with Afghanistan only through the British authorities. There were to be no more intrigues in Afghanistan either by England or by Russia.

As regards *Persia*, both England and Russia agreed to respect the territorial integrity and independence of Persia, but at the same time the country was divided into three regions. In the North. Russia was to have her own sphere of influence and in the South Great Britain was to have her own sphere of influence. Between these two spheres of influence, a central new region was created in which neither England or Russia was to get any concession. It is to be noted that the King of Persia was not consulted with regard to the settlement concerning Persia and the treatment of the King of Persia was the subject of a cartoon in the *Punch* in which the British lion and the Russian bear were shown mauling between them an unhappy Persian cat. The lion said to the bear: "Look here! You can play with his head and I can play with his tail and we can both strike the small of his back." The cat merely said: "I don't remember having been consulted about this."

According to Grey, England made a better bargain than Russia. To quote him, "What we gained by it was real—what gained by Russia was apparent." However, Prof. Fay does not agree with this view. His view is that Russia was the gainer while England was not. Although England gained peace of mind with regard to her Indian frontiers, she otherwise lost a lot. She lost independent action in Persia and although Grey protested on many occasions, he could not check Russia. On one occasion, he was prepared even to resign. The Russians took advantage of the British fear of Germany and consequent reliance on Russia. The Russian attitude was put in a nutshell by Sazonov in these words: "The London Cabinet looks upon the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 as being important for the Asiatic interests of England; but this Convention possesses a still greater importance for England from the viewpoint of the policy which is being pursued by England in Europe.....The English, engaged in the pursuit of political aims of vital importance in Europe, may, in case of necessity, be prepared to sacrifice certain interests in Asia in order to keep a Convention



alive which is of such importance to them. This is a circumstance which we can, of course, exploit for ourselves, as, for instance, in Persian affairs."

According to Professor Fay, "Though Izvolski hoped that the Triple Entente would give him greater freedom of action in the Near East and Middle East, and though the French counted on it in the same way in Morocco, so far as England was concerned it aimed at the preservation of peace through the establishment of a balance of power. It was insurance against the supposed danger of possible German aggression and not for any aggression against Germany's existing position in Europe and in the commercial world. But to German eyes, it had a more ominous and irritating appearance.

Although all the terms of the Anglo-Russian convention were made public and there was no military obligation of any kind between the parties, both Russia and England came nearer each other with the passage of time. It was felt that the danger of Germany was so great that they must forget their minor differences. It was this *Entente* which brought England and Russia on the side of France in the war of 1914-18.

**The Haldane Mission, 1912.** Lord Haldane, British Minister of War, went on a mission to Berlin with a view to arriving at some settlement with the German Government. The main object of the mission was to lessen the tension between the two countries arising out of naval competition. The relations between the two countries were so much strained that it was felt that unless something was done at once, the two countries might be dragged into war against each other. Count Metternich, the German Ambassador in England, was unhappy at the mutual misunderstandings and recriminations between the two countries. English public opinion demanded that the British Government must insist upon the "Two-Power Standard." This meant that the English Navy was to be as strong as the combined navies of any other two Powers. The view of Metternich was that the fundamental cause of the alarm and agitation was the enormous growth of the German Navy and there was the necessity and desirability of slowing down the German programme of construction of her ships. Bulow himself was in favour of arriving at some understanding on the question of the navy, but Admiral Tirpitz, German Navy Minister, was not prepared to arrive at any settlement which aimed at reducing the German Navy or retarding its growth.

Mr. McKenna, First Lord of the Admiralty, also proposed that England would build six Dreadnoughts a year against the four Dreadnoughts of Germany. There was a strong feeling in England that Germany was trying to steel a march over England and consequently there was a demand that eight Dreadnoughts should be built instead of six as proposed by McKenna. The popular cry was: "We want eight and we won't wait."

As the situation was deteriorating, two persons played an



important part to bring together the two countries and remove the points of conflict. Those persons were Ballin and Cassel. Ballin was the head of the Hamburg-American Line, and his view was that the main cause of Anglo-German animosity was the rapid growth of the German Navy. Ballin had friendly relations with William II, the German Chancellor and Tirpitz. Sir Ernest Cassel was a London banker who was born in Germany. He had great influence with Edward VII and the big business of England. In 1909, Ballin and Cassel met to find out ways and means of bringing about an understanding between the two countries. In the winter of 1911-2, Ballin met Cassel and the latter met Sir Edward Grey. In January 1912, Cassel went to Berlin with a memorandum which had been approved by the important members of the British Cabinet. That memorandum was to serve as the basis of the negotiations and its text was as follows :—

"1. Fundamental. Naval superiority recognized as essential to Great Britain. Present German naval programme and expenditure not to be increased, but if possible retarded and reduced.

"2. England sincerely desires not to interfere with German colonial expansion. To give effect to this she is prepared forthwith to discuss whatever the German aspirations in that direction may be. England will be glad to know that there is a field or special points where she can help Germany.

"3. Proposals for reciprocal assurances debarring either Power from joining in aggressive designs or combinations against the other would be welcomed."

Cassel met the German Chancellor and showed him the memorandum. The view of the German Chancellor was that it would be best if Sir Edward Grey visited Berlin to conduct the negotiations. Cassel returned to England and communicated what had transpired.

Sir Edward Grey was not willing to go to Berlin and he had his own reasons for it. His view was that his visit to Berlin was bound to create distrust and suspicions in France and thereby weaken the *Entente* which the British Government was not prepared to do. This was particularly so because the British Government had decided to withdraw the British ships from the Mediterranean and replace them by the French ships. Grey also believed that if the negotiations failed, there was every possibility of the German Government putting all the blame on him. His fear was that the whole plan might be "one of those petty unofficial manoeuvres that could be avowed or disavowed at Berlin as best might suit German convenience." His feeling was that nothing would come out of the talks because the German Government had already decided to increase her navy and the public opinion in England would not tolerate a deal with Germany particularly when the British Government was to spend more and more on the development of her navy. To quote Grey, "The mutual arrest or decrease of naval expenditure is the test of whether an understanding is worth anything."



Ultimately, it was decided to send Lord Haldane to Berlin. His visit was to be private and informal so that if nothing came out of it, there might be no sensation or disappointment among the public. Haldane was required "to find out whether Germany's recent overture was serious or not. He was also to attempt to gather information about the Baghdad Railway. But there is no question of entering upon negotiations. We desire only to learn the intention of the German Government and to enquire about its plan for naval programme." This points out to the restricted scope of the mission.

On the day of the arrival of Haldane in Berlin, William II declared that projects for the increase of the German Navy and Army would be introduced in the next session of the Reichstag. Mr. Churchill's reply was in these words: "The British Navy is to us a necessity and, from some points of view, the German Navy is to them more in the nature of luxury.....We shall make it clear that other naval Powers instead of overtaking us by additional efforts will only be more outdistanced in consequence of the measure which we ourselves shall take." The speeches of William II and Churchill were not favourable to the success of Haldane's mission.

Lord Haldane was given a good welcome in Berlin. He felt that the German Chancellor was very sincere to avoid a war. He told William II and Tirpitz that England was determined to build two ships for every ship built by Germany. As the questions of the Navy seemed to be difficult William II suggested that other questions like colonies might be settled first and then the question of navy might be tackled. Bethmann, the German Chancellor, was asked by William II to prepare a formal draft for a settlement between the two countries. The formal draft prepared by the German Chancellor read as follows:—

"I. The High Contracting Powers assure each other mutually of their desire of peace and friendship.

"II. They will not, either of them, make any combination, or join in any combination, which is directed against the other. They expressly declare that they are not bound by any such combination.

"III. If either of the High Contracting Parties becomes entangled in a war with one or more other Powers, the other of the High Contracting Parties will at least observe towards the Power so entangled a benevolent neutrality, and use its utmost endeavour for the localisation of the conflict.

"IV. The duty of neutrality which arises from the preceding Article has no application in so far as it may not be reconcilable with existing agreements which the High Contracting Powers have already made. The making of new agreements which make it impossible for either of the Contracting Parties to observe neutrality towards the other beyond what is provided by the preceding limitation is excluded in conformity with the provision contained in Article II."



Lord Haldane proposed the following modifications in Articles II and III of the draft :—

“II. They will not either of them make or prepare to make any unprovoked attack upon the other, or join in any combination or design against the other for purposes of aggression, or become party to any plan or naval or military enterprise alone or in combination with any other power directed to such an end,”

“III. If either of the High Contracting Parties becomes entangled in a war with one or more other Powers, in which it cannot be said to be the aggressor, the other of the High Contracting Parties will at least observe towards the Power so entangled a benevolent neutrality and use its utmost endeavour for the localisation of the conflict.”

Lord Haldane came back to England with a draft of the proposed German Navy Law. The same was handed over to the Admiralty Department, and after a thorough study and discussion the British Government forwarded a memorandum to Berlin. Germany did not approve of the British memorandum and was indignant that the British Government was putting forward very unreasonable proposals. William II did not like the attitude of the British Government, but both the German Chancellor and the Foreign Minister persisted that another effort should be made to arrive at a settlement with England. William II overruled the Chancellor and directed the German Ambassador in London to inform the British Government that he was determined to get his Navy Law passed through the legislature. He warned the British Government that if it withdrew its ships from the Mediterranean and concentrated them in the North Sea, that was to be considered as a threat of war. Although the German Chancellor resigned, yet he was persuaded by William II to continue in office. Tirpitz was able ultimately to carry his point by a threat of resignation. The net result was that William II agreed to act according to the advice of Tirpitz and not that of the Chancellor,

Seeing the attitude of the German Government, Churchill placed before the British Parliament the British Navy Estimates which provided for two keels to every additional German keel. The negotiations were abandoned as hopeless on 29th March 1912. The German Navy law was passed by the Reichstag on 14th May 1912. Thus ended the Haldane mission to Germany.

According to Prof. Fay, two causes were responsible for the failure of the Haldane mission. One cause was that the British Government was not prepared to let down the French Government in case France was attacked by Germany. Grey was prepared to go to any length to remove the fear of France that she may not be helped in the event of a German attack. He was prepared to wreck the talks with Germany rather than create any doubt in the minds of the French statesmen. If such was the attitude of the British Government, the German Government insisted that Great Britain must declare that she would not help France and remain



neutral. Another cause of the failure of the mission was that the German Government was not prepared to compromise on the question of the German Navy. While Germany was determined to increase her navy, Great Britain was equally determined to maintain her naval superiority. Under the circumstances, there was no scope for any compromise and no wonder the mission failed in spite of the sincere efforts of certain persons.

**Encirclement of Germany.** A reference may be made to the so-called encirclement of Germany by the *Entente* Powers. It is well known that in the time of Bismarck, Germany was the arbiter of Europe, but things changed after his resignation in 1890. There was a stage when England was anxious to enter into an alliance with Germany. However, that stage was over in 1901 when William II gave an evasive reply to a definite British proposal for an alliance between the two countries. It was then that Great Britain entered into an alliance with Japan in 1902. In 1904, the *Entente Cordiale* was made with France. The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 brought Russia and England together. At the same time, the differences between Russia and Japan were amicably settled through the good offices of the British Government.

Germany was faced with a new situation and she felt that Great Britain had strengthened her position to such an extent that her position had become comparatively weak. Although outwardly she did not show any signs of nervousness, she felt at heart that the Triple *Entente* was stronger than the Triple Alliance both in economic resources and military and naval strength. Germany felt that her progress was checked in every quarter by the *Entente* Powers. On subjects like Alsace Lorraine, Morocco, naval competition, the Berlin-Baghdad Railway, etc., one or the other *Entente* Power was opposed to Germany. Even in the case of the Balkans, there was a conflict between Russia and Austria for domination and if Austria was involved in a war, Germany was likely to be dragged into the same. In such an eventuality, Germany was either to surrender or fight and neither of the two alternatives was a happy one. Although both Russia and England protested that the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 was not aimed against Germany, the latter was not satisfied. It appeared to Germany that all the *Entente* Powers were opposed to her and she was actually being encircled by them.

The bitterness was intensified on the question of the Berlin-Baghdad Railway. Russia was opposed to the project for political, economic and strategic reasons. Delcasse was opposed to the project on account of French alliance with Russia. He went to the extent of disallowing the bonds of the Baghdad Railway to be quoted on the Paris Bourse. The British Government opposed the project as that was likely to affect adversely the British interests in Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf and also endanger the safety of the British Empire in India. The Germans completed a part of the railway in 1904 but they found their further progress blocked on account of the opposition of the *Entente* Powers. Germany was prepared to give up her claims in Morocco if France supported the Berlin-Baghdad railway project. This France refused to do. The



British Government demanded either the internationalisation of the whole of the project or British control over the Railway from Baghdad to the Persian Gulf. Germany felt that she could not oblige England up to that extent and the bitterness continued to increase. The naval competition between Germany and England forced Sir John Fisher to follow a "ruthless and remorseless" policy. Great Britain was determined to maintain her naval supremacy and William II was equally determined to beat England on that point. There was no possibility of a compromise and that is amply proved by the following statement of William II: "Count Metternich must be informed that good relations with England at the price of the building of German Navy are not desired by him. If England intends graciously to extend us her hand only with the intimation that we must limit our fleet, this is a groundless impertinence which involves a heavy insult to the German people and their Kaiser, which must be rejected in limine by the Ambassador. France and Russia might with equal reason then demand a limitation of our land armaments. The German fleet is not built against any one and not against England, but according to our need. This is stated quite clearly in the Navy Law and for 11 years has remained unchanged. This Law will be carried out to the last iota; whether it suits the British or not, is no matter. If they want war, they can begin it; we do not fear it." In a speech to the German officers, William II gave expression to his inner feeling in these words: "*A strong navy, a strong army and powder dry.*"

William II was himself determined to make Germany the strongest power in the world. That could be done only if he was able to defeat Great Britain and her allies. William II believed in a policy "*World Power or Downfall*" and was prepared to go to any extent to achieve that objective. If he himself was prepared to defeat everybody, he ought not to have grumbled when his potential victims joined hands to offer joint resistance. There was no encirclement of Germany as such. What actually happened was that William II felt that the realisation of his ambitions was blocked on account of the combined opposition of the *Entente* Powers. Prof. Fay has made the following observations on this point: "The effect on Germany of England's opposition to the Baghdad Railway, of her efforts to limit the German Navy, of the England into a Triple *Entente* was to produce a conviction that Germany was being encircled. Germans believed that this encirclement was Edward VII's personal work and that it aimed at strangling German commercial and colonial expansion, and even at crushing Germany's political and military position. There is no substantial evidence that there was any deliberate encirclement with such aims on the part of King Edward or the British Government. Such notions were the product of German imagination, fear and suspicion."

**Rivalry between Triple Alliance and Triple Entente.**  
Between 1907 and 1914, there was a keen rivalry between Triple



*Entente* and the Triple Alliance. While Germany tried to strengthen the Triple Alliance, Poincaré tried to tighten and strengthen the Triple *Entente* and the latter was more successful than the former. Although the Triple Alliance was renewed in 1907 and 1912, it became weaker and weaker on account of many causes. There were troubles within Austria herself. She was also too much entangled in the Balkan politics. There was distrust between Austria and Italy on account of "unredeemed Italy". The Italians were determined to get back the Italian-speaking territories under the control of Austria. As Austria was not prepared to oblige Italy, there was no genuine co-operation between them. Moreover, both Austria and Italy were rivals in the Balkans and both of them were determined to control the Adriatic Sea. All these factors weakened the effectiveness of the Triple Alliance. Italy entered into an agreement with France in 1902 and with Russia in 1909. She voted with France against Germany on the occasion of the Algeiras Conference.

On the other hand, the Triple *Entente* was positively much stronger. The conflicting interests among the Powers were reconciled. Moreover, they were prepared to ignore petty differences for the sake of higher objects. The naval and military staff talks between England and France and Russia and France pooled together the resources of the *Entente* Powers. The *Entente* Powers were cautious to avoid any doubt or suspicion among the partners. Grey was prepared to allow the Haldane mission to fail rather than create any suspicion in France. He supported France wholeheartedly on the question of Morocco and was prepared even to risk a war with Germany.

Europe was divided into armed camps, one represented by the Triple *Entente* and the other by the Triple Alliance. Every effort was made to lessen friction and suspicion and increase harmony, solidarity, and security of the camp. Sometimes, "blank cheques" were given by one ally to another. Sometimes, assurances of "complete fulfilment of the obligations of the alliance" were given. Regarding his interview in 1913 with William II, German Emperor, Berchtold, the Austrian Foreign Minister, observes thus: "As often as opportunity offered during one hour and a quarter's talk to touch upon our relations as Allies, His Majesty ostentatiously used the occasion to assure me that we could count absolutely and completely upon him. This was the red thread that ran through the utterances of the illustrious sovereign. His Majesty did me the honour to say that whatever came from the Vienna Foreign Office was a command for him." The allies were coming to rely more and more on the support of one another. There was feverish activity for the growth of military and naval armaments. That led to suspicions and fears and that in turn gave an impetus to the race of armaments. According to Prof. Schmitt, "In 1907 the Triple Alliance and the Triple *Entente* had stood side by side; in 1914 they stood face to face." According to Grant and Temperley, "This remarkable arrangement of international checks and balances for a long time preserved peace among the peoples, but by the very fact of its existence ultimately engendered strife. For the system was one of



competing alliances, not of a universal league. It was a Balance, not a Concert, of Power. As one combination strengthened or developed its growth alarmed other States outside its orbit and mechanically produced a counter-combination. Competing alliances produced competing armaments, and the rivalry of hatred and of fear ended in the two opposed groups carrying their competition to the battlefield." According to J.A. Spender, "The stage which Europe had reached was that of a semi-internationalism which organised the nations into two groups but provided no bridge between them. There could scarcely have been worse conditions for either peace or war. The equilibrium was so delicate that a puff of wind might destroy it..." According to Lord Oxford, "We were often conscious that we were skating on the thinnest of ice and that the peace of Europe was at the mercy of a chapter of unforeseen and unforeseeable accidents." That accident took place on 28th June, 1914 when Archduke Francis Ferdinand was murdered by the Serbians and that led to World War I.

### Suggested Readings

- |                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| Brandenberg         | : <i>Fram Bismarck to the World War, 1927.</i>                 |
| Coolidge, A.G.      | : <i>The Origins of the Triple Alliance.</i>                   |
| Dickinson, G. Lowes | : <i>The International Anarchy (1904-14), 1926.</i>            |
| Fay                 | : <i>Origins of the World War.</i>                             |
| Gooch, G.P.         | : <i>Franco-German Relations, 1871-1914.</i>                   |
| Gooch, G.P.         | : <i>History of Modern Europe (1878-1919)</i>                  |
| Gooch, G.P.         | : <i>Recent Revelations on European Diplomacy.</i>             |
| Grey, Lord          | : <i>Twenty-Five Years.</i>                                    |
| Langer, W.L.        | : <i>Diplomacy of Imperialism (1890-1902).</i>                 |
| Langer, W.L.        | : <i>The Franco-Russian Alliance.</i>                          |
| Lippmann            | : <i>Stakes of Diplomacy.</i>                                  |
| Mansergh, N.        | : <i>The Coming of the First World War (1871-1914), 1949.</i>  |
| Michon, G.          | : <i>The Franco-Russian Alliance (1891-1917), 1929.</i>        |
| Renouvin, P.        | : <i>The Immediate Origins of the War, 1923.</i>               |
| Rohrbach            | : <i>Germany's Isolation, 1915.</i>                            |
| Sontag, R.J.        | : <i>European Diplomatic History (1871-1932), 1933.</i>        |
| Spender, J.A.       | : <i>Fifty Years of Europe, 1936.</i>                          |
| Taylor, A.J.P.      | : <i>The Struggle for Mastery in Europe (1848-1918), 1954.</i> |



## CHAPTER XXX

### THE WORLD WAR I (1914-18)

**Causes of the War.** The World War I was due to many causes and the most important cause was the system of secret alliances. Before 1914, Europe was divided into two armed camps. In 1879, Germany had entered into an alliance with Austria-Hungary. In 1882, Italy joined the Austro-German Alliance and thus came into existence what is known as the Triple Alliance. As a result of the efforts of Bismarck, France and Russia had not been able to come together. However, after his dismissal in 1890, Germany did not care for Russia and consequently, Russia began to lean towards France. Many other factors also brought the two countries together. Thus in 1894 was made the Franco-Russian Alliance. Things remained in this condition for some time.

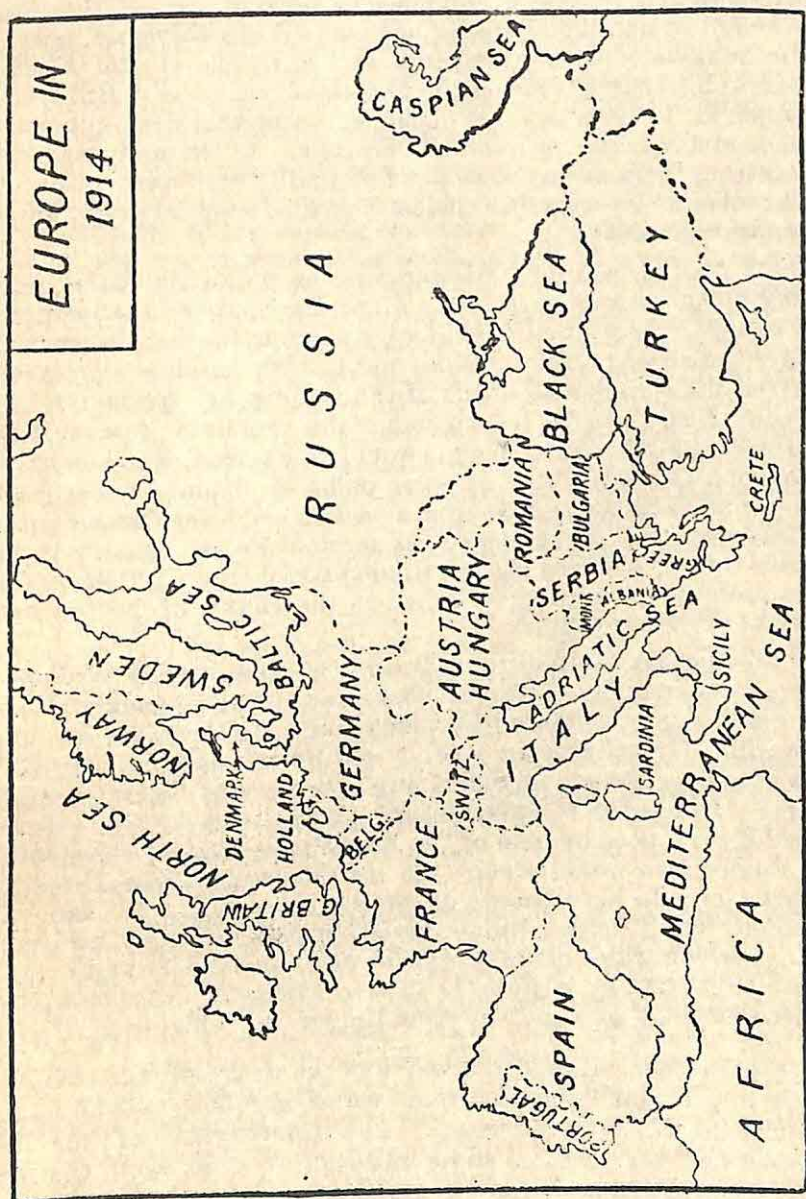
(1) Although England had followed a policy of splendid isolation during the 19th century, she began to feel that she was all alone. She began to fear the consequences of being alone in the world. To begin with, she tried to enter into an alliance with Germany. When she failed to do so, she entered into an alliance with Japan in 1902. In 1904 was made the *Entente Cordiale* between England and France. When in 1907 England signed the Anglo-Russian Convention with Russia, there came into existence what is known as the Triple *Entente*. Germany won over Turkey to her own side. Thus, Europe was divided into two camps. In one camp were England, France, Russia and Japan. In the other camp were Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Italy. There was not only jealousy but also enmity between the two camps. It was the mutual hatred created by the system of secret alliances which ultimately brought about the War of 1914. The importance of the secret alliances in bringing about the War can be explained thus: It all came from this D—D system of alliances, which was the curse of modern times."

(2) Another cause of the war was militarism. This means the dangerous and burdensome mechanism of great standing armies and large navies along with an espionage system. It also means the existence of a powerful class of military and naval officers headed by the General Staff. It is these people who dominated the affairs of the countries particularly at the time of crises. The military and naval armaments of all the Great Powers began to grow year after year. These armaments were alleged to be for defence and in the interests of peace. They were intended to produce a sense of security. However, their actual result was that there was universal fear, suspicion and hatred among the various nations. This is amply proved by the naval competition between Germany and England



Both countries entered into a race of naval armaments. For every ship built by Germany, two ships were built by England. Such a race could end only in a war. Moreover, militarism put too much of power into the hands of the General Staff of every country. That was not conducive to the maintenance of peace.

(3) Another cause of war was narrow nationalism or competitive patriotism. The love of the country demanded the hatred of the



other. Love of Germany demanded the hatred of France and vice versa. It was intense nationalism in Serbia which created bitterness



between Serbia and Austria-Hungary. That was also responsible for the murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, in 1914.

(4) Economic imperialism was also responsible for the war. Economic imperialism leads to international rivalries. Every country tried to capture markets in every nook and corner of the world. That led to bitterness and heart-burning. The efforts to establish protectorates and spheres of influence in various parts of the world also resulted in bad blood among nations. When Germany tried to capture markets which were already in the hands of the English, that led to bitterness between the two countries. Great Britain was not prepared to give up her colonies, protectorates, spheres of influence and markets to humour Germany. As Germany was bent upon getting them at any cost war followed. There were also tariff wars between the various countries. This also resulted in the worsening of the relations.

(5) Another cause of the war was the poisoning of the public opinion by the newspapers. Very often, newspapers in all countries tried to inflame nationalist feeling by misrepresenting the situation in other countries. Ambassadors and Cabinet ministers frequently admitted the senseless attitude of the leading newspapers in their own countries. They offered apologies and promised to put restraint on them if the other governments would do likewise. The newspapers of two countries often took up some point of dispute, exaggerated it, and made attacks and counter-attacks until a regular newspaper war was created. According to Bismarck, "Every country is held at some time to account for the windows broken by its press; the bill is presented some day or other, in the shape of hostile sentiments in the other country."

(6) Another cause of the war was the character of William II, Emperor of Germany. He was very arrogant and haughty. He was very ambitious. He wanted Germany to be the strongest Power in the world. He believed in a policy of "world power or downfall." He was not prepared to make any compromise in international affairs. He wanted to have his own way in every case. He had formed a very poor opinion of the English character. His view was that Englishmen would accept all his demands rather than fight against him. In his estimate of the English nation, he was sadly mistaken. The British desire to maintain peace was not an indication of her cowardice or weakness. It was a misunderstanding of the British character by William II that was responsible for his attitude towards England and that mistake proved to be his undoing.

(7) Another cause of the war was the desire of the people of France to get back Alsace-Lorraine which had been snatched away from her in 1871 by Germany. The Government of the Third Republic in France left no stone unturned to keep alive the spirit of revenge and the hope for the restoration of the two provinces. The statue of Strasbourg in the Place de la Concorde in Paris reminded the Frenchmen of their lost territories, "La dernière classe" of Daudet brought forth tears from the eyes of the school children of



France and created in them the spirit of revenge. Likewise, the songs of Paul Deroulede inculcated among the young men a feeling of revenge. There was also the economic motive for getting back Alsace-Lorraine. The iron and steel magnates of France felt that they could not do without the iron mines of Lorraine. There was a feeling that the industrial prosperity of Germany was due to the iron mines of Lorraine and the Frenchmen must have burnt their blood when they found the same in the hands of their enemies. It is pointed out that if Germany had not interfered in Morocco, Frenchmen might have found some material compensation for the loss of Alsace-Lorraine and forgotten their revenge against Germany but the German interference in the affairs of Morocco added to the bitterness between the two countries.

(8) Another cause of the war was the lack of any machinery to control international relations. There was anarchy in the international relations of the various countries. Everything was secret and nothing was known about them to the people at large. It was found that the secrets of diplomacy were not known even to all the members of the same ministry. Even the legislatures were kept completely dark with regard to international commitments. Although Sir Edward Grey allowed in January 1906 the holding of naval and military conversations between France and England, the Cabinet came to know of them in 1912 and the Parliament was informed of the same in 1914. Secret diplomacy created a lot of confusion in the minds of the people and thus the issues and responsibilities were beclouded. Hysteria took the place of sobriety and sincerity. Forgery, theft, lying, bribery and corruption existed in every Foreign Office and Chancellory throughout Europe.

(9) Although there was a "code of international law and morality", there was no power to enforce the same. Many resolutions were passed at the Hague Conference of 1899 and 1907 but those were observed by the various States according to their convenience. Every State considered itself to be sovereign and did not regard itself to be bound by its international commitments. Although Italy was a member of the Triple Alliance, she entered into separate agreements with France in 1902 and Russia in 1909. She was prepared to have an extra dance with the members of the opposite camp.

(10) Another cause of the war was the permeation of Germany by the Prussian spirit. According to that spirit, "He who succeeds is never in the wrong." Victory was identified with morality. The Prussians were taught that war was the most logical thing in the world. According to Mirabeau, "War is the national industry of Prussia." According to Treitschke, the State is power. "The care for its power is the highest moral duty of the State. Of all political weaknesses that of feebleness is the most abominable and despicable; it is the sin against the Holy Spirit of politics." To quote Nietzsche, "Ye say, a good cause will hallow even war. I say unto you, ... A good war hallows every cause. War and courage have accomplished greater things than love of their neighbour." The younger generation of Germany was indoctrinated with such a practical philosophy.



Eminent historians like Dahlmann, Droysen, Sybel and Treitschke devoted their energy and learning to the task of justifying to the Germans the ways of Prussia. A similar effort was made by Bernhardt in his writings. To Bernhardt, "All which other nations attained in centuries of natural development—political union, colonial possessions, naval power, international trade—was denied to our nation only—quite recently. What we now wish to attain must be fought for and won, against a superior force of hostile interests and powers." According to Prof. Lamprecht, "After bloody victories the world will be healed by being Germanised." To quote Treitschke again, "Just as the greatness of Germany is to be found in the governance of Germany by Prussia, so the greatness and good of the world is to be found in the predominance of all German culture, of the German mind—in a word, of the German character."

(11) Another cause of the war was the desire of the people of Italy to recover the Trentino and the area around the port of Trieste which were inhabited by Italians but were still part and parcel of Austria-Hungary. There was frequently heard the cry of *Italia Irredenta* or "unredeemed Italy" and even the Italian ministers participated in those demonstrations. Such cries were those of war and were not likely to maintain peace in Europe. Italy also entered into a competition with Austria to control the Adriatic Sea. As Austria was not prepared to put up with that competition, there was bound to be bitterness in the relations of the two countries.

(12) Another cause of the war was the "Near-Eastern Problem". Many factors complicated the situation in the Balkans. The misrule of Turkey resulted in discontentment. There was a rivalry between Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria for the control of Macedonia which had a mixed population. Russia was keenly interested in the Balkan politics and she backed Serbia on the occasion of the Bosnian crisis of 1908-9 and could be expected to do the same in future. The forces of Pan-Slavism added another factor into otherwise complicated situation. The Austro-German *Drang nach Osten* or "Urge towards the East" made the matters worse.

(13) The provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina created another "Alsace-Lorraine" in the Balkans. These two provinces were given to Austria-Hungary by the Congress of Berlin of 1878. However, she was given the right merely to occupy and govern them and not to annex them. The sovereignty of the Sultan was maintained over them. However, Austria-Hungary annexed them in 1908 by her unilateral action. This brought forth bitter protests from Serbia. A strong agitation was started in Serbia so separate these provinces from Austria-Hungary and unite them with Serbia. The people of Bosnia and Herzegovina were more anxious for their independence from Austria-Hungary than for their union with Serbia. However, they were willing to accept help from Serbia in their efforts to become independent. After 1909, the rivalry between Austria-Hungary and Serbia in the Balkans became very keen and by 1914 it bursts into a war.

(14) The immediate cause of the war was the murder of



Archduke Ferdinand who was the heir to the Austrian throne. What actually happened was that there was going on rivalry between Austria-Hungary and Serbia in the Balkans. Its intensity increased after 1909. The Balkan Wars of 1912-13 added to the territory, population and resources of Serbia. She was flushed with victory. She had not forgotten her humiliation of 1909. Many secret societies had been set up to bring about the union of all the Slavs. The "*Black Hand*" or "*Union or Death*" Society planned to kill Oskar Potiorek, the Governor of Bosnia. The seal of the society showed a skull and cross-bones, a dagger, a bomb and bottle of poison. However, it came to be known at that time that Archduke Ferdinand was coming to Bosnia. Highly placed persons in the Serbian Government supplied weapons, munitions and instructors to the persons who were actually to carry out the murder. According to the plans, the Archduke and his wife paid a visit to Sarajevo, a city of Bosnia, on 28th June 1914. Unfortunately, that was a day of mourning in Serbia as it commemorated the battle of Kossovo of 1389 in which the Serbians were defeated by the Turks and they lost their independence. When the official party was on the way to the Town Hall, one of the conspirators threw a bomb on the automobile of the Archduke. Somehow, the Archduke escaped and others were injured. The accused was captured and the official party reached the Town Hall. After finishing the ceremonies at the Town Hall, the party proceeded to visit the City Museum. Unfortunately, the automobile of the Archduke went into a wrong street and the driver had to back it. This gave an opportunity to another member of the gang who had come to kill the royal party. He came forward from the crowd and fired two shots point blank. The result was that both the Archduke and his wife were killed.

Austria-Hungary was already sick of Serbia and she decided to take advantage of the new situation to crush her. Germany promised to support Austria-Hungary. She did not give her any advice but merely gave her a blank cheque. The following passage occurs in the German White Book published on August 1, 1914: "It was clear to Austria that it was not compatible with the dignity and the spirit of self-preservation of the monarchy to view idly any longer this (Serbian) agitation across the border. The imperial and Royal Government apprised Germany of this conception and asked for our opinion. *With all our heart we were able to agree with our ally's estimate of the situation, and assure him that any action considered necessary to end the movement in Serbia directed against the conservation of the monarchy would meet with our approval.*

"We were perfectly aware that a possible warlike attitude of Austria-Hungary against Serbia might bring Russia upon the field and that it might therefore involve us in a war, in accordance with our duty as allies. We could not, however, in these vital interests of Austria-Hungary, which were at stake, advise our ally to take a yielding attitude not compatible with his dignity, nor deny him our assistance in these trying days. We could do this all the less as our own interests were menaced through the continued Serb agitation.



If the Serbs continued with the aid of Russia and France to manace the existence of Austria-Hungary, the gradual collapse of Austria and the subjection of all the Slavs under one Russian sceptre would be the consequence, thus making untenable the position of the Teutonic race in Central Europe. A morally weakened Austria under the pressure of Russian pan-slavism would be no longer an ally on whom we could count and in whom we could have confidence, as we must be able to have, in view of the ever more menacing attitude of our easterly and westerly neighbours. *We, therefore, permitted Austria a completely free hand in her action towards Serbia, but have not participated in her preparations.*"

To begin with, Austria was in favour of having a local war but as time passed on the situation became all the more grave. If



Kitchner's recruiting poster

Austria wanted to finish Serbia, the same was the attitude of Serbia towards Austria. The attitude and utterances of Serbian officials and newspapers were "downright intolerable". Austria gave an ultimatum to Serbia. The Russian Foreign Minister, Sazonov, told the Serbian Ambassador in Russia that "*Russia would in no circumstances permit Austrian aggression against Serbia.*" This gave encouragement to Serbia and she refused to accept in full the Austrian demands.

In most of the countries, the reply of Serbia was considered to be reasonable. Even William II felt that the reply removed "every reason for war." Austria was asked to try mediation but instead of doing so, she declared war on Serbia on 28th July, 1914. Serbia herself welcomed war and even before sending her reply had already ordered general mobilization.

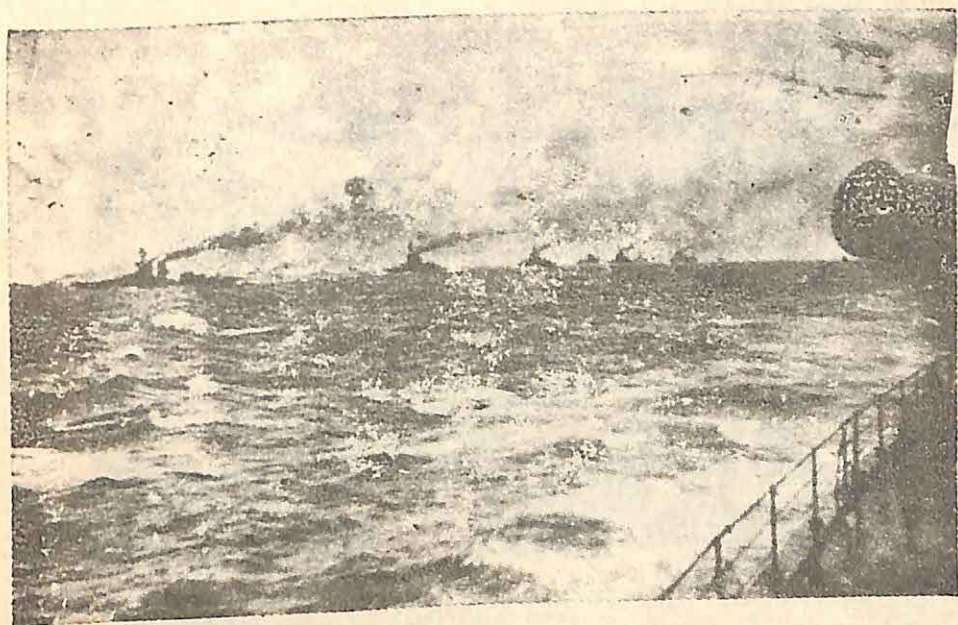
Great Britain and Germany tried to localize the war but it was soon found that matters went out of their hands. President Poincaré of France visited Russia from 20th July to 23rd July 1914 and promised French help to Russia against Austria. To quote him, "Serbia has very warm friends in the Russian people and Russia has an ally, France."

When Russia ordered general mobilization on 23rd July 1914, Germany sent an ultimatum demanding demobilization within 12 hours. As Russia refused to accept that ultimatum, Germany declared war on Russia. According to Prof. Fay, "It was primarily Russia's general mobilization made when Germany was trying to bring Austria to a settlement, which precipitated the final catastrophe, causing Germany to mobilize and declare war."

It is pointed out that although Sir Edward Grey tried to maintain peace, he did not follow the right course to achieve the same. He might have prevented the war by frankly telling Germany



that if she attacked France or Russia, Great Britain would fight against her. A singular result might have been secured if she had



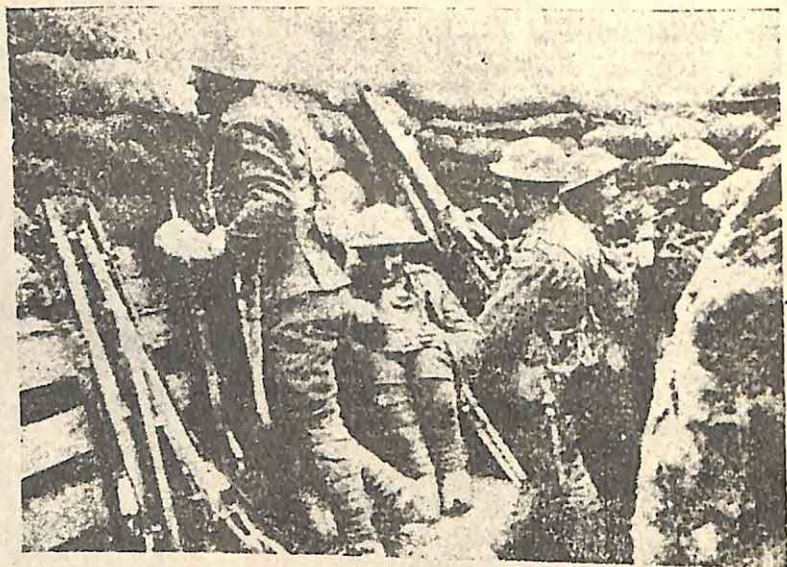
Grand Fleet in the North Sea

told France and Russia that if they insisted on war, Great Britain would remain neutral. However, Grey did not adopt either of the two courses. On account of differences in the British Cabinet, he did not support Russia and France whole-heartedly. Although Grey maintained that England was not committed to help any country, he was not telling the whole truth because the military conversations between England and France had committed the two countries to each other. Grey may not have been in favour of joining war but if a war was actually to come, he was ready to join hands with Russia and France. The public opinion in England was opposed to the participation of Great Britain in a war which was over a Balkan question. However, Germany ordered her troops to march into Belgium. That was in violation of the International Treaty of 183 by which Belgium had been guaranteed neutrality and England was one of the signatories to that Treaty. The King of Belgium resisted and Great Britain also came to his help. Thus Great Britain also joined the World War I in August 1914.

In the war that followed, Serbia was supported by France and France was supported by England. Japan also joined them. Although Italy was a member of the Triple Alliance, she did not declare war on the side of Austria-Hungary and Germany. She remained neutral for a year and in 1915 she declared war against Austria and



Germany. Turkey declared war against the Allies and fought on the side of the Central Powers.



Trench warfare

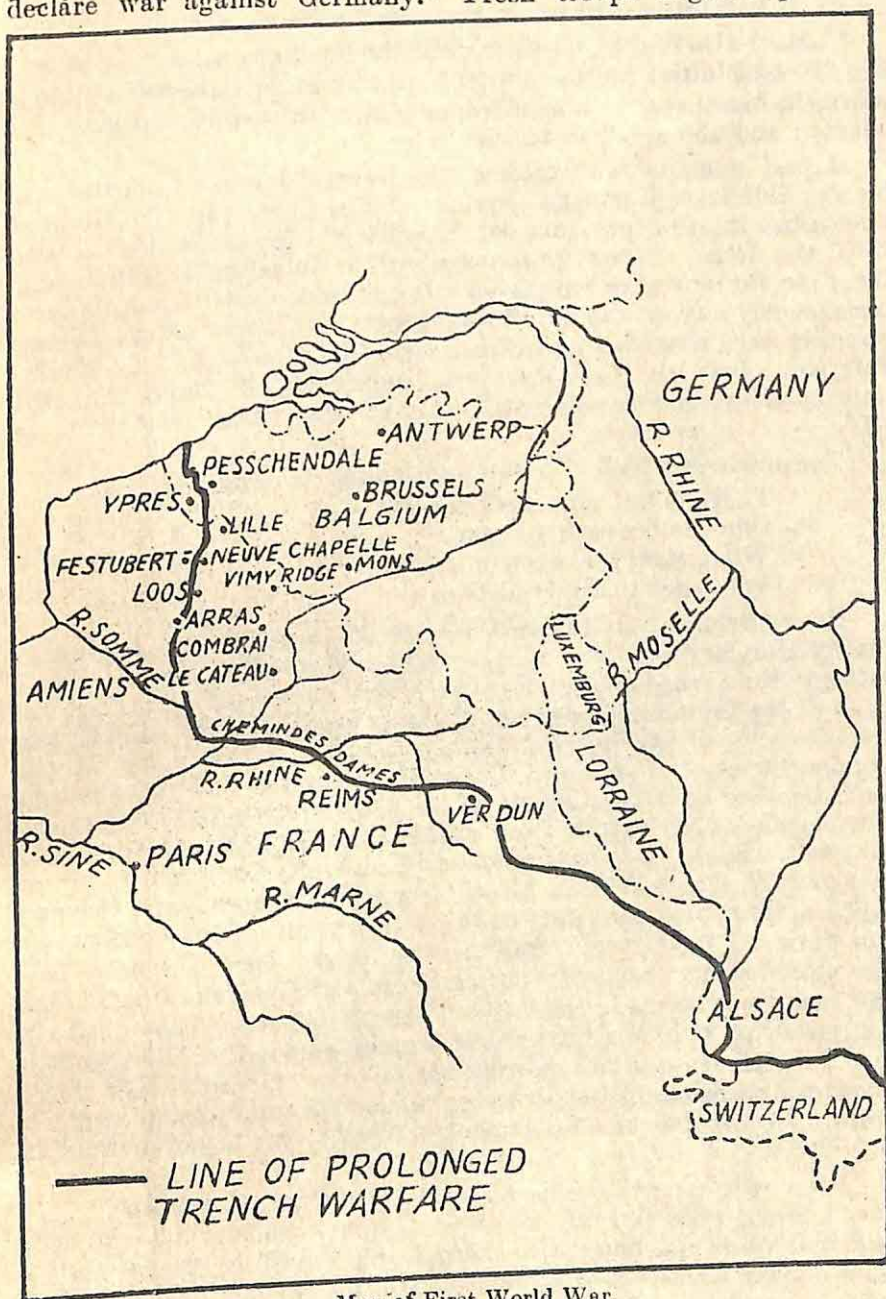
**Course of War.** Although England joined the war on the plea that Germany had violated the neutrality of Belgium, the latter could not be saved. The German steam roller was able to smash the resistance of the people of Belgium. Then came the turn of France. There was better fighting on the French soil. The Battle of Marne is a memorable one for trench warfare. The Battle of Verdun decided the fortunes of the war in favour of the Allies. Germany started submarine warfare on a large scale and nothing was spared on the seas. All laws relating to naval warfare were thrown to the winds. Only the principle of victory at any price was pursued.

Russia fought on the side of the Allies up to 1917 when a revolution took place in that country. The Czarist regime was overthrown and power was ultimately captured by Lenin and his followers. The Bolshevik regime in Russia wanted peace and consequently it came to terms with Germany and thus the Treaty of Brest Litvosk was signed between Germany and Russia.

After the defection of Russia in 1917, the position of Germany became very strong. The drives of Hindenburg and Ludendorff carried everything before them. It appeared as if the Allies were going to lose. However, the U.S.A. came to their help. The *Lusitania*, an American ship, was torpedoed by a German submarine and consequently many Americans lost their lives. There was a lot of resentment in the U.S.A. and that enabled President Wilson to



declare war against Germany.<sup>1</sup> Fresh troops began to pour into



Map of First World War.

1. Regarding the aims of the United States in fighting the war, President Wilson declared thus: "We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest to our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."



Europe from the U.S.A. In spite of her best efforts, Germany could not stand and ultimately she surrendered in November 1918.

Turkey also fought on the side of the Central Powers. It is true that she had initial success and the Allies met with reverses particularly in Mesopotamia and Gallipoli, but ultimately Turkey was defeated and she also had to surrender.

Japan declared war against the Central Powers in 1914 and she was able to capture the province of Kai Chow and the German concessions in the province of Shantung. Although China also joined the Allies, she was presented with 21 demands by Japan. The European Powers were entangled in a life and death struggle and consequently Japan was able to have her own way. Most of her demands were conceded and China virtually came under the control of Japan. It is true that there was bitterness in China, but the position of Japan was vindicated even at the Paris Conference in 1919.

The spirit in which the war was fought, is described thus :—

There is but one task for all  
One life for each to give.  
What stands if Freedom falls ?  
Who dies if England lives ?

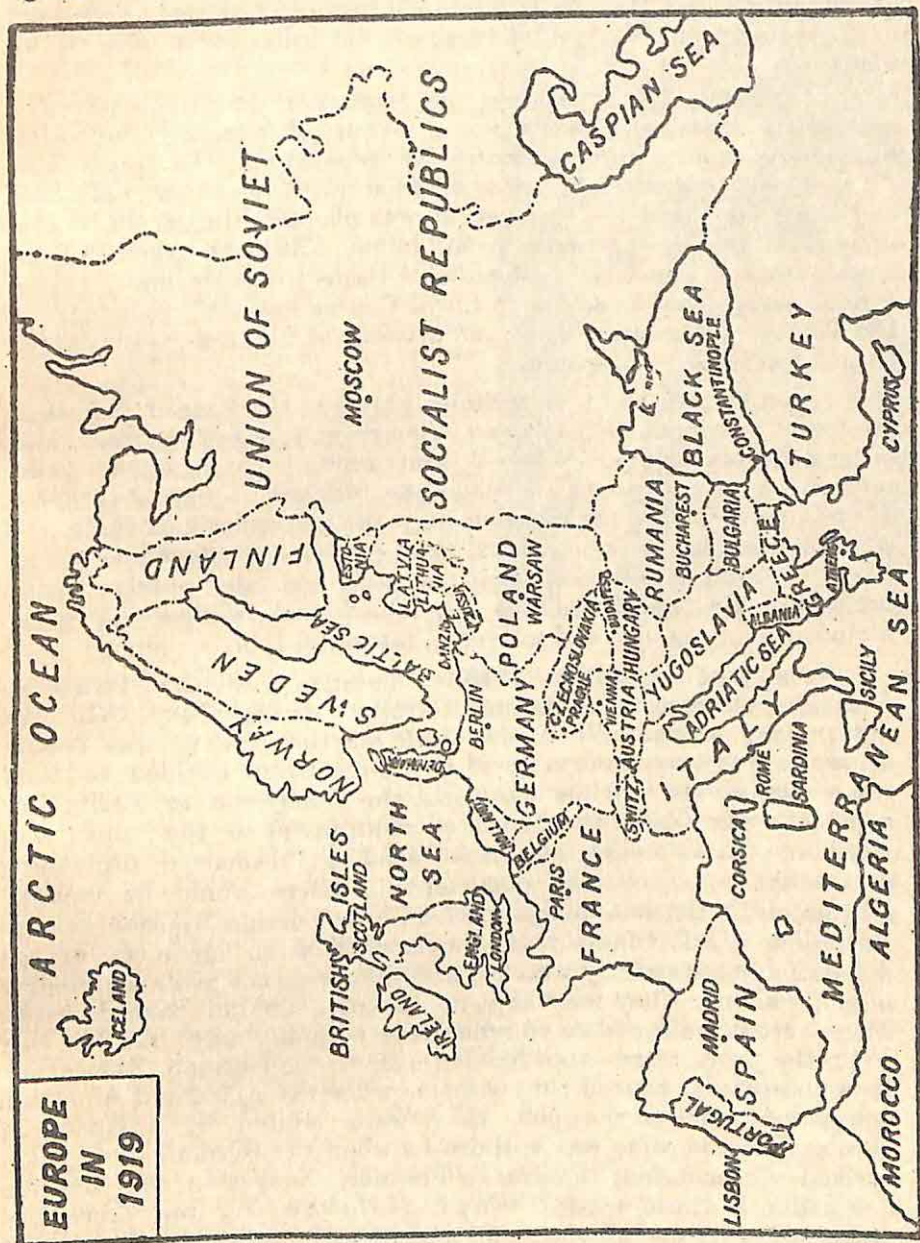
**Peace Settlement (1919-20).** After the overthrow of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey, the Allied statesmen met at Paris to decide the future map of Europe. The choice of Paris as the venue of the Conference was not a happy one. That was due to the fact that a lot of fighting and destruction had taken place in the neighbourhood of Paris and unhappy memories and associations were bound to have their effect on the conclusions of the Conference. It would have been better if some other suitable place in Switzerland had been chosen for that purpose. However, Conference met at Paris and President Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Orlando played a very important part in the deliberations of the Conference. The work of negotiation was not an easy one. Germany had surrendered on the basis of Fourteen Points of President Wilson, but those could not be made the basis of the settlement. They had to be adjusted to fit in with the secret treaties among the Allies regarding the distribution of the possessions of the enemies. The force of circumstances compelled President Wilson to compromise on many points. No wonder, the Settlement of Paris was unsatisfactory in many ways.

A few words may be said about Wilson, Clemenceau and Lloyd George. As regards Wilson, he was resolute and formidable. He could break and not bend. His stiffness was both a virtue and a defeat. Sometimes, it was responsible for wrong decisions and unwise concessions. He was a great orator but he had no precision of mind. He was not an expert in readiness in debate and conversation. He lost himself in details. By the weight of his character, Wilson exercised a power which could neither be understood nor resisted. It was his persistence which was responsible for the inclusion of the Covenant of the League of Nations into the Treaty of Versailles. He was no match for Clemenceau and Lloyd George in



their cleverness. No wonder, they were able to get things done from him which he would not have voluntarily approved of.

Clemenceau was the Prime Minister of France. He has been rightly called the "Tiger". Short in size, he looked like some grave



oriental sage. At times he was satirical and cynical. At other times, he showed a literary and artistic insight. He knew when and where to change his moods. He treated the smaller powers with indifference but understood that he could not have his own way while dealing with Great Britain and the United States. He wished for



peace based on force alone and laughed at the 14 Points of President Wilson, but he knew that he could not have his own way. He well understood the limits to which Great Britain and the United States were prepared to go and he did not go beyond them. In debate, he exercised tact and delicacy which stood him in good stead. A part of the unhappy terms of the Treaty of Versailles were due to his influence.

As regards Lloyd George, he possessed the instincts of a statesman. Personally he was not in favour of exacting impossible amounts of money from Germany as reparation. To quote him, "*Was it sensible to treat her as a cow from which to extract milk and beef at the same time?*" However, he was plagued during the course of negotiations by pressure from home. He was asked by his countrymen to exact the best possible terms from Germany. It is rightly stated that in so far as Lloyd George had bad influence on the Treaty of Versailles, it was on account of the telegrams which he got from his countrymen.

Lloyd George had a very difficult time at the Peace Conference. He found President Wilson and Clemenceau differing from each other on many points. While Wilson wanted to base the peace settlement on idealism, Clemenceau wanted to base it on force. Lloyd George had a difficult time to make his colleagues agree on a compromise. On many occasions, that meant self-effacement on his part. It cannot be said that he neglected any purely British interests. However, it cannot be denied that while doing so he included many nobler and universal interests.

**Treaty of Versailles (1919).** The signing of the Treaty of Versailles between the Allies and Germany on 28th June, 1919, was not an easy affair. When the draft of the Treaty was ready, Germany was asked to send her delegates. She decided to send some subordinate officials to bring the document to Berlin for consideration. This was interpreted as an insult to the Allies and Germany was told that she must send a full-fledged diplomatic delegation to receive the document or there would be trouble. Ultimately, a German delegation led by its Foreign Minister went to Versailles. Unfortunately, the movements of the members of the delegation were strictly watched and they were not given the liberty of going about. They were kept in a hotel behind barbed wires. They were not allowed to communicate with anybody. On 7th May 1919, the peace terms were handed over to the German delegation. It is pointed out that on that occasion when the Allied and American delegations came to the spot, they were saluted by a Guard of Honour but the same was withdrawn when the German delegation arrived. Clemenceau, the French Premier, addressed the German delegation in these words: "You have before you the accredited plenipotentiaries of all the small and great Powers united to fight together in the war that has been so cruelly imposed upon them. The time has come when we must settle our accounts. You have asked for peace. We are ready to give you peace." The German Foreign Minister replied to Clemenceau while sitting. He confessed that the Germans "were under an illusion as to the extent of their



defeat and the degree of their helplessness," but he denied the charge that Germany was responsible for the war. He declared that Germany was friendless, yet she had justice on her side. The German delegation was informed that they must send their reply within three weeks and all communications by them must be addressed in writing.

We are informed that the publication of the peace terms sent a wave of bitterness all over Germany. The Allies were condemned for their treachery and deceit. The German Government submitted a detailed memorandum on the Treaty. While the terms of the Treaty covered 230 printed pages, the German Memorandum consisted of 443 pages. A few minor alterations were made in the original treaty on the suggestion of Lloyd George and the revised treaty was given to the Germans and they were given 5 days to accept the same and were warned that if they failed to do so, their country would



Clemenceau

be invaded. The terms of the treaty were so unjust that there were many Germans who were prepared to wreck their country while fighting against the Allies rather than accept the terms of the Treaty. However, Field-Marshal Hindenburg made it clear that it was impossible to fight successfully against the Allies. Germany was in the throes of a famine and the German Assembly at Weimar decided to accept the terms of the treaty but objected to the provisions relating to war-guilt and the demand for the surrender of the war criminals. The Allies demanded unconditional acceptance and when the Germans found no other alternative, they submitted. It was contended by the German representative that his country was submitting to "overwhelming force, but without on that account abandoning her views in regard to the unheard of injustice of the conditions of peace." It was difficult to find some prominent German to go to Versailles to sign the Treaty. Ultimately, the German Foreign Minister headed the delegation. For the second time, the German delegates were treated like prisoners during their stay in Paris. When the German delegates left Paris for Versailles where the ceremony of signing the Treaty was to be held in the Hall of Mirrors, the Parisian mob threw stones at them and also hurled abuses on them. It was in these circumstances that the German delegates signed the Treaty of Versailles on 28th June, the 5th anniversary of the murder of Archduke Ferdinand.

Here is an eye-witness account of what happened on 28th



June 1919: 'Today, I saw the Germans sign. The entrance to the Galerie des Glaces was up two lines of stairs, guarded by a line of troopers, with blue uniforms, steel breast-plates, and helmets with long horse-hair plumes, making a splendid appearance... At three p.m. there was suddenly a tense interval and silence, and, preceded by four armed officers, the Germans appeared. One pale, bowed with glasses like a student (Mulier); the next head erect and hair like an artist's (Bell). Immediately after, I suppose by design, the cuirassiers all suddenly sheathed their swords... a symbolic and conscious act. The atmosphere of hate was terrible. They advanced and sat down on the fourth side of the square, near the table of rose and almond-wood, on which lay the Treaty. In a minute or two Clemenceau got up, and speaking in a sharp, clear, musical voice, like a succession of strokes on a gong, said: "We are in complete agreement. I have the honour to ask messieurs the German Plenipotentiaries to sign." At this point the Germans got up and bowed low. They were asked to sit down again and the speech was translated. After this they came forward and signed slowly amid a tense hush.

"Then came Wilson (with his plenipotentiaries), Lloyd George, who smiled broadly as he finished, the Colonial Premiers, and the Maharajah of Bikaner, looking magnificent in a pale khaki turban. After that Clemenceau, with Pichon and Tardieu behind him. Then Sonnino, on the last day of his reign, and then the Plenipotentiaries of Minor States. As Paderewski, with his fawny mane and stage-bow, signed, the guns began to boom outside."

"The ceremony ended soon, the Germans were carefully escorted out, and Clemenceau came down the hall slowly, beaming, shaking hands. As he went out the old man reached me his hand, or rather the hand covered as always in a grey glove. 'Félicitations' said I, 'Mille remerciements,' said he... A great moment, but I fear a peace without victory, just as we had a victory without peace."

**Provisions of the Treaty.** The documents containing the terms of the Treaty of Versailles consisted of 15 parts and had 440 articles and a score of annexes.

(1) Germany had to give Alsace Lorraine to France, Eupen and Malmedy to Belgium, Memel to Lithuania and a large part of Posen and Western Prussia to Poland. She agreed to give Upper Silesia and the southern part of East Prussia to Poland if the people concerned were in favour of joining it and their wish was to be ascertained by means of a plebiscite. When the plebiscite was actually held, the returns showed that more than 700,000 persons voted for Germany and 480,000 for Poland. When that happened, Poland demanded that she must be given those areas which had Polish majorities. The contention of Germany was that the entire region was an indivisible economic unit and could not be divided. There was a deadlock for some time and ultimately it was decided to partition Silesia in such a way as to leave more than half of the people and the land area to Germany, but Poland was given more of economic resources. The latter got 53 out of 67 coal mines, 9 out



of 14 steel rolling mills. She also got all the zinc and lead foundries, and about three-fourths of the coal production area. She also secured 11 out of 16 zinc and lead mines.

(2) Danzig was taken away from Germany and set up as a Free City under the League of Nations. Poland was given special rights in the city of Danzig.

(3) The Rhineland was demilitarised. Germany was forbidden to "maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhine or on the right bank to the west of a line drawn 50 kilometres to the east of the Rhine." The existing fortifications were to be destroyed. No military force was to be maintained in that area. No manoeuvres of the army were to be held in the Rhineland.

(4) "As the compensation for the destruction of the coal mines in the north of France and as part payment toward the total reparation demand from Germany for the damages resulting from the war," Germany had to give the coal mines of the Saar Valley "in full and absolute possession, with exclusive rights of exploitation." The Saar Valley was put under the League of Nations for 15 years and then a plebiscite was to be held to decide as to whether the Saar Valley was to remain under the League of Nations or go to Germany or France. When the plebiscite was actually held, the people of the Saar Valley voted for Germany.

(5) It was provided that the fortifications and the harbours of the Islands of Heligoland and Dune were to be destroyed. Germany promised to acknowledge and respect the independence of Austria.

(6) Germany was forced to give up all her rights and titles over her overseas possessions to the Allies and those were divided among themselves by Great Britain, France, Japan, Austria, New Zealand, Union of South Africa and Belgium. Japan got the lease of Kiao-Chow and other German concessions in the province of Shantung. New Zealand got the German portion of the Island of Somoa. England got the German West Africa, England and France divided among themselves the Kamerouns and Togoland.

(7) The complete independence and full sovereignty of Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia were recognised by Germany. She also agreed to cancel the treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest.

(8) Germany gave up her special rights and privileges in China, Thailand, Egypt, Morocco and Liberia. The Allies also reserved to themselves the right to retain and liquidate all property, rights and interests of the German nationals or companies abroad and the German Government was required to pay compensation to them. The property and concessions enjoyed by Germany in Bulgaria and Turkey were forfeited.

(9) An attempt was made to cripple once for all the military strength of Germany. The German General Staff was abolished. The total strength of the German army was fixed at one lakh. The



German army was to be maintained for the maintenance of law and order within the country and the protection of her frontiers. It was specifically provided that the number of the customs officials, coast guards and forest guards was not to exceed the figure of 1,913. The police force was to be increased only in proportion to the increase in the population. Restrictions were put on the manufacture of armaments, munitions and other war materials by Germany. Both the import or export of war materials was banned. She was neither to make nor to purchase from outside tanks, armoured cars and poison gases. There was to be no conscription in Germany. The German soldiers and officers were not to be retired prematurely and frequently to add to the effective military strength of the country. "Educational establishments, the universities, societies of discharged soldiers, shooting or touring clubs and generally speaking associations of every description, whatever be the age of their members, must not occupy themselves with any military matters."

(10) The German Navy also met with a step-motherly treatment. Germany was allowed to have only 6 battleships, 6 light cruisers, 12 destroyers and 12 torpedo boats. No submarines were to be allowed. Submarine cables were to be surrendered. A new warship could be built only to replace an old one and not otherwise. The navy was not to have more than 15,000 men including officers. The members of the German merchant marine were not to get naval training. All the surplus war vessels were to be destroyed or converted into merchant ships or handed over to the Allies. Germany was not to have any military, naval or air force. She had to surrender all aeronautical war materials. The Allies reserved to themselves the right to appoint commissioners to find out whether the above military provisions were being carried out faithfully by Germany or not.

(11) William II, the German Emperor, was charged with "the supreme offence against international morality and the sanctity of treaties." He was to be tried by a tribunal. This provision became infructuous because the Government of the Netherlands refused to hand over the German Emperor to the Allies. Germany also agreed to surrender other persons "accused of having committed acts in violation of the laws and customs of war." However, only a dozen unimportant German war criminals were tried by the tribunal and given light punishments.

(12) Germany had to admit that she was responsible for the war of 1914-18. To quote Article 231, "The Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies." However, it was realised that Germany could not pay for all losses and damages and she was allowed "to make compensation for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allied and Associated Powers to their



property, by land, by sea and from the air, and in general all damage as defined in Annexure I..." There were 10 categories of losses and damages in the Annexure. Germany was to compensate Belgium for all the money borrowed by the latter during the war. She was also to pay interest at the rate of 5%.

(13) Provision was made for the appointment of a Reparation Commission to determine the total amount of reparations to be paid by Germany and the methods by which the same was to be done. However, up to May 1921, Germany was required to pay about 500 million dollars. The economic resources of Germany were to be employed for the physical restoration of the invaded areas. Germany agreed to deliver specified quantities of coal to France, Belgium, Italy and Luxembourg. France was also to receive certain quantities of benzal, ammonium sulphate and coal-tar.

(14) Germany was required to return the trophies, works of art and flags taken from France in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. She was to compensate the University of Louvain for the destruction of her manuscripts and documents. She was to restore the original Koran of the Caliph Othman to the King of Hedjaz. She was to restore to England the skull of the Sultan Mkwawa.

(15) The Elbe, Danube ; Oder and Niemen rivers were internationalised. The River Rhine was put under the control of an international commission. The Kiel Canal and its approaches were opened to all nations. Germany was to give on lease free zones to Czechoslovakia for 99 years in the ports of Hamburg and Stettin. The Allied goods were to be given a favourable treatment on the German railways.

(16) Provision was also made for the enforcement of the above clauses. The German territory west of the Rhine, together with the bridgeheads, was to be occupied by the Allied troops for a period of 15 years. If Germany carried out her obligations faithfully, the bridgehead at Cologne was to be evacuated after 5 years, that at Coblenz after 10 years and that at Mainz after 15 years. If Germany misbehaved, the occupation was liable to be prolonged. As a matter of fact, all the troops were withdrawn by 1930.

The Reparations Commission was duly appointed and ultimately it fixed the war-indemnity at 54 billion dollars.

**Treaty of St. Germaine (1919).** This treaty was made between Austria-Hungary and the Allies. Austria recognised the complete independence of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia. She gave up many territories which formerly were included in Austria-Hungary. The result of this treaty was that Austria was reduced to a small Republic with an area and population smaller than those of Portugal. She was deprived of her sea-ports. Her army was reduced to 30,000 men. The International Reparations Commission was to fix the war-indemnity to be paid by Austria.

According to Grant and Temperley, "The Treaty of St. Germaine reduced Austria to less than half her old population. She surrendered



seven and a half million Slavs in Galicia to the new Poland, over a million other non-Germans. She gave up also nearly four million Germans, of whom three and a half millions went to Czechoslovakia. Austria's new boundaries confined her to the Austrian Archduchies, Styria and the Tyrol, with a population of about eight millions odd, nearly all of pure German race. The once proud Austria, which had ruled over twenty million subjects and fifteen different races, was reduced to less than half of her former size, and lost a third of her purely German population. She became miserably poor dragged out a pathetic existence from this time, and was annexed by Germany in 1938."

**Treaty of Trianon (1920).** This treaty was made between Hungary on the one hand and the Allies on the other. By this treaty, Hungary gave up the non-Magyar population. While Slovak provinces were given to Czechoslovakia, Transylvania was given to Rumania and Croatia was given to Yugoslavia. Banat was divided between Yugoslavia and Rumania. The Hungarian army was reduced to 35,000 men. The population of the new State of Hungary was eight million and area about 35,000 sq. miles.

According to Grant and Temperley, "It (Treaty of Trianon) cut off the Slovaks and some Magyars from her in the north and gave them to Czechoslovakia. It severed Rumanians and Magyars from her and gave them to Yugoslavia in the south. It left her with a population of seven and a half millions, of whom over six million were Magyars. She therefore lost about three million Magyars in all. Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia thus took from Hungary not only subjects of their own race, but three million Magyars in addition; about half a million went to Yugoslavia, one million to Czechoslovakia and a million and a half to Rumania. It must however be remembered that Hungary before the war had over half its subjects aliens, and the populations of Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia were distributed a great deal more according to racial unity than was the case in any of these regions in 1914."

**Treaty of Neuilly (1919):** This treaty was made between Bulgaria and the Allies. Bulgaria gave up most of those territories which she had got during the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 and the Great War I. She gave up a part of Macedonia to Yugoslavia and the whole of Dobrudja to Rumania. She gave the Thracian Coast to the Allies and the latter gave the same to Greece. Bulgaria was to pay a war-indemnity of about half a million dollars. Her army was reduced to 33,000 men.

**Treaty of Sevres (1920).** Turkey had fought on the side of the Central Powers and she too was defeated along with them. The Treaty of Sevres was made between Turkey and the Allies. By this treaty the Arab State of Hedjaz was nominally freed and put under British control. Armenia was created into a Christian Republic and she was put under an international guarantee. Mesopotamia, Trans-Jordan, Syria and Palestine were taken away from Turkey. Syria was given to France under the Mandate of the League



of Nations. Palestine, Mesopotamia and Trans-Jordan were given to England under the Mandate-system. Galacia was recognised as a French sphere of influence. Southern Anatolia was recognised as a Italian sphere of influence. Adrianople, Gallipoli, the Islands of Ambros and Tenedos, Smyrna, and the territory on the coast of Asia Minor were given to Greece. Greece also got the Dodecanese Islands with the exception of two islands. The Dardanelles and the Bosphorus were internationalised. Turkey was to pay a huge war-indemnity.

The treaty with Turkey was a harsh one and was extremely unpopular. This led to the rise of Mustafa Kamal in Turkey. The Turks resisted the Treaty of Sevres under his leadership. There was a lot of confusion and ultimately, a war broke out between Greece and Turkey. Nobody joined on any side and consequently, the war dragged on. Ultimately, the *Treaty of Luusanne* was signed in 1923 with Turkey. By this treaty, Turkey got very favourable terms. However, she agreed to give up Trans-Jordan, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Syria and Hedjaz. She was allowed to retain the whole of Anatolia, Armenia, Adrianople, Eastern Thrace, Smyrna, Galacia, Adalia, etc. The Dardanelles and the Bosphorus were internationalised.

**Poland.** The three partitions of Poland in the 18th century had effaced the name of Poland from the map but the Poles put up a heroic struggle for freedom during the 19th century. During the World War I, as Russia, Austria-Hungary and Germany suffered defeats, they relaxed their grasp over Poland. The Poles took full advantage of that opportunity and became a free nation before the War actually ended in November 1918. When the Peace Conference recognised the independence of Poland, it merely acknowledged an accomplished fact.

The Great Powers fixed a boundary line for Poland which represented the eastern limit of purely Polish territory. This was known as the Curzon Line which ran from Punsck in the North to Grodow-Vlodava, north of Kholm and from there to the boundary of Eastern Galicia. This was not acceptable to Poland and she occupied East Galicia and Vilna. She fought against Soviet Russia and imposed on her two treaties of Riga (1920) by which she got a population and territory about double of that recommended by the Curzon Line. There were some 27 million people in all in Poland in which Ruthenians and Lithuanians were aliens.

**Criticism of the Peace Settlement.** (1) The peace settlement of 1919-20 has been severely criticised. According to J.L. Carvin, "Europe was balkanised, i.e., broken into many fragments, jarred by violent antipathies of the irredentist problems like Alsace-Lorraine, more were created than were solved. As another result, all pure continental European territories and positions acquired by force were tenable only by force. Accordingly, what had seemed to be the paramount purpose of general disarmament soon proved to be the briefest of the dreams. The new States were as protectionist as military." Again, the fourteen Points (of Wilson) have become



the Fourteen Disappointments ; yet the tragedy is that, without the power of America, dreams of treaties so lacerating, so ill-boding for the future, could not have been imposed."

(2) According to Keynes, the settlement was the "Carthagian peace". According to Lansing, the terms of the Treaty of Versailles were immeasurably harsh and humiliating. Some of them were impossible of performance. The peace settlement was based on the principle : "*To the victors belong the spoils and the Allies are the victors.*"

(3) According to Dr. Langsam, "The Treaty of Versailles reduced the European area of Germany by one-eighth and her population by 6,50,000. It deprived her of all colonies and of virtually all investments and holdings abroad. She lost 15% of her arable land, 12% of her livestock and almost 10% of her manufacturing establishments. Her merchant marine was reduced from 5,700,000 tons to fewer than 500,000 tons. Her navy, formerly second only to Britain's, was virtually wiped out, and her army was reduced to one-seventh of that of France. By her European cessions, Germany lost potash, iron, coal, zinc, lead and food. She surrendered about two-fifths of her coal reserves, nearly two-thirds of her iron ore, about seven-tenths of her zinc and more than half of her lead. The surrender of the colonies entailed the loss of large rubber, oil and fibre supplies. The new territorial alignments broke down the pre-war organisation of industry and commerce, so that for a long time even the industrial plant which Germany retained was incapable of working at its former level of efficiency."

(4) General Smuts gave his own view of the peace settlement in these words : "I have signed the Treaty, not because I consider it a satisfactory document, but because it is imperatively necessary to close the war." A day after the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, Colonel House wrote thus in his diary : "I should have preferred a different peace."

(5) Critics point out that the Treaty of Versailles was imposed on the people of Germany. It was a "dictated peace". It has already been pointed out that when the terms of the draft treaty were communicated to the Germans, there was a lot of hue and cry and it was contended that they had surrendered on the basis of the Fourteen Points of President Wilson and the terms of the proposed treaty were the very negation of them. The Germans were not in a mood to accept the Treaty but it was only when they were threatened with the invasion of their country that they surrendered. Even then the German representatives maintained that they signed the treaty under coercion and justice was on their side. Obviously, the Treaty of Versailles was signed at the point of bayonet. It had absolutely no moral backing. No wonder, the Treaty was torn to pieces by Hitler as soon as he felt that he could do so.

(6) The peace settlement was made in a spirit of revenge. The principle underlying the settlement was : "*To the victor belong the spoils and the Allies are the victors.*" Lloyd George



himself won the famous Khaki election with the following slogan : "We shall hang Kaiser and make Germany pay to the last penny." The peace makers ought to have remembered that kind treatment of Germany was more likely to maintain peace in Europe than the punishment of the German people. William II, the real author of the war, had run away from Germany and a Republican Government was set up in the country. The victors ought to have treated kindly the newly-created German Republic. As they did not do so, the Republican forces in Germany were weakened from the very beginning. It cannot be denied that the harsh treatment of Germany by the settlement of 1919 and the subsequent behaviour of the Allies, particularly France, towards her destroyed all chances of success of the Republican regime in Germany. It was in this background that Hitler rose to power in Germany in 1933. The Allies who made the Peace Settlement of 1919-20 prepared the way for the World War II. If the bad treatment of France by Bismarck in 1870-71 led to the War of 1914, the Treaty of Versailles of 1919 was partly responsible for the War of 1939. The peace settlement of 1919-20 had in itself the germs of World War II. All the patriots of Germany resented bitterly the terms of the settlement. The humiliation was so great that it was not possible to put up with the same.

(7) The grant of a corridor to Poland through Germany divided the Fatherland into two parts and this fact was bitterly resented by the people of Germany. It was compared to the cutting of the organism into two parts where the head and the legs were left and the rest of the body was taken away.

(8) Not only was Germany treated badly, her allies were also given a shabby treatment. Austria was reduced to a tiny State. Her empire, dynasty and army disappeared in the whirlwind. The Hungarians declared themselves independent. The Czechs and Slovaks broke away. The Serbs also took advantage of their victory and a big Yugoslavia was created partly at the cost of Austria. Ultimately, a small Republic of 6 million souls was all that was allowed to remain out of the mighty empire of Austria-Hungary which once dominated the politics of Europe in the time of Metternich. She became an insignificant State in Europe and no wonder she was plunged into a fit of despair.

(9) Hungary also suffered terribly. She was deprived of her non-Magyar population. Slovakia was given to the Czechs. Transylvania was captured by the Roumanians. Croatia was annexed by Serbia. About 6 lakhs of men and women of Magyar race and about 45 lakhs of her former subjects were put under alien domination. This was a very great humiliation for the Magyars. The Magyar nobles used to have their sports in the lovely province of Transylvania and its loss hit their sentiments.

(10) Another defect of the settlement was that it resulted in the subjection of about 230,000 German Tyrolese and 1,300,000 Yugoslavs to Italian rule.



(11) The Allies were condemned for their attitude toward the Christians of Armenia. These people had suffered terribly under the Turkish yoke and there were wholesale massacres from time to time. During the war, Great Britain declared that the Armenians would be liberated from the Turkish yoke. However, when the final settlement was made with Turkey at Lausanne, the promise was not kept. The unfortunate Armenians were left entirely at the mercy of the Turks and had to suffer immensely later also.

(12) Critics point out that the strict enforcement of the reparation clauses would have brought ruin both to those who paid and those who received. As the Germans had to make the payments within the next 30 years, that fact in itself would have disheartened them to work hard. That was also liable to create feelings of revenge. Moreover, as the payments could actually be made only in the form of goods and not in bullion, their receipt would have involved unemployment, trade depression and loss of prosperity among the victorious countries.

(13) It is maintained that so far as the terms of the Peace Settlement deviated from the Fourteen Points of Wilson, they constituted a breach of faith. The attempt of France to get the Rhine frontier, of Italy to get Dalmatia and of Poland to secure the whole of Upper Silesia could not be justified on grounds of nationality. Although a compromise was reached on the above points, the very desire of the victorious Powers for such aggrandizement was not consistent with their loyalty to the Fourteen Points.

(14) It is also pointed out that when Germany was disarmed, it was intended to take a similar action with regard to other Powers as well. However, other Powers, except England, remained armed. As they refused to limit their armaments, a feeling was created that they were preparing for another conflict in the future. That led to a competition in armaments which ultimately resulted in the war of 1939. However, it is to be observed that Great Britain reduced her military, naval and air forces to such an extent that when the World War II actually started in 1939, she was in a very weak state of defence and there was every likelihood of her being defeated.

(15) The critics of the Peace Settlement referred to the "hypocrisy" of the victors. They condemned the "ignorance and savagery of the victorious democracies in 1918." It is pointed out that the settlement was "guilty of disguising an imperialistic peace under the surplice of Wilsonism."

(16) Italy was very much disappointed at the peace settlement. Very big promises were made to her in 1915 when she was persuaded to join the war on the side of the Allies. However, Orlando was completely ignored by Clemenceau and Lloyd George at the time of Peace Settlement. After losing 17½ lakhs of men as killed and spending 12 million dollars, Italy was given merely Trentino, Southern Tyrol and a part of Dalmatia. Although her sacrifices were no less and her contribution to the ultimate success of the Allies



was admitted, she got very little as compared with what was secured by Great Britain, France and Japan. She was not given even the whole of *Irrredentism*. She got no colonial possessions. The Italian patriots were upset when they were not given the whole of Tyrol and Fiume which were inhabited by Italian-speaking people.

(17) According to Seaman, "The real weakness of the Versailles system, however, lies not in the creation of the small States to the east and south of the Germans, but in the absence of any effective means of maintaining and defending their existence. For it is something of a dream—Europe with which the eye is confronted when it contemplates the political map in 1920; and it is a dream obviously dreamed by a backward-looking Frenchman. The Habsburgs, the more venerable of the enemies of the French are destroyed altogether, and Germany, the newer enemy, is disarmed. Over against it is the client State system of the great days of the *ancien regime*, only slightly modified. Poland is back again; that Poland whose partition was as much a symbol of the tragedy of the Bourbons as the fall of the Bastille itself. The friendly Ottoman Turk is gone, but in his place are his much more amenable heirs. Yugoslavia and Rumania, ready like him to contain or to harass the Germans; and if there was now no Bavaria to keep watch and ward on the French behalf, Czechoslovakia would fulfil the same function rather better. By 1927 France had alliances with all these States; but formal alliances were hardly necessary to underline the fact that the Versailles Settlement was almost (save for the unfortunate absence of a French client-State on the Rhine) a Frenchman's ideal Europe... It is not without justification therefore that *the settlement was described by some critics as 'Clemenceau's peace'* for no map of Europe save that drawn by Napoleon I had ever been more clearly marked 'made in France'. If ever a nation succeeded, France appeared to have succeeded by 1920 in the calculation she had made after Fashoda that it was in Europe and not in Africa that lay her best chances of national revival."

**Wilsonian Peace.** In January 1918, President Wilson appealed to the world to back the Allies as they were fighting for certain fundamental principles and he described those fundamental principles in his famous Fourteen Points. These Fourteen Points provided for the following things :—

- (1) Open Covenants of peace, openly arrived at and no secret diplomacy.
- (2) Absolute freedom of navigation upon seas, outside the territorial waters, both in times of peace and war.
- (3) Removal of all barriers to international trade.
- (4) Reduction of national armaments.
- (5) Impartial adjustment of all colonial claims. The interests and the sentiments of the subject peoples were also to be considered and not only the claims of the colonial powers.



- (6) Evacuation of Russian territory. Russia was to be given full opportunity to decide her future course of action.
- (7) Evacuation and restoration of Belgium.
- (8) Evacuation and restoration of French territory and the righting of the wrong done to France in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine.
- (9) Readjustment of Italian frontiers along her recognizable lines of nationality.
- (10) Autonomous development for peoples of Austria-Hungary.
- (11) Evacuation and restoration of Serbia, Montenegro of the Rumania and an outlet to the sea for Serbia.
- (12) Securing of sovereignty for the Turkish portions and Ottoman Empire, with autonomy for other portions and freedom of shipping through the Straits.
- (13) Establishment of an independent Poland with access to the sea.
- (14) The creation of an international organisation to guarantee independence and territorial integrity to small and big States of the world.

It cannot be denied that although the Fourteen Points of Wilson had to be compromised in many ways with a view to adjust them to the mutual commitments of the Allies, yet many of them were put into the Peace Settlement of 1919-20. As regards the creation of an international organisation, it is rightly pointed out that without the whole-hearted support of President Wilson, the Covenant of the League would not have been drafted then and placed within the framework of the treaties. The idea of a League of Nations was not original with Wilson. It was an Anglo-Saxon conception which germinated during the course of the World War II in the minds of peace-loving people. Those ideas were given the shape of definite proposals and most important of them were drafted by General Smuts and Lord Phillimore. Wilson took over the drafts of Smuts and Phillimore and put them in the forefront of the discussions of the statesmen who had assembled at Paris. He himself presided over a commission which drafted the Covenant of the League of Nations. It was his great authority that helped him to bring the work to a successful conclusion. President Wilson was prepared to compromise on any other point but he was absolutely determined to embody the Covenant of the League of Nations into the peace treaties. Thus, the League of Nations came into being.

The Peace Settlement also acted upon the principle of self-determination. The Poles, Croats, Czechs, Letts, Finns, Alsations, etc. were released from subjection to alien rule. It is rightly pointed out that in no previous settlement so much of attention was paid to the principle of nationality. Plebiscites were held in some cases



and thus the people were given an opportunity to express their own wishes. No other treaty ever "emancipated" so many peoples living under alien yokes as the Peace Settlement of 1919-20 did. In 1914, there were 40 million people living under alien rule, but in 1919 their number was reduced to 16 millions. The calculation of Herbert Fisher was that only 3 per cent of the whole population of Europe was left under alien rule. It goes without saying that in actual practice, ethnic anomalies can never be eliminated completely and no territorial adjustment can completely solve the problem of minorities, but an attempt was made to do everything that could possibly be done. Special provisions were made for the protection of the minorities. They were to be protected in matters of religion, language and citizenship

The creation of the independent States of Yugoslavia, Poland and Czechoslovakia and the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France were in accordance with the Fourteen Points of Wilson. The peace makers did not hesitate to create even small petty States in accordance with the principle of "one nation one State."

**Rejection of Treaty of Versailles by the U.S.A.** Although President Wilson was the prime mover in the Peace Settlement of 1919-20, the U.S.A. did not ratify the Treaty of Versailles. Particularly, the Covenant of the League of Nations was the main target. While the Democrats supported the Peace Settlement, the Republicans condemned the same. The American constitution demands that a treaty must be ratified by a two-thirds majority of the Senate. Many amendments were proposed by the Senate but they were rejected by the Democratic majority. However, when the vote was taken on 18th November 1919, there were 55 votes in favour and 39 against it. Thus, there was no requisite majority. The Treaty was brought before the Senate once again in March 1920. Although 57 voted in favour of it and 37 against it, the Treaty was not ratified as required by law. During the Presidential election of 1920, the question of the ratification of the treaty was very prominent and that was one of the important causes of the rout of the Democratic Party. However, the new administration entered into separate treaties with Germany, Austria and Hungary and those treaties were ratified by the Senate in October 1921.

According to Gottschalk and Lach, "A striking result of the war was the shift of the centre of gravity, political, military, and economic (but not yet cultural), from Europe to America. Before the war six great powers had manoeuvred for advantage in Europe. When the war was over, Austria-Hungary had ceased to exist; Russia was in the turmoils of civil war, intervention, and revolution; Germany was in a state of chaos; only Great Britain, France, and Italy were left as Europe's great powers, all three in a state of exhaustion. The might of two non-European powers, the United States and Japan, had correspondingly increased. The United States had provided the Allies with guns, ammunition, and other military equipment long before it had entered the war. The Allies



became heavily indebted to the United States largely because of loans made by the Washington government. A transfer of capital from Europe to America had taken place as European corporations and investors liquidated their holdings to meet the demands for money arising from increased taxes and the expansion of war industries at home. For the first time American loans and investments abroad were greater than foreign loans and investments in the United States. The United States was transformed from a debtor country into a creditor country. The stock exchange of New York became the world's foremost stock market, replacing London in that role. Europe was weary, damaged, and impoverished, and the United States was still fresh. Europeans felt that Americans had suffered little and profited much from the war. Americans believed that without their timely aid Europe might have been crushed by the heel of Prussian militarism."

**Lloyd George on Peace Settlement.** It may be interesting to refer to the view of Lloyd George on the Peace Settlement. He



Lloyd George

declared in the House of Commons in 1919: "I do not think any one can claim the terms imposed constitute injustice to Germany unless he believes justice in the war was on the side of Germany." He pointed out that some of the terms of settlement were terrible because the deeds of the Germans were also terrible. "The world is



rocking and reeling under the blow that failed. If the blow had succeeded, the liberty of Europe would have vanished." Referring to the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine, Schleswig and Poland, he remarked that "they are all territories which ought not to belong to Germany." To quote him again it was not vengeance "to take every possible precaution against a recurrence of the war and make such an example of Germany as will discourage ambitious rulers and peoples from ever again attempting to repeat this infamy. The German people approved the war, and, therefore, it was essential in the terms to show if nations entered into unprovoked wars of aggression against their neighbours, what lies in store for them." Again, "Having regard to the uses Germany made of her army, there is no injustice in scattering and disarming it. If the Allies had restored the colonies to Germany after the evidence of the ill-treatment of the natives and the part the natives have taken in their own liberation, it would have been a base betrayal. Then take the trial of those responsible for the war. If wars of this kind are to be prevented, those personally responsible for them, who have taken part in plotting and planning them, should be held personally responsible. Therefore, the *Entente* decided that the man who undoubtedly had the primary responsibility, in the judgment, at any rate of the Allies, should be tried for the offences he committed in breaking treaties he was bound to honour, and by that means bringing on the war. It was an exceptional course, and it is pity it was, because if it had been done before there would have been fewer wars."

According to Seaman, "The Peace Treaties of 1919 have a clear justification as an attempt to contain the German Reich by the liberation of the Slavs, and the peasants of Transylvania. The cause both of peace and justice was served in eastern Europe by the treaties; and better served than they had been for centuries. It was not the Versailles system but the success of the Germans in wrecking it in 1938 and 1939 that caused the Second World War. The real German grievance against the settlement was not that it was a *'diktat'* or that they had been cheated by President Wilson. It was chiefly that it prevented them from dominating and exploiting the valleys of the Vistula and the Danube and kept them away from the approaches to Asia Minor and the Ukraine, and because it emphatically asserted that in south-eastern Europe the Slavs had as much right to an independent existence as the Germans and Magyars."

**Responsibility for the War.** When the First World War was over, Article 23 of the Peace Treaty forced Germany to accept "responsibility for all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies." However, this forced acceptance of responsibility by Germany did not settle the issue and the question of responsibility for the war has agitated the minds of politicians, journalists and historians of the world. The present view is that it was not Germany alone that was responsible for the war but all the great powers had their share of responsibility, although some had a lesser share than that of others.



**Serbia.** So far as Serbia was concerned, she cannot avoid a certain share of the war guilt. It cannot be denied that the Serbian officials were accessories to the assassination of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand. The Serbian Government did not discourage the nationalist and Irredentist Serbian societies. It ought to have taken action against those societies which had their headquarters in Serbia and which were responsible for the murder. However, it cannot be denied that after the commission of the crime, when Austria-Hungary made certain demands on Serbia, the latter was willing to make honourable amends, although she was not prepared to accept dishonourable conditions. All the European Governments, including that of Germany, thought that Austria should be satisfied with the reply of Serbia. War could have been avoided if Austria had shown satisfaction with the reply and not insisted on impossible demands. It is true that Serbia was the first country to begin mobilisation but that was principally meant for defensive purposes.

**Austria-Hungary.** So far as the responsibility of Austria-Hungary was concerned, it cannot be denied that she was very bitter and was determined to blot out of existence her enemy, Serbia. Austria-Hungary hoped that she would be able to finish Serbia before any great power could come to her help. However, she was sadly mistaken. Russia at once showed her willingness to come to the help of Serbia. It is pointed out that it was the action of Austria that forced Russia to mobilise. It cannot be denied Serbia and of provocation of Russia.

**Russia.** As regards the responsibility of Russia, it cannot be denied that she was the first big power to decide mobilisation. She was not prepared to allow Austria-Hungary to have the upper hand and was determined to keep her out of Eastern Europe. It cannot be denied that the provocation of Russia was great and that forced other countries also to mobilise at once. After mobilization by Russia, it became impossible to localise the war. The Russians must be held guilty of taking the first steps that moved the issue from the realm of big power diplomacy into the realm of big power military strategy. The result was that the major decisions were withdrawn from statesmen and were left to be decided by soldiers. It is pointed out that if Russia had not mobilised, it was possible that the controversy might have been settled by a *quid pro quo* arrangement short of war.

**Germany.** As regards the responsibility of Germany, it cannot be denied that she was guilty of having given a *carte blanche* to Serbia from the very beginning. Germany realised the gravity of the situation and tried to put a check on Austria but by the time she did so, the situation had already gone out of control. Moreover, the German Government was guilty of many miscalculations. *Germany thought that she will be able to have a quick victory over her enemies.* Experience showed that their calculations were wrong. They actually failed to achieve what they thought of achieving. *It is pointed out that if Germany had not begun the shooting among*



the big powers, Russian mobilisation might not have led to war with Austria as Austro-Russian negotiations had in fact begun and the Allies of Russia were anxious to submit the whole controversy to pacific international consideration.

The war guilt of Germany was great but she was not the only culprit. France and Great Britain were also guilty by having encouraged Russia in her aggressive action. Both the governments had given Russia an understanding that they would come to her help against Austria-Hungary and Germany. We must not also ignore the fact of French passion for *revanche*, her commercial competition with Germany, the bitterness between France and Germany created by the Berlin-Baghdad Railway, the Morocco Crises etc. It is pointed out that if the French Government had not supported Russia wholeheartedly, the situation would not have become so dangerous. A similar charge can be brought against Great Britain. It is true that Great Britain and France were not so aggressive in their actions, but it cannot be denied that they did not put a check on their allies in time, and hence were dragged into the war.

It is pointed out that the real culprit in 1914 was not a man or a government or a people. It was an international system which was responsible for the war of 1914-18. Europe was divided into two armed camps and each camp was determined to defeat the other and under the circumstances war was inevitable.

#### Suggested Readings

- |                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| Adam                | : Clemenceau.  |
| Bakeless, J.        | : <i>Economic Causes of Modern War.</i>                |
| Baker               | : <i>What Wilson did at Paris ?</i>                    |
| Baker               | : <i>Wilson and World Settlement.</i>                  |
| Barnes, H.E.        | : <i>The Genesis of the World War, 1926.</i>           |
| Bethmann Hollweg    | : <i>Reflections on the World War.</i>                 |
| Birdsall            | : <i>Versailles Twenty Years After, 1941.</i>          |
| Carey and Scott     | : <i>An Outline History of the War.</i>                |
| Churchill, W.       | : <i>The World Crisis.</i>                             |
| Churchill, W.       | : <i>The Aftermath.</i>                                |
| Chitwood, O.P.      | : <i>The Immediate Causes of the Great War.</i>        |
| Cruttwell, C. R. M. | : <i>A History of the Great War, 1934.</i>             |
| Davis, W. S.        | : <i>Roots of the War.</i>                             |
| Halevy, E.          | : <i>The World Crisis of 1914-18.</i>                  |
| Hart, B.H.L.        | : <i>The Real War, 1914-18.</i>                        |
| Harris              | : <i>The Peace in the Making.</i>                      |
| Hayes               | : <i>Brief History of the Great War.</i>               |
| House and Seymour   | : <i>What really happened in Paris ?</i>               |
| Keynes              | : <i>Economic Consequences of the Peace.</i>           |
| Keynes              | : <i>A Revision of the Treaty.</i>                     |
| Lawrence, T.E.      | : <i>Revolt in the Desert.</i>                         |
| Lee                 | : <i>Ten years, The World on the Way to War.</i>       |
| Lloyd George        | : <i>Memoirs of the Peace Conference.</i>              |
| Mekinley, A.E.      | : <i>Collected Materials for the Study of the War.</i> |
| Newbolt, Sir Henry  | : <i>A Naval History of the War, 1914-18.</i>          |



- Nicolson, H : *Peace-Making, 1919.*  
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## CHAPTER XXXI

### EUROPE BETWEEN TWO WORLD WARS

It is intended in this chapter to refer to some of the important developments in Europe between 1919 and 1939. To begin with, we may discuss the work of the League of Nations which was created after great efforts on the part of President Wilson.

**The League of Nations.** The League was actually established in 1920 and its headquarters were fixed at Geneva in Switzerland. The preamble to the Covenant of the League of Nations reads thus: "The High Contracting Parties, in order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized people with one another, agreed to this Covenant of the League of Nations."

The organs of the League of Nations were the Assembly, the Council, the Secretariat and the Permanent Court of International Justice. The Assembly was the supreme body and consisted of the representatives of the various States which were the members of the League. Every member State was given the right of one vote in the Assembly. All decisions of the Assembly were required to be unanimous. As regards the Council, it originally consisted of four permanent members and four other members elected by the Assembly. In 1926, Germany was also given a permanent seat on the Council. The number of non-permanent members continued to increase and ultimately it reached the figure of eleven. Out of the Assembly and the Council, the former was certainly stronger than the latter. The Assembly acted like international legislature and its debates were circulated all over the world. It enjoyed both dignity and respect. Most of the work was done by the various sub-committees. The Secretariat of the League of Nations was located at Geneva and the Secretary-General was the most prominent figure. He was appointed by the Council but the approval of the Assembly was essential. The staff of the Secretariat was appointed by the Secretary-General in consultation with the Council. The member States had to pay towards the expenses of the Secretariat in certain proportions. While the meetings of the Council and Assembly were held from time to time, the Secretariat continued to work throughout the year. Without it, the work of the League would have been



impossible. The Permanent Court of International Justice consisted of 15 judges and it had its headquarters at The Hague. It gave its judgments on questions involving the interpretation of international law, treaties and other mutual obligations. The judges of the court were elected for 9 years at the joint meeting of the Council and the Assembly. The International Labour Office was also attached to the League of Nations. Its object was to improve the labour conditions in the various parts of the world. Its governing body consisted of the representatives of the government, employers and workers. There were annual meetings and important decisions were arrived at on the occasion of those meetings.

The main object of the League of Nations was to avoid war and maintain peace in the world and it was required to do all that lay in its power to achieve that ideal. A check was to be put on armaments. The size of the army was to be reduced to such an extent that it was just sufficient for the maintenance of law and order and defence from foreign aggression. The members of the League were required not to go to war without exhausting all the pacific means for the settlement of disputes. The Assembly, the Council and the Permanent Court of International Justice were to help in the matter of maintaining peace. Provision was made for collective action against a State which dared to violate the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations. Coercive action could be taken against rebellious States. Provision was also made for the enforcement of economic sanctions against an aggressor country.

Provision was made for the Mandate system under the League of Nations. The territories captured from the Central Powers and Turkey were not to be restored to them and were also not to be given to any victorious country in full sovereignty. The administration of those countries was to be given to various powers under the supervision of the League of Nations. The basis of the new policy was laid down in these words: "To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that security for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant. The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who, by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility and who are willing to accept it and that tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatory on behalf of the League. The Chapter of the Mandate must differ according to the state of development of the people, the geographical situation of the country, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances."

**Work of the League.** In 20 years, the League was called upon to examine about 40 political disputes. As a rule, the cases



were handled by the Council, but a few were referred to the Assembly, the Council of Ambassadors, or the Permanent Court of International Justice. Some of the earlier disputes, such as that of 1923 between Italy and Greece over the murder of several Italians on Greek soil, were serious threats to world peace. Disputes such as that of 1921-22 between Finland and Soviet Russia over the treatment of the inhabitants of eastern Karelia, were of lesser importance. There were also some disputes which the League was not able to settle at all. On the whole, the League was able to assert its political mission most strongly where small nations were involved. The larger nations were more likely to regard League investigations as infringing their sovereign rights. They were also in a position to bring pressure to bear in their behalf.

1. **Aaland Islands.** One of the first disputes brought to the attention of the Council of the League concerned the Aaland Islands which lie between Sweden and Finland. Both Finland and the Aaland Islands once belonged to Sweden. However, those were acquired in 1809 by Russia. The latter continued to rule over them up to 1917 when the Russian Revolution took place. Finland declared her independence and the same was recognised in January 1918 by Sweden without making any reservation with regard to the Aaland Islands. This was so in spite of the fact that the inhabitants of the Islands were chiefly of Swedish stock and spoke the Swedish language.

The inhabitants of the Islands began to agitate for union with Sweden. The Government of Sweden kept aloof from the movement but her people sympathised with agitators. The Government of Finland sent her troops to the Islands and arrested the agitators. The people of Sweden demanded of their government that help must be sent to the islanders. There was every possibility of a war. However, in June 1920, Great Britain exercised her friendly rights under the Covenant to direct the attention of the Secretary General to the case.

A meeting of the Council was held in London and both the parties presented their cases. The matter was referred to a Committee of Jurists. After it had been settled that the League had jurisdiction in the matter, the Council gave its decision in June 1921. Finland was to have sovereignty over the islands. The Aalanders were to be guaranteed autonomy and the protection of their political rights. The rights of private properties and the use of Swedish in the schools were to be preserved. The archipelago was to be neutralized and unfortified. In April 1922, an international convention was made which guaranteed the neutrality of the Islands and gave them the requisite international protection.

2. **Mosul Boundary Dispute.** According to the treaty of Lausanne (1923), the frontier separating Turkey from Great Britain's mandated territory, Iraq, was to be drawn "in friendly arrangement" between Turkey and Great Britain. If no agreement was arrived at within nine months, the matter was to be



referred to the League Council. Both the parties failed to agree on a mutually acceptable boundary line as they both claimed the Mosul villayet which was rich in oil. The matter was referred to the League in 1924. The situation was very grave. There occurred a number of frontier incidents. An emergency session of the League Council was called at Brussels. A provisional boundary line was drawn pending the final judgment. Turkey was to maintain order north of the Brussels line. A neutral commission of enquiry heard both the parties to the dispute and submitted its report to the League Council in September 1925. The report established the sovereignty of Turkey over the villayet and explained that neither Great Britain nor Iraq had a right to claim it by conquest. Certain points were referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice for the opinion. However, the dispute was not solved.

Ultimately, the League Council gave its final judgment on the subject. The Brussels line was to be the permanent boundary line between Turkey and Iraq. Great Britain was to take steps to secure the extension of her control over Iraq for a further period of 25 years. The Kurdish minority in Mosul was to be guaranteed the appointment of Kurdish local officials and the use of the Kurdish language in its schools. Great Britain and Iraq accepted the award but Turkey refused to do so. As Turkey began to lean more and more on Soviet Russia, Great Britain entered into a compromise. In June, 1926, a treaty was made between Turkey and Great Britain by which a small part of the villayet was given to Turkey. The revised boundary was recognized as definitive. Some royalties from the Mosul oil-fields were given to Turkey.

**3. Dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay.** In December 1928, an armed clash took place between Bolivia and Paraguay. The matter was taken up by the League Council and a telegram was sent by it expressing its full conviction that the two states which, by signing the Covenant, had solemnly pledged themselves to seek by pacific means the solution of disputes arising between them would have recourse to such methods as would be in conformity with their international obligations and would appear in the present circumstances to be most likely to secure the maintenance of peace and the settlement of the dispute.

Both the states agreed to accept the good offices of the Pan American Conference on Arbitration and Conciliation. The result was that the immediate quarrel was resolved but the underlying causes of the dispute remained. Fresh trouble occurred in May, 1929. Again the representatives of the two states met at Washington to conclude a non-aggression pact. Hostilities were suspended.

Fresh trouble took place in 1932. Efforts were made by the neighbouring states to stop war but all of them failed. Bloody conflict continued. The League of Nations appointed a commission of enquiry which reported that the struggle was inhuman and



criminal. When attempts to restore peace failed, it was decided to put an embargo on arms shipments to Bolivia and Paraguay. Some states cooperated while others did not. As Paraguay had the upper hand in the struggle, she refused to accept a compromise formula. Paraguay also gave a notice to design from the membership of the League.

The League did not take any interest in the case after March 1935. As a result of the efforts of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, the United States, and Uruguay, the foreign ministers of Bolivia and Paraguay signed in June 1935, a protocol outlining the machinery for the negotiation of peace. It was in July 1938 that a peace treaty was signed. Thus, the League did not succeed in the dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay.

4. **Eupen and Malmedy.** In 1920 and 1921, Germany addressed to the League Council a series of protests against the giving of Eupen and Malmedy to Belgium. The League Council discussed the matter in September 1920 and wrote to the German Government that its decision regarding the transfer of Eupen and Malmedy to Belgium was final.

5. **Corfu Incident.** In August 1923, an Italian General, two officers and one chauffeur were murdered on Greek soil. The Italian Government demanded apologies and full reparation for the crime. As Greece refused to accept all the demands of Italy, the latter occupied the island of Corfu. In September, 1923, the latter occupied the island of Corfu. In September, 1923, the latter occupied the island of Corfu. In September, 1923, the latter occupied the island of Corfu. It was notified Greece referred the matter to the League Council. It was notified by the President of the League Council that a communication had been received from the Conference of Ambassadors announcing the settlement of the dispute as a result of diplomatic negotiations undertaken by the Conference.

6. **Dispute between Great Britain and France.** In 1921 there arose a dispute between France and Great Britain over the nationality decrees in Tunis and Morocco. The decrees issued by France in Tunis and Morocco provided that any person born in France in Tunis and Morocco provided that any person born in France or on the territory of French colonies would be a French citizen. These decrees conflicted with the British nationality laws. The British Government asked the French Government to refer the matter to arbitration but the contention of France was that it was a purely domestic affair. Ultimately, it was decided by the Permanent Court of International Justice that the matter was not purely one of domestic jurisdiction. The dispute was finally decided by mutual negotiations between the foreign ministers of the two countries.

7. **Dispute between Greece and Bulgaria.** There was some trouble over the frontier between Greece and Bulgaria on account of the activity of Macedonian brigands. In October 1925, the Commander of a Greek frontier post and one of his men were killed. By way of reprisal, a Greek army marched into Bulgaria. The latter appealed to the League. The League Council met and



asked the Greek Government to withdraw its troops. The Governments of Great Britain, France and Italy were asked to send military officers to the spot to see what was happening. These measures had a deterrent effect on the Greek Government. The Greek Forces were withdrawn and Greece was asked to pay compensation to Bulgaria for the violation of her territory on a scale to be fixed by a League Commission.

The League did a lot of non-political work. A Slavery Convention met at Geneva in 1925. In 1932, it was decided to set up a Permanent Slavery Commission.

The Financial Committee of the League advised the Council on financial matters in general, on financial assistance to governments and on financial problems which could be solved by international cooperation. It helped to tackle the problems of counterfeiting, falsification of commercial documents, double taxation and fluctuating value of gold. The Financial Committee was responsible for the issue and supervision of various League loans for Austria, Hungary, Greece, etc. A general finance conference was held in Brussels in 1920. The Economic Committee of the League did the preliminary work for the World Economic Conference of 1927 and the Monetary and Economic Conference of 1933.

In order to implement the provisions of Article 23 of the Covenant of the League, the autonomous Communications and Transit Organisation was set up in 1920. This organisation cooperated with river commissions, labour unions, railway agencies, air traffic associations, etc.

The League also set up in 1923 the Health Organisation with a Health Committee and a secretariat. It performed a lot of useful work in organising action against malaria, smallpox, leprosy, rabies, cancer, tuberculosis, syphilis, heart disease, etc. It helped researches in medicine. It helped the nations to improve national health. It organised technical conferences. It cooperated with governments in reporting epidemics and their spread. The League helped them to fight typhus and also prevented cholera and plague from the East. It brought home from Russia 4,27,000 prisoners of war. It cooperated with China to organise relief work in flood areas. It helped the Greek Government to settle 15 lakhs of refugees. Dr. Nasen played an important part in the work of the settlement of refugees under the aegis of the League.

In 1922, the League appointed an International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. In 1926 was established the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation at Paris. It tried to coordinate "international collaboration with a view to promoting the progress of general civilization and human knowledge and notably the development and diffusion of science, letters and arts."

The League did a lot of useful work in the field of control of traffic in dangerous drugs, peasant reforms, prohibition of traffic



in women, suppression of trade in obscene literature, promotion of child welfare, etc.

The International Labour Organisation and the Permanent Court of International Justice—organs of the League—also did a lot of useful work.

According to Cordell Hull, "The League of Nations has been responsible for more humanitarian and scientific endeavour than any other organisation in history."

**Cause of Failure.** However, the League failed in its main object of maintaining peace in the world. In spite of its efforts for two decades, the whole world was involved in a war in 1939. By that time, the machinery of the League of Nations had completely broken down. The failure of the League can be attributed to many causes. (1) It was unfortunate that the Covenant of the League of Nations was made a part and parcel of the peace settlement. It would have been better if it had been kept separate. There were many states which considered the Treaty of Versailles as a treaty of revenge and were not prepared to ratify the same. By not ratifying the treaty, they refused to be the members of the League. The absence of the great Powers from the international organization weakened her and was partly responsible for its ultimate failure. Japan, Germany and Italy also left the League and their defection must have weakened the League. (2) It was felt that the League of Nations was dominated by England and France and consequently the other States began to lose their confidence in that organization. (3) The League was intended to perform a miracle by doing the impossible task of maintaining the *status quo* in the world. That would have been possible if the Peace Settlement of 1919-20 had been based on justice and fairplay. However, as countries like Germany were completely humiliated by that settlement, there were no chances of peace. Germany was bound to defy the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles as she felt that she did not accept them voluntarily but the same were imposed on her at the point of bayonet. In such an atmosphere, any organization would have failed to maintain peace. (4) The rise of dictatorship in Italy, Japan and Germany also weakened the chances of success of the League. Japan was determined to acquire fresh territories and her unscrupulous patriotism threw to the winds all the principles of international law and morality. If the League was not prepared to condone her fault of conquering Manchuria, she was prepared to give up her membership of the League and that is exactly what she actually did. Likewise, as the League decided to take action against Italy on account of her aggression in Abyssinia, Italy left the League. Germany was not prepared to honour her commitments under the Treaty of Versailles with regard to her armaments and consequently she decided to leave the League of Nations. States continued to be the members of the League so long as their national interests were not in any way endangered or sacrificed. They preferred to pursue and achieve their national



aspirations then to care for the strengthening and the perpetuation of the international organization which was the only hope of the free world.

(5) Small nations lost their faith in the effectiveness of the League to save them from any aggression. The principle of collective security was not applied in actual practice. If all the member states had joined hands against Japan and Italy on the question of Manchuria and Abyssinia respectively, aggression would have been checked and the prestige of the League would have risen. As each state decided to follow her own policy, the principle of collective security was weakened and thus there was nothing to check the aggressive policy of Hitler. (6) The League was given an effective weapon in the form of economic sanction. However, this weapon was not used in such a way as to produce good results. The economic sanctions against Italy were applied in a halting manner and no wonder they failed in their objective. (7) The League failed because it was an organization of governmental authorities and the peoples of the various states had no say in the deliberations of the League. There was no popular backing or enthusiasm. (8) Another cause of the failure of the League was that while Great Britain and France joined the League, they did not change their behaviour. Great Britain looked upon the League as a means to perpetuate the balance of power. She did not adapt the balance of power to the requirements of a community of Powers. France looked upon the League as a means to encircle Germany. She did not transform French security into collective security.

Likewise, statesmen in general did not face the basic economic, psychological and social problems of the world. The treatment of Germany was typical of their failure to realise the importance of such matters. Since they were dominated by a geographical-legal concept which involves thinking in terms of nations, they made no effective effort to help the internal situation in Germany. As a matter of fact, the opposite was the case. Bad treatment of Germany or disarmament conferences and the tariff policy of the United States had disastrous effects on German internal forces. The members of the League and the United States unwittingly contributed to the downfall of the Weimar Republic. That led to the rise of Hitler in Germany and the latter was responsible for the failure of the League.

(9) The League of Nations demonstrated the limitations of the legal methods. The League was fairly efficient in structure and probably would have worked if there had existed a realization of a community of interests. However, the League was in advance of public opinion. Law grows out of public opinion and cannot operate in disjunction with it. In the case of League law proposed and public opinion disposed. According to Lincoln, "Public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment nothing can fail,



without it nothing can succeed. Consequently he who moulds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed." The League had an elaborate formal structure but it did not function adequately because its members were not aware of its community of interests. Habits of co-operation are more important than formal structure.

(10) The League was the offspring of a marriage of two separate lines of thought. In one of these which were developed by Mr. Taft and others in the United States, the stress was on organized forces. There was to be a "League to enforce Peace". This aspect found support at the Peace Conference in French desire for organized security. On the other hand, the typical British attitude to the problem was extremely hesitant in its approach to the notion of enforced peace and even in its acceptance of the principle of compulsory arbitration. The British solution was rather an extension of the method of the former concert of Europe. If the 14 Points of Wilson are consulted to find that a general association of nations is projected "for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity" in its proposal the world peace is not mentioned and international co-operation is restricted to one limited object. The proposal described might well be a wide system of alliance for the forcible protection of the *status quo*. If we look at the preamble to the Covenant, the purpose placed in the forefront is "to promote international co-operation" and the preservation of peace is almost equally prominent. The League was thus from one point of view bulwark on a territorial settlement constructed on extremely nationalised lines and from another the instrument of the new internationalism. These two inconsistent principles were incorporated in the fabric of the League itself and no wonder it failed.

(11) The success of the project depended upon the validity of the assumption that the whole world was now one or was capable of becoming, for major purpose, a co-operative unit. It remained questionable whether a world organized on national basis could possibly have a sufficient unselfish spirit of collaboration to implement the provisions of security. The conflicting exigencies of the peace settlement introduced from the first a sort of dual control in international affairs. Many of the most important issues necessarily remained under the control of the Supreme Council of the Allies and a succession of conferences between members of this body had once taken place, thus reviving in fact a concert of Europe. The same method of independent conference was inevitable in any case with which a Power outside the League was concerned. There was thus from the first a danger or likelihood that this institution of diplomacy, by conference apart from Geneva would grow in popularity till the great Powers succeeded in making the League itself of secondary importance.

According to Albjerg, "The League began as a postwar organization for consolidating the victors' gains while continuing to restrain the vanquished. It failed to evolve into an impartial



parliament of all nations to which any state might come and seek protection against injustice—a role which President Wilson, General Smuts, and others had anticipated for it. The victors dominated the international scene politically and economically but failed to dominate it morally and spiritually; therefore, the League emerged neither as a universal organisation in scope nor as an equitable body in action.

"2. The League suffered from organisational defects which were probably, however, a minor rather than a major cause for its failure. Many believe that its political and non-political activities should have been separated, with the latter duties being handled by a semi-autonomous division under a governing committee composed of representatives of both member and non-member countries. Thus the League could have continued to function effectively even during an international disturbance when the stress of a political crisis might otherwise paralyse all activities of a centralized organization. Then, too, it suffered from such handicaps as its dependence for income on the voluntary contributions of its members, the absence of an international police force to execute its decisions, and the requirement for a unanimous vote of the League Council members on major questions. Yet the Rumanian statesman Titulescu pertinently observed: '*If the League has miscarried, the fault lies not in the Covenant, but in man.*'"

"3. Narrow nationalism was still the dominant force among the peoples of the world. France was increasingly concerned with her national security, while Great Britain considered that problem less urgent than promoting British commerce by fostering international trade. Japan, intoxicated by her emergence as a world power, wanted to consolidate her position at the expense of others, while Italy was desperate to redress damaged national prestige even at the cost of an aggressive military adventure. Germany and Soviet Russia, smarting under the treatment of the Allies, adroitly exploited Allied differences. The United States, 'a reluctant world power,' eagerly sought pre-war 'normalcy' in diplomacy of retiring from international responsibilities. The world-wide depression of the 1930's intensified the undesirable aspects of nationalism as 'every country tried to save itself at the expense of the rest of the world. The ruthless competition of intensely nationalistic states continued to prevail over the international co-operation of friendly nations. The result was that disarmament—one of the League's pledged objectives—was not achieved, and by 1939, armaments were greater than ever before. Actually the League of Nations could not fulfil the dreams of its founders so long as nations thought exclusively of their national ambitions. Each national state seemed to 'possess a provincial mind in a planetary era,' and as Professor Gooch has wisely observed, international institutions without international minds are as hollow as democracies without public spirit."

**France.** The problem of national security faced the statesmen of France after 1919. In spite of her victory, France was feeling



shaky and she saw the danger of Germany in future. "The danger comes from the possession by Germany of the left bank and the Rhine bridges. The safety of the Western and overseas democracies makes it imperative in present circumstances, for them to guard the bridges of the Rhine." France asked for guarantees from the Allies but she failed to secure the same. It is true that Great Britain offered a guarantee to France against Germany in 1922 but the French Government under Poincaré was not satisfied with its terms and the offer was rejected. However, France entered into a military alliance with Belgium in 1920. Next year, she entered into an alliance with Poland. France promised to give a large amount of war material to Poland and she actually carried out her promise. Yugoslavia, Rumania and Czechoslovakia entered into an alliance known as the *Little Entente* by which they promised to help one another against Hungary. France also entered into treaties with the *Entente* Powers and the result was that the *Entente* States became her satellites. As a result of her international commitments, France was required to help Poland against Lithuania, Yugoslavia and Rumania against Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia against Hungary and Yugoslavia against Italy.

In 1923, French troops occupied the Ruhr Valley in Germany on the plea that Germany had defaulted in her payments. The occupation lasted for a year but it left bitter memories between Germany and France. In 1924, France refused to join the Geneva Protocol as she was not satisfied with the terms. However, she signed the Locarno Pact in 1925 which guaranteed the sanctity of the frontiers between Germany and France. Great Britain and Italy became its guarantors. In 1933, she joined the Four-Power Pact consisting of Germany, Great Britain, Italy and France. However, her joining this pact created a suspicion in the minds of the Powers constituting this *Little Entente* that France did not care for them and was even prepared to sacrifice them. In 1935, France entered into an alliance with Russia. It was a five-year non-aggression pact between the two countries. They pledged themselves to help one another in case of "unprovoked aggression". The alliance was similar to the Franco-Russian Alliance of 1894. The relations between France and Italy were not happy at the beginning but in 1933, both France and Italy joined the Four-Power Pact. In 1935, Laval entered into many arrangements with the Italian Government by which the outstanding disputes between the two countries were settled. It was on account of the Franco-Italian Pact of 1935 that France supported Italy on the issue of Abyssinia. When the Civil War broke out in Spain and General Franco was helped by Hitler and Mussolini, the French Government helped the Republican Government of Spain. However, in spite of her help, General Franco was successful. France co-operated with England in 1938 when the crisis over Czechoslovakia occurred. The French Prime Minister was one of the signatories of the Munich Pact of 1938. France declared war against Germany in September 1939 and was forced to surrender in June 1940.

Italy. It has already been pointed out that Mussolini established his dictatorship in Italy in 1922. During his regime, attempts



were made to revive the glories of ancient Rome. A military spirit was infused into the people. To begin with, Mussolini opposed the German attempts to establish their hold over Austria. However, things changed after the Abyssinian War. There came into existence what is known as the Berlin-Rome Axis. Both Italy and Germany co-operated to help General Franco to overthrow the Republican regime in Spain. As a matter of fact, Italy became a follower of Germany in the future. She also joined the World War II on the side of Germany.

**Russia.** The Bolshevist regime was established in Russia in 1917. As the Communists believed in spreading their ideas all over the world, there was friction between Russia on the one hand and the Allied Powers on the other. No wonder, the rebels against the Bolshevist regime were helped by the democratic States of Western Europe and that resulted in a lot of bloodshed and destruction. However, Russia was able to drive out the invaders and crush the rebellious elements by 1921. In 1921, Great Britain entered into a trade agreement with Russia and thereby recognized the new regime in Russia. Russia also made the treaty of Rapallo with Germany. The two countries agreed to cancel the claims of each other and commercial relations were also established. In 1924, *de jure* recognition was given to Soviet Russia by Great Britain and France; Italy and Japan followed suit. The U.S.A. granted the recognition in 1933.

To begin with, the Communists of Russia believed in spreading communism in every nook and corner of the world and were prepared to adopt any measure to achieve their objective. However, there was a change in Russian policy under Stalin who decided to concentrate the activities of the Russians on the development of their own country. The result was that Communist propaganda was stopped in other countries and thus a new situation was created. Hitler came to power in Germany in 1933 and he declared himself to be the arch enemy of Communism. This fact brought Russia on the side of the democratic States of Western Europe. In 1934, Soviet Russia became a member of the League of Nations. In 1935, Russia entered into a military alliance with France.

Soviet Russia expected trouble from Hitler and consequently she left no stone unturned to make her defences as strong as possible. It is estimated that in 1936, the Red Army had 13 lakhs of troops, 6,000 tanks and 7,000 aeroplanes. Every effort was made to increase the output of mechanised armaments. Voroshilov, the War Minister, observed thus in September 1936: "When the enemy attacks the Soviet Ukraine or Soviet Byelorussia or any other part of Soviet Union, we will not prevent his invading our country but still defeat him in the territory whence he comes."

Hitler was a clever man and he knew how and when to change his previous stand. While he kept on denouncing Communism outwardly, he decided to attack other States and not Soviet Russia on account of the military strength of that country. However, the democratic Government of Western Europe continued to believe



that Hitler would prefer to finish Soviet Russia rather than attack them. Time was to show that they were utterly mistaken.

On the occasion of the Abyssinian crisis, Russia was in favour of saving Abyssinia but France and Great Britain held back. Even when the Civil War broke out in Spain, France and England followed a policy of non-intervention and refused to support the Russian efforts to save the Republican regime in Spain. When the crisis occurred in 1938 in Czechoslovakia, Russia again asked England and France to collaborate with her to save that country. However, the Western democracies refused to co-operate. Marshal Stalin referred to the above facts in March 1939 in these words: "The majority of the non-aggressive countries, particularly England and France, have rejected the policy of collective security, the policy of collective resistance to the aggressors, and have taken up a position of non-intervention, a position of 'neutrality'.....The policy of non-intervention, a position of eagerness, a desire not to hinder the aggressors in their nefarious work: not to hinder Japan, say, from embroiling herself in a war with China, or better still, with the Soviet Union; not to hinder Germany, say, from enmeshing herself in European affairs, from embroiling herself in a war with the Soviet Union...cheap and easy. Take Germany, for instance. They let her have Austria, despite the undertaking to defend her independence; they let her have the Sudeten region; they abandoned Czechoslovakia to her fate, thereby violating all their obligations; and then they began to lie vociferously in the press about 'the weakness of the Russian Army', 'the demoralization of the Russian Air Force,' and 'riots' in the Soviet Union, egging the Germans on to march farther east, promising them easy pickings, and prompting them: 'just start war on the Bolsheviks, and everything will be all right.'

"The hullabaloo raised by the British, French and American press over the Soviet Ukraine is characteristic. The gentlemen of the press there shouted until they were hoarse that the Germans were marching on Soviet Ukraine, that they now had what is called the Carpathian Ukraine, with a population of some seven hundred thousand, and that not later than this spring the Germans would annex the Soviet Ukraine, which has a population of over thirty million, to this so-called Carpathian Ukraine. It looks as if the object of this suspicious hullabaloo was to intensify the Soviet Union against Germany, to poison the atmosphere and to provoke a conflict with Germany, without any visible grounds.

"It is quite possible, of course, that there are madmen in Germany who dream of annexing the elephant, that is, the Soviet Ukraine, to the great, namely, the so-called Carpathian Ukraine. If there really are such lunatics in Germany, rest assured that we shall find enough strait jackets for them in our country. But if we ignore the madmen and turn to normal people, is it not clearly absurd and foolish seriously to talk of annexing the Soviet Ukraine to this so-called Carpathian Ukraine?



"Far be it from me to moralize on the policy of non-intervention, to talk of treason, treachery and so on. It would be naive to preach moral to people who recognize no human morality. Politics is politics, as the old, case-hardened bourgeois diplomats say. It must be remarked, however, that the big and dangerous political game started by the supporters of the policy of non-intervention may end in a serious fiasco for them.

"1. We stand for peace and the strengthening of business relations with all countries. This is our position ; and we shall adhere to this position as long as these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union, and as long as they make no attempt to trespass on the interests of our country.

"2. We stand for peaceful, close and friendly relations with all the neighbouring countries which have common frontiers with the U.S.S.R. That is our position and we shall adhere to this position as long as these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union, and as long as they make no attempt to trespass, directly or indirectly, on the integrity and inviolability of the frontiers of the Soviet State.

"3. We stand for the support of nations which are the victims of aggression and are fighting for the independence of their country.

"4. We are not afraid of the threats of aggressors, and are ready to deal two blows for every blow delivered by instigators of war who attempt to violate the Soviet borders."

The Western democracies were awakened to the realities of the situation after the partition of Czechoslovakia and asked for an alliance with Russia. However, Russia made it clear that she was prepared to do so only on the basis of "reciprocity and equality of obligations." She demanded a military alliance which bound both the parties to help each other in the case of an eventuality. The democratic countries did not accept the Russian proposal and consequently the military talks did not bear fruit in spite of prolonged negotiations. On the eve of the World War II, Russia entered into a non-aggression pact with Germany and thus she agreed to remain neutral in the war.

Soviet Russia attacked Finland in November 1939. The latter put up a stiff resistance but ultimately she had to come to terms with Soviet Russia. In June 1940, Soviet Russia occupied the States of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. In June 1941, Germany attacked Soviet Russia. In July 1941, Russia came to an understanding with England. In November 1941, Roosevelt sent greetings to Russia. Russia was given by the U.S.A. a large number of tanks, aeroplanes, locomotives, motor-cars and a large quantity of steel, shoes, etc. The Russians put up a very stiff resistance and the battles were fought not only in the battle-fields, but also outside the cities, in the streets and in the individual houses themselves. The German troops could not make much headway and their advance was stopped. The scorched earth policy of Russia ruined the German troops. After conquering Poland, the Russian troops



proceeded towards Berlin. At that time, Marshal Stalin made the following declaration: "The age long struggle of the Slav peoples for their existence and their independence has ended in victory over the German invaders and the German tyranny. Henceforth the great banner of freedom of nations and peace among nations will fly over Europe. Eternal glory to the heroes who fell in the battles against the enemy and gave their lives for the freedom and happiness of our policy." Hitler was overthrown and a part of Germany was occupied by Russia.

**Turkey.** Turkey was badly treated by the Treaty of Sevres. No wonder, the Turks revolted under Mustapha Kemal Ataturk. The Sultan was deposed and a republican regime was set up. The defence of the country was strengthened by creating a spirit of fanaticism among the people in the cause of the nation. Ultimately, the Treaty of Lausanne was made in 1923. The new treaty gave very favourable terms to the Turks. Turkey retained the European territory which she had at the time of the outbreak of war in 1914. Smyrna was also given to Turkey. The new Republic in Turkey pursued progressive policies and constitutional form of government was set up. However, Ataturk exercised all the powers of a dictator. Provision was made for the election of the legislative assembly on the basis of universal franchise. The office of the Caliph was abolished and religious toleration was declared. Even the script was changed. When the World War II came, Turkey declared her neutrality and she continued to follow that policy till the end of the war.

**Great Britain.** Although Great Britain and France had fought together during the World War I, there arose differences between the two countries with regard to the defence of France. Both U.S.A. and Great Britain had agreed to guarantee the security of France against possible German aggression. However, the U.S.A. backed out as the American Senate refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles. It is true that Great Britain was sympathetic towards the feelings of France, but she was not prepared to do what France wanted her to do against Germany. Lloyd George, Prime Minister of Great Britain, was also sympathetic towards Germany. He believed that "A free, contented and prosperous Germany is essential to civilization." His view was that the amount of reparations demanded from Germany was beyond her means. He was in favour of interpreting the Treaty of Versailles in a liberal manner so as to remove the feeling of humiliation from the minds of the Germans. France did not see eye to eye with Great Britain with regard to her attitude towards Germany. She was determined to have her pound of flesh unmixed with the sufferings of the people of Germany.

British attitude towards Soviet Russia was not sympathetic. In 1919-20, the British armies fought in North Russia. But its forces were despatched to help the State of Estonia from the Russian attacks. As the danger of the invasion of Poland by Russia became imminent Lloyd George declared that Great Britain would protect



Poland with all the means at her disposal. However, when Russia actually attacked Poland, Great Britain did not raise a finger in the defence. No wonder, a lot of bitterness was created.

Lloyd George entered into a trade agreement with Russia in 1921 on the express understanding that Russia would stop all propaganda against Great Britain. In spite of this undertaking, Soviet Russia did not keep her word. The policy of the Third International was inimical to the British interests. In 1924, a *de jure* recognition was given to Soviet Russia. In spite of this, there was a lot of resentment in England against Russia in 1926. That was due to the fact that the Soviet Government gave encouragement to a general strike in England. Russian intervention in British affairs was obnoxious to the British sentiments. When the Labour party came to power in 1929, Great Britain entered into a commercial treaty with Soviet Russia and granted diplomatic status to the Soviet Trade Delegation. There was a remarkable change in the Russian attitude and that was due to many causes. One of the factors was the rise of Hitler in Germany and his denunciation of the Soviet regime in Russia. On account of the aggressive policy of Japan in Manchuria, Russia was forced to co-operate with the democratic States of Western Europe against Japan and Germany. Russia was in a mood to join the League of Nations and she actually did so. The cordial relations between the two countries continued up to 1938. On the question of Czechoslovakia in 1938, Soviet Russia joined hands with Great Britain to fight against Hitler. She also detested the Munich Pact. As the danger from Hitler was imminent, effort was made to bring Great Britain and Soviet Russia together. However, before doing so, Russia was determined to demand a price. That price Great Britain was not prepared to pay and the matters kept on drifting for a long time. Soviet Russia made clear to Great Britain that she was prepared to give an undertaking provided a similar undertaking was given by Great Britain. As both parties were not prepared to compromise there were no chances of a successful alliance between the two. On the eve of the World War II, Germany entered into a non-aggression pact with Russia. Great Britain had to pay for her folly. Soviet Russia joined hands with Great Britain in 1941 after the German attack on Russia. Between 1941 and 1945, both Russia and Great Britain co-operated to fight against Germany.

As regards the relations of Great Britain and Turkey, it is to be noted that the Sultan of Turkey did not ratify the Treaty of Sevres and the Allies allowed him to keep Constantinople to himself. Both the Governments of France and Great Britain authorized the Greeks to take possession of France, a town of Smyrna and the adjoining country of Ionia. There was a revolt of the Turks under Kemal Pasha. There was the possibility of a struggle between Greece and Turkey. Both the parties were prepared and war would have broken out any time. However, as a result of the restraint shown by Kemal Pasha and British Government, an armistice was signed in 1922. The independence of Egypt was recognized. Turkey and Great Britain agreed to settle the frontiers of Iraq mutually. The



question of the boundary was settled by the League of Nations and was accepted by both the parties. Thus it was that friendly relations were established between the two countries, and they continued to be so throughout the World War II.

It has already been pointed out that the British attitude towards Germany was one of sympathy. It was felt that unless the new regime in Germany was given in nice treatment there was every possibility of violent reaction in that country. Great Britain tried to bring Germany into the League of Nations and that was actually done when Germany was given a seat in the Council of the League. Great Britain highly disapproved of the occupation of the Ruhr Valley by the French troops in 1923. This attitude towards Germany was maintained till the rise of Hitler in 1933. Even then, Great Britain entered into the Anglo-German Naval Agreement in 1935. It was hoped that a check would be put on the ambitions of Hitler. The hopes were falsified when Hitler occupied the Rhineland in 1936 and Austria in 1938. Hitler assisted General Franco during the Civil War in Spain. This he did in spite of British attitude. Great Britain took up a very stiff attitude on the question of Czechoslovakia. British armies were alerted and it was declared that Great Britain would not allow Hitler to swallow up their country. In spite of that, Chamberlain signed the famous Munich Pact in September 1938, and thereby sacrificed Czechoslovakia with a view to satisfy the hunger of Hitler. The Munich Agreement was described by Churchill as a "disaster of the first magnitude". Amery characterised the Munich Agreement as the "victory of sheer naked force". It was the greatest and cheapest victory won by aggressive militarism. Future events showed that the sacrifice of Czechoslovakia was superfluous. The hunger of Hitler increased and in September 1939, the German armies marched into Poland. That brought England into the war. Chamberlain remained the Prime Minister up to 1940 when he was succeeded by Churchill. The situation was so critical that the new Premier addressed the English nation in these words: "I have nothing to offer but blood, tears, toil and sweat.....Our policy? It is to wage war by land, sea and air, war with all our might and with all the strength God has given us, to wage war against the monstrous tyranny never surpassed in the dark, lamentable catalogue of human crime.....Our aim? It is victory. Victory at all costs—victory in spite of all terrors, victory, however long and hard the route may be, for without victory, there is no survival." It is a matter of history that Churchill led Great Britain to victory although he was assisted by American entry into the war and the German preoccupation in Russia.

Between 1919 and 1939, Great Britain sincerely followed a policy of disarmament. She not only summoned but also attended the Disarmament Conference and took an active part in making it a success. However, she failed on account of the rise of militarism in Germany and Italy and the non-committal attitude of France and other countries. She signed the Locarno Pact in 1925. By this Pact, Germany agreed to refer to arbitration any dispute that



might arise between her and other parties to the pact. However, she refused to admit that her eastern frontier was a sacred one. She merely agreed not to resort to war with a view to readjust her eastern frontier. Great Britain and Italy undertook to guarantee the frontier between Germany and France. By the Briand-Kellogg Pact of 1927, Great Britain declared to outlaw war. However, while signing the pact, she excluded Egypt and some other regions. She was also one of the signatories to the Four-Power Pact of 1933. By this pact, she undertook, along with other States, "to consult together on all questions pertaining to them and, within the framework of the League of Nations, try to maintain peace ; to safeguard the decisions which may be taken by the League" and to do the utmost to promote its disarmament and economic organisation. The object of the pact was to support the League of Nations and maintain peace in Europe. A Naval Conference was held in London in 1930. Although Italy and France refused to reduce their navy, Japan, Great Britain and U.S.A. agreed to restrict the size of their submarines and also the number of their battleships. Great Britain destroyed 5 battleships, U.S.A. 3 and Japan one. It was on account of the influence of Great Britain that the Allies evacuated Rhineland in 1930 although they were entitled to keep the same till 1935.

**Germany.** The Germans were absolutely discontented with the terms of the Peace Settlement. They felt that too much injustice had been done to them. In 1923 French troops occupied the Ruhr Valley on the plea that Germany had defaulted in the making of payments as required under the Treaty of Versailles. The Ruhr Valley was the very heart of German industry as it produced about 80 per cent of the coal, iron and steel of the country and was responsible for about 79 per cent of its commercial railway traffic. Its occupation was bound to result in the economic strangulation of the country. The Germans were helpless and the only thing they felt they could do was to follow a policy of passive resistance. The people of the Ruhr Valley refused to co-operate with the French invaders. The result was that factories and mines were deserted. The essential services of the State came to a standstill. The local officials refused to carry out the orders of the invaders. The newspapers refused to publish the commands of the foreigners. The Germans were cruelly treated but that did not help the invaders to secure their co-operation. Germany refused to pay the reparations. It is pointed out that "two men have united. German people—Bismarck in 1872 and Poincaré in 1923." The occupation was disastrous both for France and Germany and although Stresemann was willing to come to a compromise, Poincaré refused to do so. However, when Herriot became the Prime Minister of France, chances for a compromise became bright. The French troops were withdrawn from the Ruhr Valley when the Dawes Plan came into force.

The Dawes Committee was appointed to examine the question as to how the question of payments by Germany could be tackled. After a detailed discussion, the Dawes Committee made its recommendations. Full economic and fiscal sovereignty was to be restored



to Germany and the Ruhr Valley was to be evacuated. A Central Bank of Issue was to be established for the payment of reparations. The Bank was to have monopoly for the issue of paper currency for 50 years. The amount of annual payment to be made by Germany was also fixed. It was to vary according to the index of prosperity of the country. Germany was to be given a foreign loan of 800 million gold marks. A foreigner was to act as the Agent-General to supervise the execution of the Dawes Plan and he was to be assisted by a Transfer Committee. Gilbert was appointed the Agent-General. It is true that for some time the Dawes Plan restored confidence in Germany but the scheme suffered from many shortcomings. It was not finally decided as to what exactly was to be paid by Germany and within how many years. This uncertainty was bound to have its reaction on the will and desire to work on the part of the Germans. The latter also did not like the elaborate control implied in the working of the Dawes Plan. According to Gilbert himself, "As time goes on and practical experience accumulates, it becomes clearer that neither the reparation problems nor the problems depending upon it will be finally solved until Germany had been given a definite task to perform on her own responsibility, without foreign supervision and without transfer protection."

The Dawes Plan was superseded by the Young Plan in 1929. According to the new Plan, Germany was to make 37 annual payments at the rate of £100 millions a year. In addition to that, she was to pay 22 smaller annual payments. The merits of the new Plan were described in these words by the Young Committee itself: "The proposed Plan continues and completes the work begun by the Dawes Plan in which the position alike of Germany and of the other countries make it impossible to do more than indicate an outline in 1924. By the final reduction and fixation of the German debts, by the establishment of a progressive scale of annuities, and by the facilities which the new Bank afforded for lessening disturbances in the payment of annuities, it sets the seal on the inclusion of German debts in the list of international settlements. If it involves appreciable reduction of payments to the creditor countries on what might have been anticipated under the continued operation of the Dawes Plan, it at the same time eliminates the uncertainties (such as the index of prosperity) which were inherent in that Plan and were equally inimical to the interests of the debtor and to the creditor by substituting a definite settlement under which the debtor knows the exact extent of his obligations." The Allied troops were withdrawn from the German soil soon after the coming into force of the Young Plan in 1930.

Reference may be made to the Locarno Pact of 1925. Germany guaranteed her western frontier with France and Belgium for ever. However, she refused to give such a guarantee with regard to her eastern frontier with Poland and Czechoslovakia. Even in that case she undertook not to change the existing frontier by resorting to war. In accordance with the terms of the Locarno Pact, Germany took her seat in the Council of the League of Nations in 1926. On that occasion Briand made the following observations in the League



of Nations : "Those who indulge in irony and detraction at the expense of the League of Nations and proclaim that it is doomed to perish, what will they think now ? That means that we have done with the long series of terrible and bloody conflicts which have stained the pages of history. Henceforth our road is one of peace and progress. We shall win real greatness in our countries if we induce to set aside their pride, if we persuade them to sacrifice certain of their desires in the service of the world peace. This sacrifice will not diminish, it will increase their prestige."

In 1926 Briand and Stresemann met at a place called Thoiry near Geneva. They discussed subjects of common interest between the two countries and thereby "brought their points of view into agreement in regard to the general solution." It was rumoured that Stresemann asked for certain concessions and Briand promised to consider the same favourably. However, there was a lot of opposition from the French people and the matter had to be dropped.

**Rise of Hitler.** The rise of Hitler in Germany was due to many causes. Germany was badly humiliated by the Peace Settlement of 1919. It was impossible for a proud nation like Germany to forget the loss of her colonies and other concessions in various parts of the world. Her military strength was completely crushed. She was saddled with such a huge war-indemnity that it was practically impossible for her to pay. The Allied troops continued to be stationed on the German soil up to 1930 and that created a lot of bitterness, particularly on account of the unhappy behaviour of the French troops. The parliamentary institutions did not work satisfactorily in Germany on account of abnormal circumstances. The German statesmen kept on quarrelling while the country was faced with a crisis. Both the Dawes Plan and the Young Plan did not solve the economic problem of the people of Germany. In 1929, there started the world-wide economic depression and Germany was also affected. Chancellor Bruning failed to tackle the problems of the country. His government was styled as "the starvation government" The number of the unemployed increased. There was a lot of discontentment all over the country and this was exploited by the Nazi party under the leadership of Hitler. The Nazi party gave a dynamic programme to the people and promised to end their humiliation and make Germany a great nation in the world. The fiery speeches of Hitler kept his audiences spell-bound. The number of his followers began to multiply and with that his strength and popularity in the country. This was proved by the increasing number of votes secured by the Nazi party from 1924 onwards. In December 1924, the Nazi party had only 14 seats, but later on it managed to secure 288 seats in the legislature. President Hindenburg dismissed Bruning from the Chancellorship and appointed Von Papen as Chancellor. However, when Von Papen found that he could not maintain law and order in the country, he resigned. He was succeeded by Schleicher but even he resigned towards the end of 1932. In January 1933, Hitler was appointed the Chancellor. n the death of Hindenburg in 1934, he got himself elected the



President of Germany and thus combined in his person the offices of the Chancellor and the President. He continued to remain in power up to 1945 but he committed suicide on the fall of Berlin.

Before coming to power, Hitler was vocal in the German demand for the total rejection of the Treaty of Versailles and no



Adolf Hitler

wonder the European powers were upset when he became Chancellor and later on President. It was generally felt that Germany would be let loose on Europe and that was bound to create trouble. With a view to reassure the Governments of Europe with regard to his peaceful intentions and methods, Hitler declared that "the German Government and the German people are united in the will to pursue a policy of peace, reconciliation and understanding as the foundation of all decisions and all negotiations. To back his professions with actual deeds, Hitler entered into a non-aggression pact with Poland in January 1934 by which the existing boundaries between Poland and Germany were guaranteed for the next 10 years. Obviously, that lessened the tension between Poland and Germany. The complaints of the German minorities which were persistent from



1921, disappeared. There was a Nazi revolt in Austria in July 1934 but the same was unsuccessful. Hitler declared that he had absolutely no hand in the matter. In January 1935, the Saar plebiscite was held under the auspices of the League of Nations and about 90% of the voters voted for Germany. In June 1935, Hitler entered into a Naval Agreement with Great Britain by which the size of the German Navy was limited to 35% of the total strength of the British Navy.

However, after 1936, Hitler entered upon a career of aggression. In March 1936, he ordered German troops to march into the Rhineland which had been demilitarised by the Treaty of Versailles. Although that was a violation of the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles and endangered the safety of both Belgium and France, no action was taken against Germany. Civil War broke out in Spain in 1936 and General Franco was on one side and the Republican Government on the other. While Russia backed the Republican regime, Germany and Italy helped General Franco and ultimately the latter was successful in the struggle. In 1936, Germany entered into the Anti Comintern Pact with Japan. In 1937, Italy also joined the same. Thus the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis came into existence. In 1938, Hitler was able to annex Austria without much difficulty. Formerly, Italy had been opposing the incorporation of Austria into Germany, but as she had already been won over, there was no opposition. The Nazis encouraged the German minorities in Czechoslovakia to stage demonstrations against their government. The Germans who were known as Sudetens demanded their union with Germany. The Government of Czechoslovakia tried all possible means to accept their legitimate demands but all attempts failed on account of the irreconcilable attitude of the Sudetens on account of their backing by Hitler. Great Britain declared that if war took place on the question of Czechoslovakia, she was honour-bound to join the same. The atmosphere was tense and there was every possibility of a war. However, Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister took the initiative and met Hitler. It was agreed that Czechoslovakia should transfer that part of its territory which was inhabited by the Sudetens. However, when the Government of Czechoslovakia was persuaded to accept the demands of Hitler under pressure, Hitler increased his demands. Once again, a difficult situation was created and there was every possibility of trouble. But there was another meeting between Hitler, Mussolini, Chamberlain and Daladier, the French Premier, and Czechoslovakia was forced to make more concessions. Hitler assured Chamberlain that Germany had no more territorial claims in Europe and there would be peace. In spite of that, in March 1939, Czechoslovakia was forced to give Bohemia and Moravia to Germany.

After Czechoslovakia came the turn of Lithuania. An ultimatum was given to her to surrender Memel and the surrounding districts. The demand had to be accepted and the German troops occupied the same in March 1939.

Although Hitler had entered into a non-aggression pact with Poland for 10 years in 1934, he did not care for the sanctity of that



pact and demands were made on the Government of Poland. As Poland did not accept those demands, the danger of war was obvious. However before war actually started, Germany was able to make a non-aggression pact with Soviet Russia on 23rd August 1939. After securing the neutrality of Soviet Russia, Hitler demanded the restoration of Danzig and when that was refused, war was declared on Poland on 1st September 1939. That war continued up to 1945 and ended in the overthrow of Hitler.

**Locarno Pact (1925).** It is desirable to refer in detail to the Locarno Pact, Kellogg-Briand Pact, the Franco-Russian Alliance and the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis. As regards the Locarno Pact, delegates from Germany, France, Great Britain, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Belgium met at Locarno in Switzerland from 5th October to 16th October 1925. A remarkable change was witnessed in the proceedings of the Conference. Instead of mutual hatred, there were feelings of friendliness and goodwill and no wonder the changed atmosphere was referred to as "the spirit of Locarno" It was in that atmosphere that seven treaties were signed.

There was a treaty of mutual guarantee of Franco-German and Belgo-German frontier between Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain and Italy. There were arbitration conventions between Germany and Belgium and Germany and France. There were arbitration treaties between Germany and Poland and Germany and Czechoslovakia. There were also Franco-Polish and Franco-Czechoslovak treaty for mutual assistance in case of aggression by Germany.

The major treaty referred to the western frontier of Germany with France and Belgium and secured the same. It was provided that the powers "collectively and severally" guaranteed both "the maintenance of the territorial *status quo* resulting from the frontiers between Germany and Belgium and Germany and France" as fixed by the Treaty of Versailles. The demilitarization of the German territory west of a line drawn 50 kilometres east of the Rhine as stipulated in the Treaty of Versailles was also guaranteed. Germany, Belgium and France agreed that they would in no case attack or invade each other or resort to war against each other except in legitimate defence in case of a flagrant breach of the demilitarization formula, in fulfilment of the sanctions of Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, or as a result of the action of the League against a State which was the first to attack a member of that body. They also undertook to settle by peaceful means "all questions of every kind which may arise between them and which it may not be possible to settle by the normal methods of diplomacy." All the signatories to the treaty pledged themselves to help that State which was the victim of aggression. If the question of the violation of the treaty was a doubtful one, the matter was to be referred to the Council of the League of Nations for final disposal. The Treaty was to come into force only after the entry of Germany into the League of Nations and was to remain in force till such time as the Council of the League by a two-thirds majority might



decide that the League "ensures sufficient protection to the high contracting parties".

The four arbitration treaties and conventions provided that all disputes between Germany and the other signatories "which it may not be possible to settle amicably by the normal methods of diplomacy, shall be submitted for decision either to an arbitration tribunal or to the Permanent Court of International Justice." However, this provision was not to apply "to disputes arising out of the events prior to the present convention and belonging to the past" and hence was not binding in the case of problems which arose out of the Peace Settlement. The Franco-Polish and Franco-Czechoslovak treaties provided that if the signatories to the main treaties were made to suffer from a failure to observe the undertakings of Locarno, they would "lend each other immediate aid and assistance if such a failure is accompanied by an unprovoked recourse to arms."

It is to be observed that the Locarno Pact made a distinction between the German frontier on the west and the German frontier on the east. While the western frontier of Germany was guaranteed to be sacred and both Great Britain and Italy came forward to guarantee the same, that was not true of the eastern frontier of Germany with Poland and Czechoslovakia. It was implicitly conceded that the eastern frontier of Germany was not based on justice and Germany would be justified in asking for its revisions. However, she was not to resort to war to get the same changed and was to follow the method of arbitration to achieve her objective. Obviously, that led to the grading of the frontiers of Germany. The Locarno treaties were a violation of the Treaty of Versailles and were a recognition of the fact that the settlement of 1919-20 was not based on justice. However, the Locarno treaties lessened the tension between France and Germany for some time to come. The Locarno Pact was violated in 1935 when Hitler ordered the German troops to occupy the Rhineland.

The importance of the Locarno Pact is pointed out in these words by Gathorne-Hardy: "The immediate effect on international relations in Europe was undoubtedly most favourable. The sense of improved security which the British guarantee implanted in the minds of Frenchmen and Germans had an importance for outweighing that of question whether, on occasion arising, it would prove possible for Great Britain to fulfil her obligations. A democracy can hardly resort to war without the support of national opinion, and, while it is comparatively easy to enlist this on the side of known ally, the existence of two alternative allies or opponents complicates the situation. During the crisis preceding an outbreak of war, sympathy may very well have rallied to the side which eventually prove to be the aggressor; a sudden *volte face* is then difficult. It is still more probable that, in such a case, public opinion would be hopelessly divided on the merits. So long, however, as British intervention was feared by the potential aggressors of both sides, it seemed unlikely that the reality of the Pact would be put to the



test. To scare the war-maker from his purpose is a more useful task than to arrest or defeat him when his offence has been committed. At the time of its adoption, at any rate, the *Locarno Pact* was a most effective and formidable-looking scarecrow, which went far to justify the opinion of its creator, Mr. Austin Chamberlain, that its erection marked the real dividing line between the years of war and the years of peace." (*A Short History of International Affairs*, p. 76)

According to Langsam, "The Locarno achievements were widely hailed as precursors of a new era in world history. But neither the pacts nor the spirit of Locarno were actual guarantees of peace. True, the Rhine frontier apparently was safeguarded. Germany supposedly gave up all claims to Alsace-Lorraine and France all hopes of a Rhineland protectorate. Yet the problem of Germany's eastern frontiers remained unsolved and there was no real guarantee that it would be settled peaceably. The spirit of friendliness, moreover, was only sporadically evident in international affairs after 1925. It seemed to have been entirely forgotten in the very next year, while Germany's application for membership in the League was under consideration, but it experienced a gratifying revival in 1927." (*The World Since 1914*, p. 183).

According to Thompson, "In the favourable atmosphere of 1925 the treaties undoubtedly contributed to the general pacification of Europe. They were the first successful attempt to recognize impartially the needs of both France and Germany. Germany was brought back into the magic circle of great powers, and seemed likely to take her place in international relations as a conciliatory and unaggressive power. Yet the implications of Locarno were sinister as well as reassuring. The implicit grading of frontiers, which recognized Germany's western frontiers as somehow more sacrosanct and permanent than her eastern, implied that the general settlement of 1919 was valid only in so far as it had later been voluntarily endorsed by Germany. Britain's distinction between frontiers that she would guarantee and frontiers that she would not guarantee undermined the general obligations of the Covenant. If the Versailles Settlement lacked fully binding force unless it were voluntarily reinforced in this way, it was now more precarious as a whole. France had further overburdened herself by special obligations in eastern Europe without partnership with Britain. If members of the League were to distinguish between parts of the settlement in which they were intimately interested and which they were prepared to guarantee, and other parts in which they were less interested and which they were less likely to uphold by military action, general security suffered from Locarno. There were technical absurdities, too, in the notion of planning any effective military co-operation between the general staffs of Britain and France, against possible German attack, if the British staff were at the same moment supposed to be concerting similar action with the Germans against a possible French attack. But such realistic problems were scarcely considered. All these implications were to appear later; at the time they were smothered by the prevailing mood of optimism and goodwill." (*Europe Since Napoleon*, pp. 636-7).



According to Grant and Temperley, "The agreement of Locarno was not useless, though it was shortsighted. It did not fulfil Sir Austen Chamberlain's prediction that it marked the real dividing point between the years of war and the years of peace." But it did produce an atmosphere of goodwill and a period of appeasement which was, actually of importance and might have been decisive. Ansten Chamberlain in England and Briand in France worked hard for co-operation with Germany. Stresemann certainly brought Germany back into the orbit of the Great Powers and made her a member of the League. It is obvious now, though it was less obvious in 1925, that the future depended on the League's being able to negotiate a general disarmament all round. Limitation of armaments had been promised at Versailles. The Allies had justified the disarmament of Germany and other enemy Powers by the clause that it was to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations. This promise was now repeated and its observance would at once have made Locarno a real treaty. For if the German and French forces were approximately equal England's force, however small, could guarantee one against the other."

**Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928).** The object of the Kellogg-Briand Pact was to outlaw war as an instrument of national policy and the settlement of international disputes. After the establishment of the League of Nations, many efforts were made to avoid the necessity of war. The Cecil-Requin Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance of 1923 declared that "aggressive war is an international crime and (the contracting parties) severally undertook that no one of them will be guilty of its commission." This was followed by the Geneva Protocol of 1924. Its Preamble declared that "a war of aggression constitutes a violation of the solidarity of the members of the international community and an international crime." The signatories were to agree "in no case to resort to war" except in resistance to aggression or with the consent of the Council or Assembly of the League. They were also to agree to "abstain from any act which might constitute a threat of aggression against a foreign state." An aggressor state was defined as one which went to war without following the procedure for the pacific settlement of disputes. The Council of the League was to decide the aggressor in doubtful cases and also apply sanctions against the aggressor. However, nothing came out of the Geneva Protocol on account of the opposition of Great Britain.

The negotiations which ultimately resulted in the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928 were initiated in June 1927 when Briand made a proposal to Kellogg, Secretary of State for the U.S.A., for a bilateral pact between France and America by which war was to be given up as an instrument of national policy. The proposal was not of much importance in its original form as there were not many points of dispute between France and the U.S.A. However, Kellogg suggested to Briand to make the pact a multilateral pact instead of a bilateral one. After a lot of hesitation, Briand accepted the suggestion and the draft of the multilateral treaty was prepared.



While this was going on, the Assembly of the League of nations unanimously adopted on 24th September 1927, a Polish resolution by which all wars of aggression were prohibited. It was declared that pacific means must be employed in all cases to settle international disputes. A similar resolution was moved and passed by the Sixth Pan-American Conference held in February 1928.

As regards the negotiations concerning the Kellogg-Briand Pact, Great Britain agreed to become a party to the Pact on the condition that she was allowed to reserve to herself the liberty of action in certain regions of the world, the welfare and integrity of which constitute a special and vital interest for our peace and safety." The Monroe doctrine of the United States was accepted. The Pact was signed at Quaid' Orsay on 27th August 1928 by the representatives of 15 states. By the end of 1930, it had been accepted by 61 states. President Hoover proclaimed on 24th July 1929 that the Pact was in force.

The Soviet Union was the first to ratify the Pact although its provisions were criticised on grounds of indefiniteness and irrelevance. The Soviet Minister in Poland proposed on 29th December 1928 that Poland and Russia, along with Lithuania, should sign a Protocol known as the Litvinov Protocol by which the Kellogg-Briand Pact was to be made effective between them at once without waiting for the general exchange of ratifications. Certain objections were raised by Poland but those were met by Russia. Russia also persuaded Latvia and Estonia to ratify the Pact. The result was that on 9th February 1929, the Litvinov Protocol was signed at Moscow by the representatives of Soviet Russia, Poland, Rumania, Latvia and Estonia. Lithuania and Turkey joined the same on 1st April 1929, Danzig on 30th April 1929 and Persia on 4th July 1929.

In the U.S.A., it was understood that the Kellogg-Briand Pact in no way interfered with the right to enforce the Monroe doctrine in the name of self defence. It was agreed by all the parties that the Pact forbade only wars of aggression and did not apply to a defensive war, or a war against a state which violated its obligations under the agreement or war required by the League Covenant, the Locarno Pact or other agreements of neutrality or alliance.

The Preamble to the Pact contained the following declaration: "Deeply sensible of their solemn duty to promote the welfare of mankind, persuaded that the time has come when a frank renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy should be made to the end that the peaceful and friendly relations now existing between their people should be perpetuated and all changes in their relations with one another should be sought only by pacific means —thus uniting civilized nations of the world in a common renunciation of war as an instrument of their national policy..."

As regards the provisions of the Pact, the signatories solemnly declared, "in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another." They also agreed—"that the settlement or solu-



tion of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means." The Pact was to be ratified by the high contracting parties in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements and was to take effect as between them as soon as all their several instruments of ratification were deposited at Washington.

Regarding the significance of this Pact, Stimson, Secretary of State of the U.S.A., observed thus in 1932: "War between nations was renounced by the signatories of the Kellogg-Briand Treaty. This means that it has become throughout practically the entire world an illegal thing. Hereafter, when nations engage in armed conflict, either one or both of them must be termed violators of this General Treaty law. We denounce them as law-breakers."

On the legal effect of the Pact, the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal observed thus: "The nations who signed the Pact or adhered to it unconditionally condemned recourse to war for the future as an instrument of policy and expressly renounced it. After the signing of the Pact, any nation resorting to war as an instrument of national policy breaks the Pact. In the opening of the Tribunal, the solemn renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy necessarily involve the proposition that such a war is illegal in international law; and that those who plan and wage such a war, with its inevitable and terrible consequences, are committing crime in so doing. War for the solution of international controversies undertaken as an instrument of national policy certainly includes a war of aggression, and such a war is, therefore, outlawed by the Pact."

It is pointed out that the Kellogg-Briand Pact differed from the Covenant of the League of Nations. The League Covenant was a political treaty but the Kellogg-Briand Pact was a moral obligation based on the general sense of sinfulness of war. While the League Covenant allowed some wars and prohibited others and provided for the punishment of those wars which were prohibited, the Kellogg-Briand Pact condemned all wars but punished none. According to Schuman, "The Pact, moreover, lacked any effective means of enforcement. It was understood that if one signatory violated the Pact the other were released from it. The Pact was no stronger than its weakest link. But a State resorting to force to protect or promote its interests can always argue that the Pact does not apply, since it is acting in 'self-defence'. It can also argue that all measures of 'settlement' unaccompanied by a declaration of war are 'pacific,' as indeed they are in a technical, legal sense. Other States may dissent, and 'world opinion' may condemn. But a State which is strong and determined will not be restrained by verbal censure. It will be restrained only by superior force." (*International Politics*, p. 229)

According to Langsam, "Unfortunately, the efficacy of this outlawry of war, was considerably lessened by the qualifications and interpretations placed upon the text by a number of signatories.



In effect, war was outlawed except (1) when resorted to in self-defence; (2) in the execution of obligations assumed under previous treaties; or (3) in fulfilment of responsibilities incurred through the signing of the League Covenant or the Locarno agreements. Great Britain, moreover, made a special reservation with regard to 'certain regions of the world, the welfare and integrity of which constitutes a special and vital interest for our peace and safety.' Fundamentally, therefore, only wars of aggression were outlawed, and even in such cases there was no provision for enforcement. The Pact was founded on the hope that public opinion might be strong and influential enough, even in time of emergency, to restrain any particular nation from violating what were simply moral obligations. Nevertheless, the general acceptance of the Kellogg-Briand Pact appeared as a step in advance, a world co-operative towards the renunciation of war, 'as an ideal and a goal. With a view to bringing the Covenant of the League into closer harmony with the Pact, the Tenth Assembly in September 1929 proposed an amendment of that Clause of the Covenant which enjoined signatories to refrain from war until at least three months after the report of the arbitral or judicial body to which any particular dispute had been submitted, so as to read: they (disputants) agree that they will in no case resort to war.' Their suggestion, however, was not officially adopted. Such incidents as the Sino-Japanese controversy of 1931 seem to indicate that warless future would be guaranteed only if the Pact of Paris—or some substitute for this Pact—were provided with adequate 'teeth' so that its violation would be regarded as something more serious than the perpetration of an immoral act." (*The World Since 1914*, p. 184)

To quote Gathorne-Hardy, "As a historical event, this almost universal repudiation of war as an instrument of policy seems to have a unique importance. As a gesture indicative of a new ethical attitude to war, it is undeniably impressive. It is particularly important in that it created a basis upon which the great nations outside the League, the United States and Russia, could take a direct interest in the collective organisation of peace. Yet as Mr. Wheeler-Bennett has pointed out, '*only war of aggression had been outlawed*' and actually it, therefore, carried the outlawry of war no further than the Polish resolution adopted by the League Assembly in September 1927. As might be expected from an instrument of Trans-Atlantic origin, it served at the moment as a magnificent advertisement of the pacific disposition of the world, and might have been thought to constitute a great step forward on the road to international security. It depends, however, on nothing more solid than the good faith of signatory nations and imposes no sanctions upon those who disregard its pledges. In an age which had learned to ignore inconvenient obligations, it was not destined to restore that measure of confidence necessary to induce the nations to disarm. Each probably considered that war was not, in any event, an instrument of its own policy, but each continued to mistrust the *bona fides* of its neighbours." (*A Short History of International Affairs*, pp. 183-4)



**Franco-Russian Alliance (1935).** In 1935, Soviet Russia and France entered into a joint pact of non-aggression and mutual assistance. The two countries agreed to consult each other if there was any danger of aggression. They were also to help each other in case of unprovoked aggression. The Pact was to last for 5 years. It was declared that all the countries of North-Eastern Europe were to be invited to join the Pact. The Pact continued up to 1939 but it became devoid of all meaning after August 1939 when Soviet Russia entered into a non-aggression pact with Germany. The alliance of 1935 was reminiscent of the Franco-Russian Alliance of 1894.

**Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis (1937).** Although Italy was not satisfied with the Peace Settlement of 1919-20, she continued to co-operate with the Western democratic countries. As a matter of fact, Italy was one of the guarantors of the Western frontiers of Germany with Belgium and France under the Locarno Pact of 1925. Italy was opposed to the annexation of Austria by Germany and consequently there was no possibility of her joining hands with the enemies of Germany. As a matter of fact, when Hitler tried to establish his control over Austria in 1934, Italy did her utmost to bring about its failure. Italy induced France and Great Britain to subscribe to a communique of February 1934 declaring that the three powers took "a common view regarding the necessity of maintaining Austria's independence in accordance with the relevant treaties." The same year, the Premiers of Italy, Austria and Hungary signed the Rome Protocols by which they agreed to pursue "a corresponding policy directed to promote effective collaboration among the European States". In 1933, Italy signed with Soviet Russia a pact of non-aggression.

The Laval-Mussolini Pact of 1935 was signed at Rome. Some French territory and railway rights in Africa were given to Italy. Certain privileges enjoyed by Italian citizens in French-owned Tunisia were to be continued till 1945. It was also agreed that if the independence of Austria was threatened in any way, both France and Italy were to consult each other.

Japan was not satisfied with the Washington Settlement of 1921 which fixed the naval strength of Japan at 60% of that of Great Britain and the U.S.A. She considered that as a symbol of the "moral superiority of the U.S.A., and Great Britain and her own humiliation." In 1934, the representatives of the U.S.A., Great Britain and Japan met and discussed the question of the naval limitations. Japan demanded parity with her neighbours but that was refused. The result was that Japan gave in December 1934 the required two years' notice of the termination of the naval agreement. The notice was to expire in 1936.

Hitler was outspoken in the denunciation of Communism and Soviet Russia. In 1935, Soviet Russia entered into an alliance with France. The same year, Hitler entered into a naval treaty with Great Britain by which he agreed to limit the size of the German Navy to 35% of the strength of the British navy. In November



1936, Hitler entered into an Anti-Comintern Pact with Japan. The contracting parties agreed "to keep each other informed concerning the activities of the Third International, to consult upon the necessary defence measures and to execute these measures in close co-operation with each other."

The attitude Mussolini also underwent a change. When Italy attacked Abyssinia, economic sanctions were enforced against



Hitler welcomes Mussolini

her by the democratic States of Western Europe in the name of collective security. Although France played her part to make those sanctions mild, Italy was attracted towards Germany and Japan who were also sailing in the same boat. It is rightly pointed out that Germany outlawed the League and Japan and Italy were outlawed by the League. Thus, the three countries joined hands in their common opposition to the League, Communism and Soviet Russia. Germany was the first to recognise the Italian conquest of Abyssinia. The Germans "aroused vast sympathy for the masses of the Italian people." The dictatorship in both the countries also brought them together. Both of them wanted a revision of the treaties of 1919-20. Both of them were land-hungry and could



join hands against the satiated powers like France and Great Britain. Mussolini paid a visit to Germany in 1937 and a return visit was made by Hitler to Rome. The result was that in 1937 the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis came into existence. Mussolini referred to it as "an Axis around which all European States animated by the desire for peace might collaborate." He also declared that "the struggle between two worlds (Axis and non-Axis) can permit no compromise. Either we or they." Hitler described the Axis as a "great world political triangle" which "consists not of three powerless images but of three States which are prepared and determined to protect decisively their rights and vital interests." The Axis continued throughout the World War II and was smashed in 1945 after the overthrow of Italy, Germany and Japan.

#### Suggested Readings

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|----------------------|---|
| Abel Theodor.        | : <i>Why Hitler came into Power ? 1938.</i>                                   |
| Armstrong            | : <i>"We or They," 1936.</i>  |
| Buell, R.L.          | : <i>Poland, Key to Europe, 1939.</i>   |
| Cameron              | : <i>Prologue to Appeasement, 1942.</i>                                       |
| Carr, E.H.           | : <i>International Relations between the two World Wars (1919-1939), 1947</i> |
| Carr, E.H.           | : <i>The Twenty Years Crisis, (1919-1939), 1946.</i>                          |
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## CHAPTER XXXII

### THE WORLD WAR II (1939-45)

**Causes of the War.** (1) According to Cyril Falls, the World War II was essentially a war of revenge initiated by Germany. It cannot be denied that German National Socialism stood first and foremost for revenge. The other aims, the 'living room' to be obtained by the subjugation of neighbouring States, the absorption of all Teutonic or so-called Teutonic populations, the colonization of agricultural districts like the Ukraine, the control of all major industries in Europe, were either the means of consolidating the revenge once achieved or the expression of purely predatory instinct such as had always flourished in Prussia and were later on diffused all over Germany. Hitler stood first for rearmament and revenge and then for loot and German domination.

The Treaty of Versailles had in itself the germs of the War of 1939. Germany was very badly treated. She was forced to sign the treaty at the point of bayonet and the treaty in itself was based on the spirit of revenge. She was deprived of her colonies and concessions abroad. She was deprived of her territories in Europe. She was cut into two parts by the establishment of the Polish corridor. Her navy was completely destroyed. Her army was reduced to an insignificant position. She was deprived of her coal and steel resources. She was burdened with reparations which it was impossible for her to pay. Her soil was to be occupied by the foreign troops to enforce the provisions of the treaty. The Allied troops stationed on the German soil did not behave happily towards the people and created unhappy memories. The French occupation of the Ruhr Valley added insult to injury. The result was that the problems facing the newly created Republic of Germany were so great that it was impossible for her statesmen to cope with them. The democratic States of Western Europe did nothing to help the Weimar Republic to strengthen her hold over the people. She had to meet opposition, often armed, of extremists from the Right and the Left. On account of its own nationalistic outlook and its reliance on the army, the German Republic was more severe with the Radicals than with the reactionaries. The foundations of the democracy in Germany remained as weak as they could be. The political extremists enjoyed legal protection under the Weimar constitution although they themselves did not bother about legal niceties. The introduction of proportional representation in the country multiplied the number of political parties and thereby made the ministries unstable. The people of Germany demanded a revision of the Treaty but there was no possibility to do so on account of the opposition of France which considered the Peace Settlement as the only tangible guarantee of security. France felt that any concession

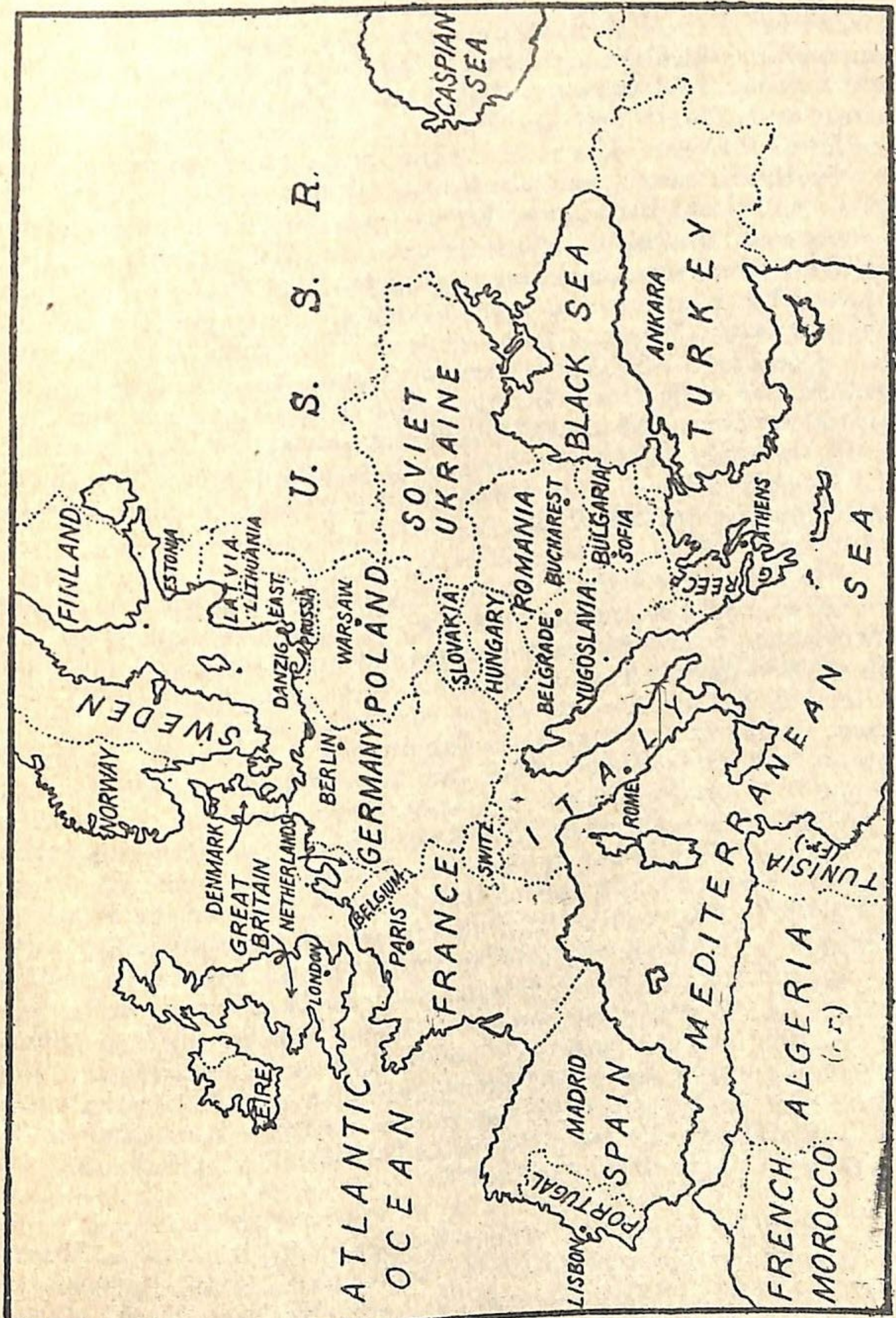


given to Germany would weaken the whole structure. Throughout, France refused the revision of the treaties which alone could have satisfied the Germans. The Weimar Republic struggled hard to cope with the situation but ultimately it lost its fight for existence. It was under these circumstances that the Nazi Party began to gain ground on the German soil and in January 1933 its leader, Hitler was appointed Chancellor. To begin with, Nazis followed a very cautious policy and tried to silence the suspicions of the other powers with regard to their future programme of action. Hitler declared that he stood for peace and with a view to substantiate his professions, he entered into a treaty with Poland in 1934 and with England in 1935. When there was a revolt in Austria in 1934, Hitler denied that he had any hand in the same.

However, after having consolidated their position at home and after having strengthened their military resources, the Nazis began to unfold their inner aims and objects. The Rhineland was occupied in March 1936. In 1938, Austria was annexed. The Sudetens in Czechoslovakia were encouraged to demand their union with Germany and Hitler openly backed their demands. As Great Britain had already guaranteed military support to Czechoslovakia, there was every possibility of a war. However, Chamberlain went thrice to Germany and ultimately by the Munich Pact, Czechoslovakia was forced to submit to the German demands. War was avoided at the cost of the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia and Chamberlain claimed that he had brought "peace with honour". Although there was some relief at the idea that war had not actually broken out, many agreed with the view of Churchill that the Munich agreement was "a total unmitigated defeat" for Great Britain. The peace which followed the surrender of Munich lasted hardly for 11 months. In defence of the policy of appeasement of Chamberlain, it is pointed out that Great Britain was not at all ready for war. After 1919, she had reduced her military strength to a dangerous point. The British army was short of tanks. Although the Royal Air Force was efficient but it was not adequate to meet the emergency. There was no conscription in the country. The training of the second line of national defence, the Territorial Army, was hopelessly inadequate. British statesmen, British publicists and the British nation as a whole were responsible for the sad state of affairs. No British Government, no political party and no organ of public opinion had demanded that the military defence of the country must be put on a proper footing. The voice of Churchill was the solitary voice in the wilderness. It is pointed out that the people at large in England deliberately thrust their head into the sand when they took it out, they felt bewildered and dazed at what they saw. They had to thank themselves for their inactivity. The British public opinion and her statesmen ought to have stopped Hitler when he ordered the German troops to march into the Rhineland. They ought to have intervened on the question of Japanese intervention in Manchuria and the Italian conquest of Abyssinia. They ought not to have allowed Hitler to annex Austria without risking a war. Even on the occasion of Czechoslovakia, the British Government ought to



have adopted a policy of "no surrender". As it was, Hitler and his other partners in the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis were allowed to have



their conquests without any let or hindrance. Such an attitude was bound to create an unfortunate impression in the minds of the dictators. It was bound to encourage them in their aggressive



actions. As success followed success with little more than verbal interference they became bolder and bolder. They saw no point in stopping when it was so easy to go on.

In 1939, the Nazis centred their attention on Danzig and the Polish Corridor. Hitler followed the old technique of a press campaign in which the atrocities of the Poles over the Germans were condemned. On 21st March 1939, Chamberlain declared that Great Britain and France would help Poland if she was attacked by Germany. However, Hitler defied the warning and threatened the Poles with dire consequences if they continued to be obstinate. In April 1939, Great Britain and France guaranteed the independence of Greece and Rumania. As Italy had annexed Albania in 1939, President Roosevelt asked Mussolini and Hitler to help the cause of peace by giving a ten-year pledge of non-aggression against certain States. The request was made on 15th April but the same was rejected. On 28th April, Germany denounced her naval agreement of 1935 with Great Britain. She also denounced the non-aggression pact of 1934 with Poland and demanded the return of Danzig and the right to construct and maintain a rail and motor road across the Polish Corridor to East Prussia. Poland rejected the demand on 5th May 1939.

On 22nd May 1939, Ribbentrop and Ciano signed a ten-year alliance at Berlin which provided for diplomatic co-operation and consultation, collaboration in the field of wareconomy and immediate military aid in case any of the two Powers was involved in war. Neither of that two Powers was to conclude a separate armistice or peace. Germany also signed non-aggression pacts with Denmark, Estonia and Latvia. On 23rd August 1939, Soviet Russia and Germany entered into a non-aggression pact. The two countries were in no case to resort to war against each other. They were not to support any third Power in the event of a war in which one of the signatory Powers was involved. The signatory States were to consult each other in future on all matters of common interest. They were to refrain from associating with any grouping of Powers aimed at the other. The pact was a master-stroke of German diplomacy. In the event of a war, Germany was afraid of fighting on two fronts. By entering into the pact with Soviet Russia, Germany was able to make sure that she would have nothing to fear from the Russian side. Soviet Russia agreed to sign the Pact because she was disgusted with the attitude of Great Britain and France and she herself was not strong enough to stand alone.

After the signing of the non-aggression pact with Russia, events began to move rapidly. The German and Polish newspapers were already publishing stories of atrocities committed by each other. Hitler bewailed that his "racial comrades" in Poland were being brutally treated. Military preparations were given the final touches. Stories of atrocities were multiplied and boosted. Hitler began to thunder against Poland with greater and greater vehemence. The world was passing through breathless days.



It was in this atmosphere that Germany asked Great Britain on 29th August 1939 that she must arrange to have a Polish delegate with full powers to negotiate in Berlin on the next day. The reply of Great Britain was that the demand was unreasonable and impracticable. The time was not sufficient for the purpose. Germany was asked to submit her demands on Poland through the Polish ambassador. When Ribbentrop, the German Foreign Minister, got this reply from the British ambassador at midnight, he is stated to have read out at top speed in German his sixteen demands whose acceptance alone could avoid the crisis. Sir Neville Henderson, the British ambassador in Berlin, asked for a copy of those demands and the reply of Ribbentrop was that "it was now too late as Polish representative had not arrived in Berlin by midnight." On 31st August 1939, the German Government broadcast the sixteen demands. However, when the Polish ambassador in Berlin tried to communicate these demands to his country, he could not do so as all communications between Poland and Germany were cut off. The German Government declared that the Polish Government had failed to send their representative and also refused to accept their demands within the stipulated time. Without declaring war against Poland, the German bombers began to rain bombs on Polish cities and German troops invaded the Polish soil on 1st September 1939. In justification of his action, Hitler declared that "no other means is felt to me than to meet force with force." On 3rd September 1939, Great Britain asked Germany to withdraw from Poland and when that was not done, Chamberlain declared in the House of Commons that "this country is at war with Germany." France also declared war against Germany. Thus, the World War II broke out in September 1939.

(2) Another cause of the war was Japanese imperialism. The ambitions of Japan increased during the World War I. Although both Japan and China had fought on the side of the Allies during the World War I, Japan was allowed to have many concessions after the war at the expense of China. She started developing her navy. The Japanese youth backed the efforts of the Government. By 1930, the Japanese strength increased tremendously. In 1931, Japan intervened in Manchuria. In spite of the action of the League of Nations Manchuria was conquered and occupied. However, this did not satisfy the Japanese ambitions. In July 1937, there started a war between China and Japan although no formal declaration of war was made. One by one, the Chinese cities fell into the hands of the Japanese. Not only Peking but also Nanking fell before the Japanese forces. When the World War II broke out in 1939, the Sino-Japanese War was still in progress. Japan entered the war in 1941 when she attacked the Pearl Harbour. However, she had already joined the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis. The Pan-Japanese programme of expansion and conquest was bound to result in war and peace was impossible in such circumstances.

(3) Another cause of the war was the establishment of dictatorships in Europe. Reference has already been made to the



establishment of the Nazi dictatorship in Germany under Hitler. Although Hitler tried to assure the world that he meant peace but he could not conceal his real ambitions for long. Very soon, he embarked upon a career of aggression and ultimately drove the world on the paths of war. The same was the case with Mussolini who established his dictatorship in Italy after coming to power in 1922. Mussolini and his Fascist followers began to boast of reviving the glory of the Old Roman Empire. Italy attacked Abyssinia and was ultimately able to annex the same. The Italian volunteers went to Spain to help General Franco and were successful in their mission. Italy joined the Anti-Comintern Pact in 1937 and thus the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis came into existence. In May 1939, Italy entered into a ten-year alliance with Germany. Both the countries agreed to consult each other in diplomatic affairs and co-operate in the field of war economy. They also agreed to give military aid to each other if one of them was involved in a war. Neither Power was to conclude a separate peace or armistice. In the presence of the Axis Powers, there could be no peace in the world and no wonder the war came.

(4) There was also a conflict of ideologies between dictatorship on the one hand and democracy on the other. Countries like Germany, Italy and Japan represented one kind of ideology and Great Britain, France and the U.S.A. represented another pattern. Mussolini rightly declared the conflict between the ideologies in these words : "*The struggle between the two worlds can permit no compromise, Either we or they.*" Basically, the distinction between the two ideologies lay in their different attitudes towards the individual in the State. In the case of democracy, the individual was regarded the creator and the beneficiary of all State activities. He could be interfered with only when his acts were prejudicial to the interests of other individuals. Under the totalitarian regime, the individual did not figure anywhere. He was to be merged in the State and sacrificed for the sake of the State. The two ideologies also differed in spiritual, territorial and economic matters. The democratic States stood for the maintenance of the *status quo* in political and territorial matters and were designated as the "Haves". They had no immediate expansionist aims. On the other hand, the Axis States were called the "Have-nots". On grounds of prestige and strategy, they demanded additional territories. Japan was land-hungry and she was determined to establish her supremacy in the Far East. She was not prepared to accept any compromise and was willing to fight with any country which dared to intervene in her sphere of influence. The same was the case with Germany and Italy. Hitler not only demanded the return of the colonies which had been snatched away from Germany after the World War I but he asked for more territories so that Germany may stand on the same footing as colonial Powers like Great Britain and France. The Germans under Hitler could not understand as to why Great Britain and France should have great colonial empires and they should have nothing. They considered themselves to be a "master race" and were not prepared to put up with the limitations put on



them by the existing circumstances in the world and no wonder they were willing to risk a war to achieve their objective. It can rightly be pointed out that on the eve of war in 1939 the world was divided into two maps *viz.*, the Axis world and the non-Axis world. Co-existence was impossible between the two camps and one of them had to go under. A conflict was absolutely inevitable.

(5) Another cause of the war was the weakness of the democratic States and the sense of over-confidence in their strength among the Axis Powers. It is a matter of history that soon after the Peace Settlement of 1919-20, Great Britain and France began to drift farther and farther apart from each other. Great Britain began to follow a policy of aloofness from European politics and refused to accept any commitment for the preservation of peace. She was bothered more about her business and trade than about the foreign affairs of Europe. She felt that she was to gain more from the economic recovery of Germany than by quarrelling over the question of reparations, war debts, the occupation of the Rhineland, armaments, etc. However, that was not the case with France. After winning victory over Germany, France began to dread Germany. She felt that while the German population was increasing, her own population was declining. Under the circumstances, in the event of future war, Germany was bound to have the upper hand. Moreover, there was the possibility of Germany having her revenge for her humiliation of 1919. No wonder, France asked for guarantees from Great Britain and the U.S.A. When she failed to get that, she entered into an alliance with small countries like Poland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium etc. Unfortunately, her alliances were more of liabilities than assets and in spite of them she did not have a sense of security. No wonder, she continued to oppose every effort to revise the Peace Settlement in any way. She found her security only in the Settlement of 1919-20. In 1935, she entered into an alliance with Soviet Russia and made an agreement with Italy. In spite of all this, she did not find herself safe and ultimately decided to throw in her lot with Great Britain.

Unfortunately, Great Britain herself was not ready for war and consequently up to 1938 nothing could be done to stop the aggressors who were determined to go to any extent to achieve their objective. It cannot be denied that if the democratic States had been ready for armed conflict when the Axis Powers launched upon a career of aggression, there is reason to believe that a check would have been put on them. However, that was not to be. The weakness of their military strength and the division in the ranks of democratic States, encouraged the Axis Powers. It was too late in the day for them to retrace their steps in 1939 even when they found that the democratic States also meant business and were determined to resist further aggression.

(6) It was realized by the statesmen of Europe that militarism was one of the important causes of the World War I. It was with that idea in their minds that the League of Nations was established with the primary object of maintaining peace in the world and



lessening the causes of tension. The Treaty of Versailles disarmed Germany and it was expected that the other Powers also would follow suit. As a matter of fact, Great Britain began to disarm herself gradually and it is stated that she followed that policy to a dangerous point of national insecurity. France was also asked to do likewise, but she refused to do so. She contended that her national security demanded the maintenance of the existing force. The same was the case with other countries of Europe. Disarmament conferences were summoned and every earnest attempts were made to arrive at some workable arrangement, but those efforts were not crowned with success. The result was that when Hitler came to power in Germany, he decided to scrap those clauses of the Treaty of Versailles which put limitations on German armaments. The German Air Force began to grow and came to be recognised as one of the strongest air force in Europe. In 1935, conscription was introduced in Germany. In 1936, the Rhineland was occupied by the German troops. All these steps were on the road to militarism, Militarism also was in the ascendant in Japan and Italy. The military preparations of the Axis Powers forced the democratic States also to arm themselves. This was particularly so after 1938. Militarism in both the camps was bound to result ultimately in an armed conflict.

(7) Unfortunately, when hostility was growing between the two camps, there was no effective international organization which could bring the leaders of the two camps on a common platform and bring about a reconciliation between the two. The League of Nations was practically dead. It ceased to exist as an effective force after her failure on the question of Manchuria and Abyssinia. Both big and small States lost their confidence in that international organization and the only alternative left was that the parties may have a trial of their strength by an armed conflict.

**Course of the war.** The refusal of Poland to surrender resulted in the German invasion of Poland. In spite of the stiff resistance put by the Poles, they were defeated and crushed. When the Germans were smashing the Polish resistance, the Russian also invaded the country from the East. The result was that after its conquest, Poland was divided between Germany and Russia.

In the autumn of 1939, Russia attacked Finland. She demanded a part of Finnish territory on the ground that its possession was necessary for the safety of Leningrad. Russia had no faith in German professions of peace and friendship and consequently was trying to take all the necessary precautions. It was feared that Germany might conquer Finland and thereby endanger the safety of Russia. The Russians conquered the region they wanted and ultimately made peace with Finland. Russia also annexed the Baltic States Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania.

In April 1940, German troops occupied Denmark. Norway was also occupied after some resistance. In May 1940, Holland and Belgium were attacked and conquered.



France had put her faith in the Maginot Line for her defence but the same was bypassed by Germany as she did in 1914. Great Britain felt that there was every possibility of her army being entrapped in Europe and she decided to evacuate the same. With superhuman efforts, the British army reached Dunkirk. Within 4 or 5 days, more than 3 lakhs of British soldiers were brought back to England across the Channel. It is pointed out that the evacuation of the British Army from Dunkirk was one of the most remarkable achievements of the war and ultimately enabled England to fight to victory. There were constant attacks from the air by the enemy and it was with great difficulty that the British troops reached home in a very miserable condition after having lost all their equipment. Most of the British troops were practically naked when they were brought to England.

After the evacuation of the British forces, it was impossible for France to stand against the might of Germany and she surrendered in June 1940. Mr. Churchill, the new Prime Minister of England, asked France to continue the war, but France was unsuccessful. A new government under Marshal Petain was set up at Vichy. A large part of France was occupied by the Germans and France was to bear the cost of army of occupation. German prisoners of war were released and the French prisoners of war were to work in factories and arsenals. However, the French fleet was not surrendered to the Germans.

After the collapse of France, Italy also joined the war. Mussolini demanded Nice, Savoy and Corsica which were once a part of Italy. Mussolini thought that he would be helped by Germany, but he was disappointed in his expectations. After the entry of Italy into the war, the conflict started between the Italian and British forces in North Africa. Mussolini attacked Greece but on account of the stiff resistance, the Italians were defeated. However, the Germans also joined the Italians and ultimately Greece was conquered. Yugoslavia and Crete were occupied by the Germans.

After the fall of Dunkirk, Great Britain was left all alone in Europe. Her Air Force was the finest in Europe in quality, but its numerical strength was not adequate. Hitler could have attacked England in June 1940 when France fell because Great Britain was still weak but he missed that opportunity. However, under the dynamic leadership of Churchill, Great Britain was able to pull herself up. He promised nothing to the nation but "blood and toil and tears and sweat." In his historic speech he made the following declaration: *"We shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing strength in the air, we shall defend our island whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills, we shall never surrender."*

The people of England responded to the call of their leader and girded up their loins to face the enemy. The slogans of "Who wins if England loses" and "We are not interested in the possibility of defeat; it does not exist," were raised. The Germans started



their attack of Great Britain in right earnest in the autumn of 1940. The technique they intended to adopt was first to destroy the Royal Air Force and then to invade the country. A large number of aircrafts were sent to England for that purpose. But the Royal Air Force was not beaten. The battle of Britain proved to be the turning point of the war. A large number of enemy aircraft was destroyed and ultimately the German attack began to slow down. Churchill could rightly boast that "never in the history of mankind did so many owe so much to so few."

The Germans started the night bombardment of London and other great towns. A lot of property was destroyed and many Englishmen lost their lives. However, after some time, the Britishers learnt the technique of protecting themselves from the air-raids and after the construction of the air-raid shelters and the wide-spread use of anti-aircraft guns, the loss became less and less. The Royal Air Force also started attacking the ships and docks in the Channel ports of France and Belgium, Holland and Norway so that the German preparations for the invasion of England might be frustrated.

To begin with, the American view was that the fall of Great Britain was merely a question of time and hence they did not bother themselves much about the same. However, in June 1940, a large number of French ships at Oran were destroyed by the British fleet with a view to avoid their being captured by Germany. The result was that the Vichy Government of France cut off all diplomatic relations with Great Britain but the Battle of Oran impressed the Americans and they began to feel that the boast of Churchill that he wanted to fight the war to the better end was not an empty one. Moreover, it began to be realised that it was not right politics to ignore the fate of Great Britain as, after her conquest, the turn of the U.S.A. was bound to come. President Roosevelt was moving cautiously on account of the public opinion in the U.S.A. but when he found a change in that attitude in favour of Great Britain he transferred 50 destroyers from the American Navy to the British Navy in lieu of the lease of a number of naval and air bases. In March 1941, the American Congress passed a Lease-Lend Act by which the U.S.A. undertook to help those countries which were fighting against the Axis Powers. In August 1941, President Roosevelt and Premier Churchill met on board a British battleship in which war aims were enunciated.

In spite of the non-aggression pact of August 1939, Hitler attacked Soviet Russia in June 1941 without any declaration of war. The Germans hoped to get easy victories in Russia and thereby secure supplies of food and oil from the Ukraine and the Caucasus. With resources of Russia at his hand Hitler would like to attack Great Britain. When the German attack started, Molotov appealed to the Russians in these words: "This war has been forced upon us not by the German people, not by German workers, peasants, and intellectuals, whose suffering we well understand, but the clique of bloodthirsty Fascist rulers of Germany who have enslaved Frenchmen,



Czechs, Poles, Serbians, Norway, Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Greece and other nations. . . .

"This is not the first time that our people have had to deal with an attack of an arrogant foe. At the time of Napoleon's invasion of Russia our people's reply was war for the Fatherland, and Napoleon suffered defeat and met his doom. It will be the same with Hitler, who in his arrogance has proclaimed a new crusade against our country. The Red Army and our whole people will again wage victorious war for the Fatherland, for our country, for honour, for liberty..."

"The Government calls upon you, citizens of the Union, to rally still more closely around our glorious Bolshevik Party, around our Soviet Government, around our great leader and comrade Stalin. Ours is a righteous cause. The enemy shall be defeated, victory will be ours."

When Soviet Russia was attacked by Germany the mission of Cripps to Russia also became successful and an agreement was signed between the two countries in July 1914. In November 1941, President Roosevelt sent his greetings to the people of Russia and pledged 1,000 million dollars for Russian help. The U.S.S.R. received a large number of tanks, aeroplanes, locomotives, motor-cars, shoes, etc. The Russians fought the Germans bravely. They fought the enemy in the battle-fields outside the cities, in the bazars, in the streets and in every house. The defence of Stalingrad made history. The Russian bravery and tenacity won universal applause. General MacArthur observed thus in 1942: "The hopes of civilisation rest on the worthy banners of the courageous Russian army. During my life-time, I have participated in a number of wars and have witnessed others, as well as studied in great detail the campaigns of the outstanding leaders of the past. In none have I observed such effective resistance to the heaviest blows of a hitherto undefeated enemy followed by a smashing counter-attack which is driving the enemy back to his own land. The skill and grandeur of the front mark it as the greatest military achievement in all history." Winston Churchill paid his tribute in these words: "It is the Russian army that has done the main work of tearing the guts out of the German Army." After the Germans were driven out from the Russian Soil, Stalin made the following declaration: "The age-long struggle of the Slav peoples for their existence and their independence has ended in victory over the German invaders and the German tyranny. Henceforth, the great banner of freedom of nations and peace among nations will fly over Europe. Eternal glory to the heroes who fell in the battles against the enemy and gave their lives for the freedom and happiness of our people."

Japan had busied herself in the conquest of China and had kept aloof from the Great War. However, she was all the time making preparations for an attack on American possessions in the Pacific. A Japanese mission visited Washington with a view to settle amicably the outstanding problems between the two countries. While the negotiations were still going on, the Japanese launched



an attack on Pearl Harbour in December 1941. The attack was without any warning and was resented very much by the people of the U.S.A. who decided to teach a lesson to the aggressor. The U.S.A. declared war on Japan and Great Britain did likewise. Japan had launched the attack after making full preparation and consequently the Japanese offensive could not be checked at once. The Philippine Islands were captured by Japan. The English base of Singapore fell into Japanese hands. Malaya fell and Burma was also conquered by the enemy. The safety of India and Ceylon was endangered.

The United Nations were also able to marshal all their resources and then started the counter-offensive. General MacArthur was made the Supreme Commander in the Pacific and Lord Mountbatten was given the command of South-East Asia with his headquarters at Delhi. Lord Mountbatten drove out the Japanese from Burma. The Philippines were captured by General MacArthur.

There was a lot of fighting in Africa between 1941 and 1943. Abyssinia was also conquered by the United Nations and Emperor Haile Selassie was restored to the throne from which he was driven out by Italy in 1936. The Italian Somaliland was also conquered. The German and Italian forces decided to attack Egypt which was defended by the British troops. British forces advanced into Libya up to Benghazi but were forced to withdraw. However in November 1942, the "Desert Rats" of General Montgomery turned out the Germans and Italians from Libya. Montgomery also conquered Tripoli and advanced into Tunisia.

Mussolini boasted of his control of the Mediterranean and referred to it as "*Mare No-trum*" or "Our Sea". However, an Italian squadron was defeated by a British fleet in the Battle of Cape Matapan near the Greek coast. Many a time the Island of Malta was attacked by the Italians but it managed to hold its own against the enemy to the end and never surrendered.

In November 1942, American and British troops occupied the French colony of Algeria. A new French Government was set up and a large number of French recruits joined the United Nations. The British and American troops under Eisenhower joined the army of Montgomery. North Africa was cleared of Italian and German troops in 1943. In the summer of 1943, the Island of Sicily was captured by the English and American troops. The mainland of Italy was also attacked. There was a revolt in Italy and Mussolini was arrested. However, he managed to escape and took refuge with the Germans. A new government was set up in Italy under Marshal Badoglio. In September 1943, Italy surrendered unconditionally to the United Nations. However, the Germans continued to fight in Italy and it was only towards the end of the war that they were completely driven out of the peninsula. Mussolini was captured again in 1945 and shot by the Italians themselves.

In the winter of 1943-44, preparations were made in England for the invasion of the Continent under General Eisenhower. He



was to be assisted by General Montgomery and Air Chief Marshal Tedder. A large number of artificial harbours known as "mulberry" were constructed to be toed across the Channel to the coast of France. For the supply of petrol to the invading army, the "Pluto or Pipe Line Under The Ocean" was constructed. By this time, the Royal Air Force had become very strong. It had thousands of will-trained pilots. Both the British and American pilots attacked day and night the war targets in Germany and succeeded in paralysing completely the war industries of Germany. The bombing of military targets in Germany struck terror into the hearts of the people. Everything was dislocated in Germany.

The Germans expected an invasion of the Continent by the United Nations but could not make out as to where the invasion was to come. Consequently, they tried to protect the whole of the coast line facing Great Britain. In June 1944, Normandy was attacked. In spite of the hard fighting, the troops of the United Nations were able to have a footing on the mainland. After getting reinforcements, the United Nations were able to capture Paris and also drive out the Germans from the French soil. After completing the conquest of Italy the army of General Alexander invaded France from the south-east and thus the south of France was also cleared of the enemy. The army of General Alexander joined that of General Eisenhower on the Rhine. There was a German counter-attack in December 1934, under Rundstedt. After some success, the same was repulsed. When the armies under General Eisenhower crossed the Rhine and moved towards the Elbe, the Russians also invaded Germany from the east. The Germans could not fight on two fronts. Hitler committed suicide in April 1945. In May 1945, Germany made an unconditional surrender and Berlin was occupied by the victors.

Germany was divided by the United Nations into four zones. One zone was put under Russia, the *second* under Great Britain, the *third* under the U.S.A. and the *fourth* under France. The prisoners of war were liberated. German troops were still occupying many parts of Europe and they were ordered to return home. German troops were disarmed and disbanded. Germany surrendered all the fire-arms. All the war material of Germany was captured by the Allies and either destroyed or distributed among themselves. Many Germans who had committed crimes during the war were tried by military courts and either set free or punished. The ringleaders of Germany were tried at Nuremburg and given the severe punishment of death or long terms of imprisonment.

The fall of Germany was partly due to the military preparations of the United Nations and partly due to the folly of Hitler himself. He ought to have attacked England in June 1940 immediately after the fall of France. He ought to have avoided an attack on Soviet Russia which proved to be a boomerang. Moreover, Germany did not treat kindly the people of the countries conquered by her. The result was that a lot of resentment was created among them. They were always ready to revolt at the first opportunity to throw off the German yoke.



After the fall of Germany, the U.S.A. and Great Britain concentrated their forces against Japan. On 6th August an atom bomb was thrown on the city of Hiroshima and it is estimated that more than 1,00,000 persons were destroyed by that one single bomb. Japan was asked to surrender and when she refused to do so, another bomb was thrown on 9th August 1945 on the city of Nagasaki. The results in this case were also disastrous. On 14th August 1945, Japan surrendered unconditionally. When Japan surrendered, her forces were still occupying various parts of South-East-Asia. Those troops were ordered to go back home. Japan was occupied by an Allied Army under General MacArthur. A new Japanese Government was set up in Japan under the supervision of MacArthur. Although Russia had also declared war against Japan a few days before her surrender, Russian troops were not allowed on the islands of Japan.

**Main Features of the War.** Reference may be made to some of the main features of the World War II. (1) When the war was declared, there were few patriotic demonstrations. Even in the case of Germany, there was general apathy except in the meetings of Nazis. The people of England also heard the news of war in family groups and not in crowds. Chamberlain also appealed to the people for fortitude and not exultation.

(2) The World War II was a total war. Every citizen was intimately involved in the war from the very beginning. As time passed, the lives of the people were controlled by the state. Even women were conscripted in England and they played a heroic part in the war. This War was a total war in another sense also. There was hardly any part of the world which was not involved in the war. Battles were fought in the deserts, in the cities and in the jungles. There was destruction all round.

(3) As the war covered the whole of the world, its strategy was also a world strategy. Every effort was made to send the right type of men and materials to the right part of the world and at the right time with a view to yield the right type of results. This world strategy was evolved personally by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin. However, they were assisted by their staffs. Roosevelt and Churchill met in August 1941 and January 1943. All the three leaders met at Teheran in November 1943.

(4) The World War II differed materially from the World War I. The trench warfare was a peculiar feature of the First World War. That was not the case with World War II. It was one of the greatest follies of history that France concentrated on the Maginot Line for her defence. The Germans outflanked France by attacking her through Belgium. The World War II was mobile war. The Germans concentrated on the armoured tanks and the bombers. It was the German speed that helped them to conquer Poland in four weeks, Holland in four days and Belgium within about a fortnight and on account of mobile warfare, destruction was on a very wide scale. The total casualties were very heavy and the number of civilians killed by bombing was very large. Although the wounds



were very grave, the lives of the people were saved on account of the progress in the science of medicine.

(5) There was also the economic aspect of the war. Experience showed that the soldiers, sailors and airmen were dependent on the factory workers and the latter depended upon raw materials and food supplies. In this war, therefore, all the raw materials and all the industries were involved in the struggle.

(6) Another aspect of the war was that it was a war of creeds. It was a kind of crusade. Roosevelt referred to the war as the fight for Four Freedoms, viz., freedom from fear, freedom from want; freedom of worship and political freedom. The Atlantic Charter of August 1951 declared that "We are fighting against evil things." Similar declarations were made by Stalin and Hitler. Propaganda also played a very important part in this war. As the war was a war of ideas and of ideologies, the propaganda machine in every State had to be strengthened. Gobblers were prominent in Germany and the B.B.C. played its part in England.

(7) Still another aspect of the war was that it upset the family life of the people. Both the rich and the poor were uprooted by bombing from the enemies. Families were separated and disrupted. When the bombs fell, husbands were separated from wives and children from their parents.

According to Gottschalk and Lach, "In two decisive respects Hitler and his generals had repeated the mistake their predecessors had made in 1914. One of these was to underestimate the staying qualities of a people who think of themselves as responsible for their government. His plans had been based upon a quick, short war such as a well-organized dictatorship, counting upon the co-ordination, efficiency and rapidity of movement of a highly disciplined people, can achieve. What he forgot was that the very parliamentary processes and differences of public opinion that render democracies slow to make war may render them slow also to make peace. It takes the imminence of defeat to make the citizens of a free country willing to surrender their liberties even temporarily, but the idea of an emergency dictatorship, acceptable in the democratic tradition since the Plutarchian days of the Roman Republic, gives a democracy intent upon retaining its liberty a resource in defeat that an autocracy does not have. A democracy can make temporary dictators of its most able men; a dictatorship has no recourse in a crisis except to give more power to those who have brought the crisis about. Hitler had not understood this principle.

"The second mistake of Hitler and the German General Staff had been to lose sight of one of the great lessons that the German military classic, General Karl von Clausewitz's *On War*, had drawn from the Napoleonic wars. The offensive, Clausewitz had taught (though generations of Prussian military cadets had apparently failed to grasp his lesson), sows the seeds of its own defeat, for the wider its success, the more effort it requires to maintain itself, had repeated the error of the Kaiser. Unable to win in a *blitzkrieg*, he had been doomed to conquer more and more territory until he



reached a point where his forces were spread thin while potential enemies became active enemies and threw fresh forces against his over extended and exhausted lines."

#### Suggested Readings

- |                   |   |   |
|-------------------|---|---|
| Churchill, Sir W. | : | <i>The Second World War (6 Vols.)</i>                 |
| Dupuy             | : | <i>World in Arms, 1939.</i>                           |
| Falls, C.         | : | <i>The Second World War : A Short History, 1948.</i>  |
| Fuller, F.J.C.    | : | <i>The Second World War (1939-45).</i>                |
| Hains and Hoffman | : | <i>Origin and Background of the Second World War.</i> |
| Henderson         | : | <i>Failure of Mission.</i>                            |
| Scnuma, F.L.      | : | <i>Design for Power : Struggle for the World.</i>     |
| Wilmot, Chester   | : | <i>The Struggle for Europe, 1952.</i>                 |



## CHAPTER XXXIII

### EUROPE SINCE 1945

**The United Nations Organisation.** Before the conclusion of the World War II, the United Nations Charter was signed in June 1945 at San Francisco. The Preamble to the Charter runs thus: "We the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of man and woman and the nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, and for these ends to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims."

The United Nations Organisation, has been created for the maintenance of international peace and security, development of friendly relations among the nations, achievement of international co-operation in solving international problems of economic, social or humanitarian character and the promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedom for all without distinction of race, sex, language or religion. There are two kinds of members of the United Nations. Some of them are original members but new members can be admitted by a certain procedure. The membership is open to all peace-loving States which accept the obligations contained in the Charter and which in the judgment of the Organisation, are able and willing to carry out their obligations. The Security Council plays the most important part in admitting or refusing admission to any State. On the recommendation of the Security Council, the membership of a State can be suspended or it can be outlawed by the General Assembly.

The important organs of the United Nations are the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice and the Secretariat. As regards the General Assembly, every member-



State of the United Nations is a member of this Assembly. As a rule, the Assembly meets once a year but there can be a special session under certain circumstances. The General Assembly has been given powers of discussion, review, supervision and criticism of the work of the United Nations as a whole. It can discuss and recommend measures for the maintenance of international peace and security. It directs and supervises international economic and social co-operation. It supervises the working of the trusteeship system. It controls the finance of the organisation. It admits, suspends and expels members. It adopts international conventions. It initiates studies and makes recommendations for the encouragement and progressive development of international law. It appoints a large number of members of the various organs of the United Nations. It can adopt amendments to the Charter of the United Nations Organisation.

The *Security Council* meets more often than the General Assembly. It consists of 11 members, 5 of which are permanent members and the other six are elected for two years by the General Assembly by a system of rotation. Regional considerations are taken into account at the time of electing the six members. Each member of the Security Council has one vote and the approval of the five permanent members is essential in every case. Thus, every permanent member of the Security Council has a power of veto. According to Kelson, "The inevitable effect of the voting procedure conferring the right of veto upon each of the permanent members must be that no decision of any importance can be taken against the will of one of the privileged States if this State is involved in the matter to which the decision refers." Again, "A permanent member of the Security Council may exercise its veto right not only in its own affairs but also in the interests of another State. Hence the members which have no such rights may be induced to secure for themselves the friendship and protection of one of the five Great Powers. Since the Security Council is not bound strictly to comply with existing law, it is more important for State, not a permanent member of the Security Council, to have a friend or a protector among those five Great Powers than carefully to fulfil its obligations under the Charter. If a State can rely upon one of the five Powers, no action can be taken against it, even in the case of open violation of the law. The veto right of the five permanent members of the Security Council may lead to a political system of more or less open clientage that is to say, to a dismemberment of the Organisation into five groups of States each of them taking advantage of the privilege of its patron. The principle of complete unanimity does not create such a tendency." To quote another writer, "This organisation will be one for keeping small boys in order by prefects who themselves are exempt from the rules they will administer."

As regards the functions of the Security Council, its primary duty is to maintain international peace and security. It has to submit annual or special reports to the General Assembly. It can submit plans to the General Assembly for the regulation of armaments among the member-States. While doing so, it can avail of the help of the Military Staff Committee. The Security Council



has to establish regional agencies and agreements. It has to supervise and control trust territories which are put under the charge of the various States. It has to use its good offices to resolve international disputes through peaceful methods. Whenever it considers necessary, it can call upon parties to a dispute to settle the same by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, action by regional agencies or under regional arrangements or other peaceful means.

The *Economic and Social Council* consists of 18 members who are elected for three years by the General Assembly. However, one-third of them retire every year. Its main function is to make or initiate studies and reports with respect to international, economic, social, cultural, educational, health and other related matters. It can prepare draft conventions on the same subjects and submit them to the General Assembly. It can co-ordinate the activities of the specialised agencies and also regulate the flow of reports from those agencies at regular intervals. It has to perform those functions which are given to it by the General Assembly and also those for which a request has been made by the member-States and the specialised agencies.

The *Trusteeship System* is an improvement on the Mandate system provided in the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Trusteeship Council is put in charge of this work. It has to consider reports submitted to it by the administering authority. It has to examine the petitions in consultation with the administering authority. It has to visit the territory under the trusteeship system to see as to how the administration is going on. The Council can send a questionnaire to the States concerned with the object of getting information regarding the political, economic, social and educational progress of the Mandated territories.

The *International Court of Justice* is an improvement on the permanent Court of International Justice. It consists of 15 members who are elected by the General Assembly. It exercises two kinds of jurisdiction. It decides those cases which are the subject of dispute between two or more States. It has also been given advisory jurisdiction.

As regards the *Secretariat*, the Secretary-General is its Chief Administrative Officer. He is assisted by a large number of subordinates who have to look to details concerning the various aspects of the activities of the United Nations Organisation. The headquarters of the Secretariat are in New York in the U.S.A. the member-States have to foot the bill for the maintenance of the Secretariat.

**Work of United Nations.** The United Nations has done a lot of useful work. (1) In the case of Indonesia, the matter was brought before the Security Council in January 1946, but the proposal for investigation was rejected. In July 1947, India and Australia brought to the notice of the Security Council the fact that there was going on fighting between the Republic of Indonesia and



the Netherlands. The Security Council directed the parties concerned to stop hostilities and the latter issued cease-fire orders. The Security Council also offered its good offices to settle the dispute and appointed a Good Offices Committee for that purpose. As a result of the negotiations conducted by that Committee, a truce agreement was made in January 1948, between the two governments. When in December 1948, the Netherlands broke the truce and restarted the war, the Security Council again asked the parties to stop fighting. In January 1949, the Security Council asked the parties to stop hostilities and also recommended the formation of a federal, independent and sovereign republic of Indonesia. The Good Offices Committee was converted into a Commission of United Nations charged with the work of implementing the resolution of the Security Council. On the request of the Government of the Netherlands, the Security Council asked the Commission to make arrangements for a Round Table Conference for the transfer of sovereignty to Indonesia. The Commission was instrumental in bringing the hostilities to a close and restoring peace. The Round Table Conference met at The Hague and arrived at definite conclusions with regard to the transfer of power and the Commission of the United Nations helped in the implementation of those terms. In December 1949, the sovereign State of Indonesia came into existence and the United Nations had undoubtedly played an important part.

(2) As regards the treatment of people of Indian origin in South Africa, India lodged a complaint with the General Assembly alleging that the Union of South Africa was discriminating against the people of Indian origin. The Union of South Africa contended that the matter in dispute was concerned with domestic jurisdiction and consequently the United Nations had no right to intervene. The General Assembly did not agree to the proposal to refer the dispute to the International Court of Justice but it emphasized the fact that the ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa was bound to result in the straining of relations between two members of the United Nations. Its opinion was that there should be no discriminatory treatment of the Indians and the Cape Town Agreement of 1927 between India and the Union of South Africa was a binding one. It requested both the countries to settle the matter amicably and make a report. The Union of South Africa was not in a mood to compromise and consequently the General Assembly directed on 14th May 1949, India, Pakistan and the Union of South Africa to hold a round table conference. Talks were held at Cape Town in February 1950 and agenda was agreed upon for the conference. However, no conference could be held on account of the fresh discriminatory legislation enacted by the Union of South Africa. The matter is still hanging fire and has created a lot of bitterness. Although the United Nations has appointed committees to report on the matter and many suggestions have been made to solve the deadlock, nothing has come out of it on account of the attitude of the Union of South Africa.

(3) Palestine had no peace since the ending of the First World War. There was a bitter conflict between the Arabs and the Jews.



Each was determined to eliminate the other. In 1947, the General Assembly established a United Nations Sub-Committee on Palestine. The Committee submitted two plans, a majority plan and a minority plan. The General Assembly accepted the majority plan and proposed the termination of the British mandate and withdrawal of British troops from Palestine by August 1948. The Arab States, the Jews State and international regime over Jerusalem were to come into existence two months after the withdrawal of the British troops. The General Assembly appointed a United Nations Palestine Commission to implement its recommendation. As the situation began to worsen in Palestine, it was felt that it was not possible to implement the partition plan. A suggestion was made to put Palestine under the trusteeship system but nothing came out of it. A United Nations mediator for Palestine was appointed. In April 1948, a Truce Commission was appointed by the United Nations. In May 1948, Great Britain withdrew and at once the new Jewish State of Israel came into being. The latter was attacked by all the Arab States but they were all beaten back one by one. The United Nations mediator and the Truce Commission managed to bring about a truce among the parties but the same ended on 9th July 1948. On the report of the mediator, the Security Council called upon the parties to stop fighting and threatened to adopt enforcement measures in case a cease-fire was not ordered. The warning had no effect and the mediator and the Chief of the French Observers were killed in Palestine. The Security Council held many meetings and gave cease-fire orders but they were all ignored. In spite of initial failures, the United Nations succeeded in bringing about an armistice agreement in 1949. The United Nations established the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine refugees. This agency has done a lot of useful work. The problem of Palestine remains unsolved. The relations between Israel and her Arab neighbours are still very much strained and there are frequent clashes. However, it cannot be denied that the United Nations has done a lot of useful work in Palestine.

(4) Korea was liberated in 1945 after the fall of Japan, South Korea was put under the control of the United States, Great Britain and China and North Korea was put under the control of Soviet Russia. The United Nations appointed many commissions for the establishment of a democratic administrative system in Korea but there was no material result. In 1949, the occupying forces withdrew from their respective areas. In June 1950, North Korea invaded South Korea. The matter was put before the Security Council and the latter directed North Korea to withdraw her troops from South Korea. As North Korea refused to withdraw the Security Council passed a resolution by which North Korea was branded as the aggressor and a recommendation was made to the United Nations "to furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area." The resolution was passed by the Security Council in the absence of Russia as the latter had boycotted the Security Council. The United Nations appointed



General MacArthur as its Commander and troops were sent by many members of the United Nations to fight under the United Nations banner in Korea. However, the main burden of fighting fell on the United States. After some time, the offensive of North Korea was halted and the United Nations' forces began to push into North Korea. Efforts were made to bring about a cease-fire in Korea but those proved unsuccessful on account of the opposition of Soviet Russia. When North Korea began to collapse, the Government of Red China sent her soldiers to help them. General MacArthur was replaced by General Ridgeway as the Supreme Commander of the U.N. Forces in Korea. Armistice talks were started at Kaesong and continued at Panmunjon. There were difficulties with regard to the fixation of the armistice line and the exchange of prisoners of war. In July 1953, a truce agreement was signed and hostilities ended. The Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission tackled the delicate problem of the repatriation of the unwilling prisoners of war. There was a lot of bitterness but ultimately the work was done. The United Nations deserves credit for whatever it did in Korea.

(5) The problem of Kashmir still remains unsolved but the United Nations must be given credit for whatever little it has done to handle the difficult situation. Its failure is partly due to the complicated nature of the problem itself. The question of Kashmir has become a matter of national honour and prestige for both India and Pakistan.

(6) In the case of Iran, differences arose between the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the Government of Iran on account of the passage of the Iranian Oil Nationalization Act of 1951. On behalf of the Company, the matter was taken by the Government of Great Britain. It was contended that the Act of 1951 contravened the provisions of the Convention of 1933 and the parties were bound to refer the matter to arbitration. Great Britain took the matter to the International Court of Justice and managed to secure an interim order. The Government of Iran maintained that the matter concerned domestic jurisdiction and consequently the International Court of Justice could not intervene. Ultimately, the Iranian contention prevailed. The matter was debated in the Security Council as well but nothing substantial came out of it.

(7) In 1946, the General Assembly passed a resolution by which it decided not to admit Franco's government in Spain into the United Nations. Unsuccessful attempts were made to pass a resolution that the existence of the regime of Franco was a threat to international peace and security. The General Assembly recommended to its members to recall their ambassadors and ministers from Spain. In spite of that, the American government entered into a treaty with Franco's government on account of international situation.

(8) A Special Committee of the United Nations on the Balkans tried to maintain the position of Greece vis-a-vis her hostile neighbours. It was also instrumental in bringing about conciliation



talks between the representatives of Albania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Greece.

(9) In Iran in 1946, the United Nations contributed to the withdrawal of foreign troops and thus to the preservation of Iran's independence.

(10) In Syria and Lebanon in 1946, the United Nations played a part in the withdrawal of the troops of the mandatory powers thus enabling those two nations to take their place as independent nations.

(11) In Greece in 1947, the United Nations moved to stop a foreign inspired civil war which threatened to end the independence of Greece.

(12) In 1951, Libya moved from United Nations trusteeship to the status of an independent kingdom, and has now taken her place in the United Nations.

(13) In the early 1950's the United Nations concerned itself with Morocco and Tunisia, both of which have since achieved full sovereignty through peaceful negotiations with France, and are today members of the United Nations.

(14) In 1956, the Hungarian nation made an attempt to regain its freedom and independence. In that attempt Hungary received, and is still receiving, the moral backing of the United Nations. Although the United Nations action did not lead to freedom and independence for the Hungarian nation, the General Assembly's resolutions expressed the sense of justice of people all over the world.

(15) In 1956, the United Nations acted to stop the fighting and restore peace in the area of Egypt—an outstanding example of United Nations' ability to harmonize the actions of nations for peace.

(16) In 1957, the new State of Ghana came into being and was admitted into the United Nations. Included in it is that part of Togoland which was formerly under British administration as a United Nations Trust Territory, and whose people voted in an unprecedented United Nations plebiscite to join with Ghana as a single sovereign nation.

(17) As a result of the labours of devoted international civil servants in their respective spheres of action, technical assistance is being given to develop the less industrialised countries, and loans are being given by the International Bank to build factories, develop communications and construct power plants. Health standards are being raised by the World Health Organization. The output of food is being increased by the Food and Agriculture Organization. Refugees are being cared for and children are being fed. Similar benefits are being enjoyed by ordinary people in many countries.

(18) The United Nations helps to solve the economic problems of the world by means of detailed studies and surveys of the various problems. Its Secretariat has prepared many economic reports viz.,



a report on the salient features of the world economic situation from 1945 to 1947, a survey of the economic prospects of Europe and an economic survey of Asia and the Far East in 1947. It has also issued many authoritative publications on fiscal, statistical and population matters. It has established an Economic Commission for Europe, an Economic Commission for South America and an Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. These Commissions have studied in detail the economic problems of their respective regions and made appropriate recommendations. A Bureau of Flood Control has also been set up.

(19) In the social field, the United Nations gives advice and aid of qualified consultants, provides fellowships for study abroad to experts, gives equipment and supplies for demonstration of prosthetic devices to be used for the rehabilitation of the disabled, provides technical aid through films and publications and arranges regional seminars. The I.L.O. has done a lot of useful work in the matter of the improvement of labour conditions in the world. The control of narcotic drugs and prostitution is being planned. The UNESCO is promoting world brotherhood and mutual understanding. The United Nations has already accepted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Efforts are also being made to promote the freedom of information. The International Court of Justice has given important decisions on many disputes. Its advisory opinions have also been found to be useful. The International Law Commission has done good work in the matter of the codification of International law.

**Estimate.** According to Kenneth Younger, "During the ten years of its existence, the United Nations has become pretty firmly established in the minds of the people throughout the world, firstly, as a symbol of the hope that major war in future can be avoided and secondly, as an important forum for international discussion and, to a lesser extent, of negotiation. The United Nations survived the various crises in the relationship of the Great Powers between 1947 and 1954 and it seems unlikely that anything short of the outbreak of a major war would now threaten its existence." According to President Carlos P. Romulo, "There are cogent reasons for keeping up the United Nations' strength. It is a last organization where the two sides in the world maintain daily diplomatic and political contact which itself is a force for peace. It provides the last chance to keep the transition from colonialism to self-rule one of the world's critical problems—peaceful and sane, instead of bloody. *Kill the United Nations and you blow up a dam that has already prevented four local wars from spreading—Korea, Indonesia, Kashmir, Palestine—and could do the same in future.* Kill the United Nations and you increase tremendously the chances that man will one day wipe himself off the face of the earth." Again, "In vast areas of the world plagued by hunger and misery, the United Nations is an agency that promises the unprivileged millions a better life. It provides help in obtaining more food; in wiping out T.B., malaria and trachoma; in digging a well, building a canal, putting a cement factory. But there is disturbing evidence that this vital U.N.



programme is also losing momentum. If this trend continues and if the people in underdeveloped areas become disillusioned with the United Nations, millions not now on the side of communism will turn to communism for bread. These are gloomy facts. But the United Nations can be kept from wasting away from political malnutrition. The power of the United Nations to halt aggression must be strengthened. It is high time member nations followed the 1950 recommendations and earmarked special units ready for duty with the United Nations."

According to Schuman, "The only viable alternative to this dismal prospect is the voluntary establishment of a World Federal Republic brought into being through agreement among governments and people regarding the minimum essentials of central power to serve the common defence and the general welfare of all men and women everywhere. Progress towards this goal presupposes that those possessed of decisive influence in the major sovereign centres can and will transcend somehow the violent ways of ancient days and arrive at a re-definition of values and purposes making possible the unity of mankind. Failure in the enterprise seems likely to mean the doom of man or at least the descent of the great society into the fires of chaos and the gloom of night."

According to Vandenbosch and Hogan, "The United Nations presents a method, an institution, and an opportunity. Its influence and prestige have increased as it has dealt with succeeding crises in the post-war world. The problem of strengthening the United Nations in the future is essentially one of contributing to the achievement and the maintenance of international peace and security. This is no simple and easy task, nor is it one which can be done in sheltered isolation from the social, economic and political problems of the modern world. The challenge is as broad, and as important, as the building of a stable and peaceful world order. The success of the United Nations is linked with the future of modern civilization." (*The United Nations*, p. 330)

**Towards Peace Settlement.** It is not possible to appreciate the post-war peace treaties without a reference to the conferences, declarations and decisions arrived at by the statesmen of the United Nations during and after World War II. It was in August 1941 that Roosevelt and Churchill met and issued what is known as the Atlantic Charter. They pledged themselves to seek no aggrandisement from the war, to respect the rights of all peoples to self-determination, to promote the enjoyment of all by free access to markets and raw materials of the world, to "persist in the destruction of Nazi tyranny and seek universal disarmament and peace. On 1st January 1942 was issued the United Nations declaration by which the U.S.A., U.K., Russia and China pledged themselves to employ all their resources for the destruction of the Axis Powers and their satellites. This declaration was signed by 47 States by April 1945.

In January 1943, Roosevelt, Churchill and their military staffs met at Casablanca (in North Africa) and decided to attack Sicily



and then Italy. They also decided to demand unconditional surrender from the Axis Powers.

In October 1943 was held a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the United States, Great Britain and Soviet Russia. On 1st November 1943, they issued a joint declaration pledging unremitting prosecution of the war until the enemy made an unconditional surrender. Regarding Italy, it was stated that Allied policy towards Italy must be based upon the fundamental principle that Fascism and all its evil influences shall be utterly destroyed and the Italian people shall be given every opportunity to establish governmental and other institutions based upon democratic principles. It was agreed that the Italian Government should be made more democratic by the introduction of representatives of those sections of the Italian people who had opposed Fascism. Freedom of speech, of religious worship, of political belief, of the press and of public meeting shall be restored in full measure to the Italian people. All institutions and organisations created by the Fascist regime shall be suppressed. All Fascist elements shall be removed from the administration and institutions and organisations of a public character. All political prisoners of the Fascist regime shall be released and accorded full amnesty. Democratic organs of local Government shall be created. Fascist chiefs and other persons known or suspected to be war criminals shall be arrested and handed over to justice.

Regarding Austria, it was stated in the Moscow declaration that Austria shall be liberated from the German domination. The annexation of Austria by Germany in March 1938 was declared null and void. The United Nations would like to see a free and independent Austria re-established. However, Austria was reminded that she had a responsibility which she could not evade for participation in the war on the side of Hitlerite Germany and in the final settlement account would be taken of her contribution to her liberation.

It was also declared that there was ample evidence of atrocities, massacres and cold-blooded mass executions which were being perpetrated by the forces of Hitler in the countries they had overrun and from which they were being turned out. A strong warning was given that at the time of the granting of any armistice, those German officers and men and members of the Nazi party who had been responsible for or had taken a consenting part in the above atrocities, massacres and executions, would be sent back to the countries in which their abominable deeds were done in order that they may be judged and punished according to the laws of those liberated countries. Lists would be compiled in all possible detail from all those countries having regard specially to the invaded parts of the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Greece, Norway, Denmark, Netherlands, Belgium, France and Italy, etc. The major war criminals whose offences had no particular geographical localisation were to be punished by the joint decision of the Governments of the Allies.



In November 1943, Roosevelt, Churchill and Chiang-Kai-Shek met at Cairo to plan the defeat of Japan. They demanded the unconditional surrender of Japan. They renounced any imperialistic motives. They declared that Japan would be stripped of all territories seized in the two World Wars and all former Chinese territory in Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores. Independence was also promised to Korea. To quote, "The Three Great Allies are fighting this war to restrain and punish the aggression of Japan. They covet no gain for themselves and have no thought of territorial expansion. It is their purpose that Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she had seized or occupied since the beginning of the First World War in 1914 and that all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores shall be restored to the Republic of China, Japan will also be expelled from all other territories which she had taken by violence and greed. The aforesaid three Great Powers, mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent."

The *Tehran Conference* was attended by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin. It was there that the final plans for victory over Germany were prepared by them along with their Chiefs of Military Staff. The communique was issued on 1st December 1943. It was declared that it was the desire of the Big Three to maintain the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iran. The Secret Protocol which was not released till March 1947, provided for an offensive to be launched by the Russians to coincide with the approaching landings in Norway. Turkey was to be urged to enter the war and the Yugoslav partisans were to be supported to the greatest possible extent.

In February 1945, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin met at *Yalta* (in Crimea). It was decided that a United Nations conference on the proposed world organisation should be summoned for 25th April 1945 and should be held in the United States of America. Procedure was also laid down for the issuing of invitations by the American Government. The procedure for voting at the conference was also laid down. A declaration was made on liberated Europe. The last vestiges of Nazism and Fascism were to be destroyed. The people were to be given the right to choose their own form of Government. They were to be restored to their sovereign rights and self-government. Law and order was to be restored. Relief was to be given to people in distress. Facilities were to be given for the holding of free elections. It was declared that the United States, U.K. and Soviet Russia shall possess supreme authority with respect to Germany. They were to take such steps as they consider necessary for peace and security in the country. A separate zone was to be created in Germany for France. This zone was to be created out of British and American zones. The French Provisional Government was to be invited to become a member of the Allied Control Council for Germany. It was decided that Germany must pay in kind for the losses caused by her to the Allied nations in the course of war. Reparations were to be received in



the first instance by those countries which had borne the main burden of the war, had suffered the heaviest losses and had organised victory over the enemy. Reparation in kind was to be got from Germany in three ways. Equipment, machine tools, ships, rolling stock, German investment abroad, shares of industrial, transport and other enterprises in Germany etc. were to be removed from Germany in two years with a view to destroy the war potential of Germany. German labour was to be used. Annual deliveries of goods were to be made from current production. An Allied Reparation Commission was set up in Moscow to ascertain the amount of money to be got from Germany as reparation. It was agreed that a big share of the reparations should be given to Russia.

As regards Poland, it was decided that the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity shall hold free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot. All democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and put up their candidates. It was decided that the eastern frontier of Poland should follow the Curzon line with digressions from it in some regions in favour of Poland. It was recognised that Poland must receive substantial accessions of territory in the North and West. The final delimitation of the western frontier of Poland should await the peace conference.

Regarding Japan, it was agreed that in 2 or 3 months after Germany had surrendered and the war in Europe had ended, the Soviet Union shall enter into the war against Japan on the side of the Allies. The *status quo* in Outer Mongolia was to be maintained. The northern part of Sakhalin and the islands adjacent to it were to be returned to the Soviet Union. The Port of Darien was to be internationalized. The Soviet Union was to be given the lease of Port Arthur as a naval base. The Chinese Eastern Rail road and the South Manchurian Rail-road were to be jointly operated by a joint Soviet-Chinese company. China was to retain full sovereignty in Manchuria. The Kurile Islands were to be handed over to the Soviet Union. The American Government undertook to take the approval of the Chinese Government regarding the above decisions.

It is to be noted that neither the American nor the British representatives at Yalta were comfortable about the decisions taken there. According to Stettinius, U.S. Secretary of State, "By February 1945, Poland and all Eastern Europe except for most of Czechoslovakia was in the hands of the Red Army. As a result of this situation it was not a question of what Great Britain and the United States would permit Russia to do in Poland, but of what the two countries could persuade the Soviet Union to accept." According to Churchill, "It is easy, after the Germans are beaten, to condemn those who did their best to hearten the Russian military effort and to keep in harmonious contact with our great ally who had suffered so frightfully. What would have happened if we had quarrelled with Russia while the Germans still had two or three hundred divisions on the fighting front? Our hopeful assumptions were soon to be falsified. Still they were the only possible ones at the time".



After the fall of Germany, the *Berlin or Potsdam Conference* was held from 17th July to 2nd August 1945. It was attended by Stalin, President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee. It was decided to set up a Council of Foreign Ministers to do the preparatory work for the Peace Settlement. The Council was to meet normally in London where its headquarters were fixed. Meetings could be held at their capitals also. The Council was to draw up treaties of peace with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland. The Conference also laid down certain principles which were to govern the treatment of Germany in the initial control period. Supreme authority in Germany was to be exercised by the Commanders-in-Chief of the armed forces of the United States, U.K., Soviet Union and France, each in his zone of occupation and also jointly in matters affecting Germany as a whole in their capacity as members of the Control Council. Complete disarmament and demilitarization of Germany was to be secured. All German industry which could be used for military production was to be eliminated or controlled. All German land, naval and air forces and all the military and semi-military organizations were to be completely and finally abolished. All arms, ammunition and implements of war and facilities for their production were to be held at the disposal of the Allies or destroyed. The German people were to be convinced that they had suffered a total military defeat and they could not escape responsibility for their acts. The National Socialist Party was to be destroyed. Germany was to be prepared for a democratic form of government, to live in peace. All Nazi laws were to be abolished. War criminals were to be arrested and brought to judgment. German education was to be so controlled as to completely eliminate Nazi and militarist doctrine and to make possible the successful development of democratic ideas. The judicial system was to be overhauled. The German administrative machinery was to be decentralized. Local self-government was to be restored throughout Germany on democratic principles. All democratic political parties were to be allowed and encouraged throughout Germany. Representative and elective principles were to be introduced into regional, provincial and State administration. For the time being, no central German Government was to be established. However, certain essential central German administrative departments were to be established, particularly in the fields of finance, transport, communications, foreign trade and industry. These Departments were to work under the supervision and control of the Control Council.

"During the period of occupation, Germany shall be treated as a single economic unit. To this end, common policies shall be established in relation to (a) mining and industrial production and allocation; (b) agriculture, forestry and fishing; (c) wages, prices and rationing; (d) import and export programme for Germany as a whole; (e) currency and banking, central taxation and customs; (f) reparation and removal of industrial war potential; (g) transportation and communication." It was emphasized that the Control Council should determine "the equitable distribution of essential commodities between the several zones, so as to produce a balanced economy throughout Germany and to reduce the needs for imports."



Payments of reparations should leave enough resources to enable the German people to subsist without external assistance. The reparation claims of the Soviet Union were to be met by removal from the Soviet zone and those of the Western Powers from their zones. It was found that the capital equipment most needed by the Russians lay in the Ruhr which was in the British Zone. Consequently, Russia was allowed to "receive additionally from the Western Zones : (a) 15 per cent of such usable and complete capital equipment.. as is necessary for the German peace economy and should be removed for the Western zones of Germany, in exchange for an equivalent value of food, coal, potash, zinc, timber, clay products, petroleum products of such other commodities as may be agreed upon ; b) 10 per cent of such industrial capital equipment... without payment or exchange of any kind in return."

The total strength of the German surface navy was to be equally divided among the Soviet Union, U.K. and U.S.A. The larger part of the German submarine fleet was to be sunk. Not more than 30 submarines were to be preserved and divided equally for experimental and technical purposes. It was declared that the war criminals were to be tried.

There was a lot of controversy over the question of Poland. However, it was ultimately decided that "the three powers note decisions of the Crimea (Yalta) conference have agreed to the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot, in which all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and to press shall enjoy full freedom to report to the world upon developed that the final delimitation of the western frontier of Poland should be done after the Peace Settlement.

**Peace Treaties.** In accordance with the Potsdam agreement, the first meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers was held in London in September and October 1945. The meeting ended in a stalemate. An interim meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Big Three Powers was held in December 1945 in Moscow. The procedure upon. The second meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers was held in Paris in April and May 1946 and June and July 1946. The old differences arose among the powers and very little progress was made. Mr. Byrnes, American Secretary of State, was forced to observe that "*The Council of Foreign Ministers was formed to facilitate and not to obstruct the making of peace.*" Ultimately, after about 15 months of preparatory work, the peace treaties with Italy, Bulgaria, Hungary, Finland and Rumania were given a final shape by the 21 participating countries. The Conference adopted 107 recommendations. The next meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers was held in New York in November and December 1946. The final shape was given to the five treaties and these were signed in Paris on 10th



February 1947 by the representatives of the five enemy States and the Allied States.

The Treaty with Italy contains 90 Articles and 17 annexes. Italy was to give to France small districts in the regions of Little St. Bernard, Mont Thabor, Chaberton, Mont Cenis, Tenda and Briga. She was to give to Yugoslavia, Zara, Pelagosa, Lagosta and other islands along the Dalmatian coast. The Istrian Peninsula and most of the remainder of the province of Venezia Giulia with Trieste were to become a "free territory" to be governed under Istrian approved by the Security Council. Italy was to give to Greece Rhodes and other Dodecanese islands. Italy gave up her sovereignty over African colonies. She also recognised the independence of Albania and Ethiopia.

Italy was to submit to the demilitarisation of frontiers with France and Yugoslavia. She was not to have atomic weapons, guided missiles, guns with range over 30 kilometres. She was not to have mines, torpedoes, aircraft carriers, submarines, etc. She was not to have more than 200 heavy medium tanks. Her navy was reduced to 2 battle-ships, 25,000 officers and men. Her army was reduced to 250,000. The air force was reduced to 200 fighters and reconnaissance and 150 transport aircraft. Italy was to pay to the Soviet Union 100 million dollars in 7 years. She was to pay to Albania in 7 years 5 million dollars.

There were 38 Articles and 6 annexes in the Treaty with Bulgaria. Her frontiers of 1st January 1945 were restored. Her army was limited to 55,000, anti-aircraft artillery to 1,800 men, navy to 3,500 men, air force to 5,200 men and 90 air planes. Bulgaria was to pay 45 million dollars to Greece and 25 million dollars to Yugoslavia in kind in 8 years.

The Treaty with Hungary had 42 Articles and 6 annexes. Her frontiers of 1st January 1938 with Austria and Yugoslavia were restored. She had to give to Yugoslavia three villages west of the Danube. The Vienna award of November 1938 was cancelled. The result was that Transylvania went to Rumania. The army of Hungary was limited to 65,000, air force to 5,000 and air planes to 90. Hungary was to pay 200 million dollars to the Soviet Union and 50 million dollars each to Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

The Treaty with Rumania had 40 Articles and 6 annexes. Her frontiers of 1st January 1941 were restored. Her army was limited to 120,000, anti-aircraft artillery to 5,000, navy to 5,000 men and 1,500 tons. Her air force was reduced to 8,000 men and 150 air planes. She was to pay 300 million dollars to the Soviet Union in kind in 8 years.

The Peace Treaty with Finland had 6 Articles and 6 annexes. Her frontiers of 1st January 1941 were restored. However, the province of Petsamo was to be given to the Soviet Union. The Soviet-Finnish Peace Treaty of March 1940 was restored. The Soviet Union gave up lease-hold at Hango and acquired 50 years lease of Porkkala-Udd area for a naval lease. Finnish army was



limited to 34,400, navy to 4,800 men and 10,000 tons and air force to 3,000 men and 60 air planes. She was to pay 300 million dollars to the Soviet Union in kind over 8 years from September 1944 onwards.

**Austria.** When the World War ended in 1945, the Austrians were optimistic because in the Moscow declaration, the Big Three had designed them as victims of Nazi aggression. It was presumed that they would be made independent. An Allied Commission set up the control machinery and outlined the zones for the occupying powers. The Allied Control Council which was composed of the 4 military commands of the occupying forces, was the most important body. It was expected to effect uniformity of administration in 4 zones and to wield the final authority in matters concerning all Austria. The frequent disagreements at its meetings resulted in "four air-tight occupation zones" in each of which military commander wielded almost autocratic power. Theoretically, the Austrian Government ruled the country but actually the nation underwent "a strangling fourway liberation." There evolved "*a crazy quilt pattern of occupation policy*" in which the free passage of persons and things from one zone to another was impeded, political unity retarded the general economic recovery of the country sacrificed. The cost of the occupation was borne by Austria and that was a big strain on her resources.

Many attempts were made to come to an agreement with regard to a treaty with Austria but all those failed on account of differences between the Soviet Union on the one hand and the Anglo-American bloc on the other. Russian interpretation of the Potsdam agreement with regard to the reparations was not accepted by the other powers. Yugoslavia also demanded reparations from Austria. There was disagreement, with regard to the boundary line between Austria and Yugoslavia. Ultimately Foreign Ministers at their sixth meeting in 1949 were able to agree with regard to the terms of treaty with Austria. It was agreed that Austria's frontiers shall be those of 1st January 1938. Austria shall guarantee to protect the rights of the Slovene and Croatian minorities in Austria. Reparations shall not be exacted from Austria. However, Yugoslavia was to be given the right to seize, retain or liquidate Austrian property rights and interests within the territory of Yugoslavia. The Soviet Union was to get from Austria 150 million dollars in freely convertible currency in 6 years. In spite of this, the treaty was not signed on account of the cold war between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-American bloc.

In April 1955, an Austrian delegation visited Moscow at the invitation of the Soviet Government. Discussions were held between the representatives of the two Governments at the conclusion of which a joint communique was issued indicating their agreement on the terms of a treaty re-establishing an independent Austria. The Austrian delegation gave an assurance of Austrian neutrality and non-alignment to any military bloc and her intention not to allow the establishment of military bases on Austrian territory. The



Soviet Union agreed to the withdrawal of the occupation forces. It was agreed to accept deliveries entirely in Austrian goods regarding the reparations to be received by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union agreed to transfer to Austria the property of the Danube Shipping from compensation. She showed her readiness to give to Austria her rights to the oilfields and refineries in exchange for deliveries of crude oil. The Soviet Union agreed to the release of Austrian war prisoners detained in the Soviet Union.

On 19th April 1955, the Soviet Foreign Minister invited the Foreign Ministers of the U.S.A., U.K. and France to a conference in Vienna for the examination of the question of conclusion of a treaty with Austria. The invitations were accepted and the meeting was duly held. On 5th May 1955, the peace treaty with Austria was signed. The treaty guaranteed Austria's economic independence. The Big Four declared their readiness to respect Austrian neutrality.

**Germany.** After the fall of Germany in 1945, the country was occupied by the Big Four. It was divided into four zones, each of which was administrated separately by one of the occupying Powers. Berlin came under joint occupation and each occupying Power was assigned a sector of the city. An Inter-Allied Body was charged with the function of governing the city as a whole. With a view to bring about a coordination of their policies as a whole, an Allied Control Authority was set up for the whole of Germany. Its chief organ was the Control Council which assisted all the four Allied Commanders-in-Chief. There were differences from the very beginning among the members of the Control Council and consequently it did not succeed in achieving anything. The Nazi leaders and officials were tried and were given various punishments. Some were hanged and others were imprisoned.

In 1947, Great Britain and the U.S.A. established economic unity of their two zones. Their invitation to join was accepted by France but rejected by the Soviet Union. The industrial and agricultural production increased in Western Germany. In June 1948, a new currency was put into circulation in Western Germany. That also added to prosperity. The Russians also carried out certain agrarian reforms in their regions.

In 1948, delegates were chosen from American, British and French zones and from the non-Russian sectors of Berlin to constitute the Constituent Assembly and the Bonn Constitution of 1949 was adopted. It was on the same lines as the Weimar Constitution of 1949. The Russians also framed a constitution for their own zone.

Germany was caught in the struggle between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-American bloc. Each side wanted Germany as a bulwark against the other. The West wanted Germany as a shield against communism. The Soviet Union wanted to extend the Iron Curtain to the Atlantic for protection against capitalist-democratic influences. Each side wanted Germany as an ally in the event of a war against the other. Anglo-American bloc poured billions of



dollars into their zones for the betterment of the people. Germany became the football of power politics.

With a view to force the Western Powers to evacuate Berlin, the Russians in June 1948 cut off communications by land and water between the Western zones of Germany and Berlin. The people were threatened with starvation. Instead of surrendering to Russian threat, Great Britain and the U.S.A. took up the challenge and there started the famous Berlin Airlift. All the necessities of the people in the Western Zone of Berlin were supplied by air. This continued for 10 months. Ultimately, the Russians were forced to lift the blockade. It is true that the air-lift was expensive but its successful performance added to the prestige of the Western Powers and the Soviet Union had to eat the humble pie.

In May 1952, the Western States entered into an agreement with Western Germany by which the Federal Republic of Germany got virtual autonomy in foreign and domestic affairs. West Germany was also put under the protection of the NATO. In 1955, she became a member of the NATO. In spite of the opposition of France the Federal Republic of Germany has been armed with a view to meet the menace from the Soviet Union.

The main problem before Germany is one of unification. However, it seems difficult to achieve on account of the determination of the Soviet Union to retain its control over Eastern Germany in one form or the other. Germany lies in the heart of Europe and consequently the German problem lies at the heart of the problem of Europe and the world. Her future depends upon the state of relations between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers. The German question has come to the front on many occasions and even threatened to disturb the peace of the world.

**Japanese Peace Treaty of 1951.** At the San Francisco Conference held from 4th September to 8th September 1951, a Peace Treaty with Japan was signed. This conference was attended by Soviet Russia and not by India. According to that treaty, the state of war with Japan was to cease on the date the treaty came into force.

Chapter II of the treaty contains territorial provisions. Japan recognised the independence of Korea and gave up all claims to Korean territory including the Islands of Quelpart, Port Hamilton and Dagelet. Japan renounced all rights to Formosa and the Pescadores, the Kurile Islands, that part of Sakhalin which belonged to Japan since 1905, the Pacific territories governed by Japan under the mandate of the League of Nations, the Antarctic area and the Spratly and Paracel Islands.

Chapter III deals with security. Japan conformed to the ideals of non-aggression and peaceful settlement of disputes according to the Charter of the United Nations. The Allied Powers undertook to regulate their relations with Japan according to the principles laid down in Article 2 of the Chapter. That Article includes the principle that all members have sovereign equality and international disputes



shall be settled by peaceful means. The right of Japan to individual or collective self-defence and to enter into voluntary collective security arrangements was specifically recognised. All Allied occupation forces were to be withdrawn from Japan within 90 days of coming into force of the treaty. However, that was not to prevent the stationing or retention of foreign armed forces on Japanese territory by bilateral or multilateral agreements between Japan and one or more Allied Powers.

Chapter IV defines the procedure for the continuity of post-war international agreements. The Allied Powers were to be responsible for notifying to Japan in the case of bilateral agreements which they wanted to revise or keep in force. Where no notice was given, treaties were to be regarded as abrogated. Japan recognised all treaties concluded by the Allies for ending the World War II. She gave up all special rights and interests in China.

Japan agreed to enter into stable and friendly trading and maritime relations with all signatories of the treaty. For four years after the coming into force of the treaty, she was to give to all the signatory powers the most favoured nation treatment. She was not to do so with respect to that country which do not give a reciprocal treatment to her.

The Allied Powers recognised the fact that the payment of reparations would cripple the economy of Japan. However, it was agreed in principle that Japan was to repair damage and suffering caused by her during the last war. If any Allied Power desired, Japan was bound to negotiate with that power to make available Japanese skill and services for the restoration of damage done by her. The Allied Powers undertook to supply raw materials for the reparation work. The Allied Powers were given the right to retain Japanese property in the territories for which they were not responsible. Japanese diplomatic and consular properties were normally to be returned to her. Japan undertook to indemnify members of the Allied armed forces who had suffered undue hardships as prisoners of war of Japan by transferring her assets and those of her nationals in the countries which were neutral during the last war or were at war with any of the Allied Powers. The International Red Cross was to use those assets for the benefit of the former prisoners of war and their families.

Japan recognised her pre-war debts. She was required to negotiate with her creditors regarding the payment of those debts. Subject to reciprocal action, Japan renounced all war claims including debts against Germany and German nationals.

Chapter VI of the Treaty relates to the settlement of disputes arising from the Japanese peace Treaty. If the disputes were not settled by other means those had to be referred for decision, to the International Court of Justice and Japan bound herself to accept the jurisdiction of that court.

The Treaty was to come into force after ratification by a majority of the principal signatory Powers including Japan and the U.S.A. as the principal occupying Power. The other principal Powers



concerned were Australia, Burma, Canada, Ceylon, France, India, Indonesia, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Britain and Soviet Russia. If the required majority did not ratify the treaty within 9 months of its ratification by Japan, that any State might make the treaty effective between herself and Japan simply by notifying to the Japanese and American Governments within three years of the Japanese ratification.

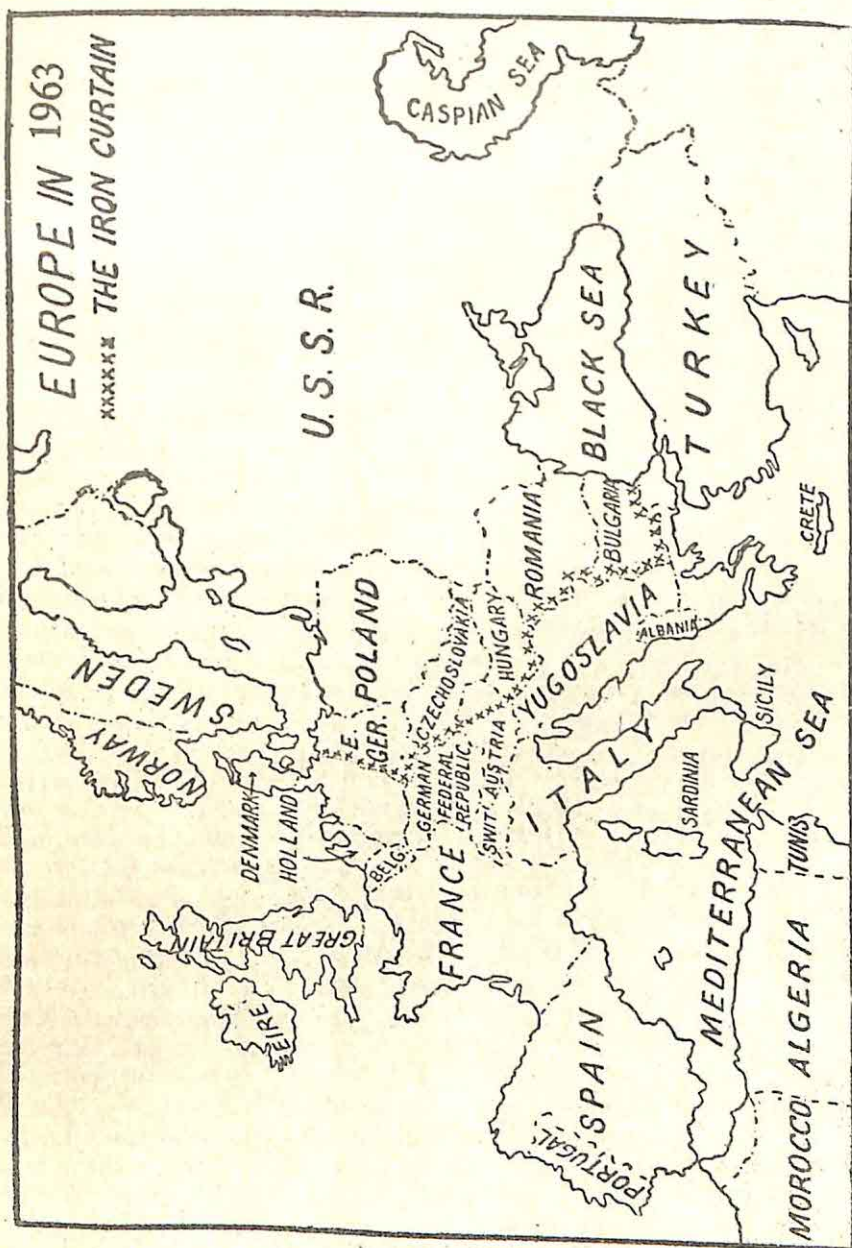
Japan was virtually left with the responsibility of the choice whether to conclude a treaty with the Red Government of China or with the K.M.T. China. Soviet Russia did not sign the Peace Treaty at San Francisco and India entered into a separate Peace Treaty with Japan in 1952.

**Treaty between Japan and U.S.A.** As permitted by the Japanese Peace Treaty, the Governments of Japan and the United States entered into a defence pact which was signed at San Francisco as soon as the Peace Treaty itself received the signatures of all the nations at the Conference except the States of the Soviet bloc. Article I of the treaty provides that Japan grants and the U.S.A. accepts the right to dispose United States land, air and sea forces in and about Japan. Such forces may be utilised to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East, and to the security of Japan against armed attack from without, including assistance given at the express request of the Japanese Government to put down large scale internal riots and disturbances in Japan, caused through instigation or intervention by an outside power or powers. Article 2 provides that Japan will not grant, without the prior consent of the American Government, any bases or any right, powers or authority whatsoever, in or relating to bases or the right of garrison or of manoeuvre or transit of ground, air or naval forces to any third power. Article 3 provides that conditions which shall govern the disposition of armed forces of the United States in and about Japan shall be determined by administrative agreements between the two Governments. Article 4 provides that this treaty shall expire whenever in the opinion of the Governments of the United States and Japan there shall have come into force such United Nations agreements or such alternative individual or collective security dispositions as will satisfactorily provide for the maintenance by the United Nations or otherwise of international peace and security in the Japanese area. A new treaty was made between Japan and the United States in 1960 in spite of opposition.

**Cold War.** It is true that Great Britain and United States co-operated with the Soviet Union during the World War II for the overthrow of Hitler, but as soon as the war was over the former Allies began to drift in different directions. There steadily developed a state of tension among them which came to be known by the name of the Cold War. The Anglo-American bloc was not prepared to allow the Soviet Union to extend her sphere of influence beyond what she had already achieved up to the beginning of 1947. The



Americans started with the Truman Doctrine and followed it up with the Marshall Plan. NATO, SEATO, Baghdad Pact, etc.



The Truman Doctrine came to be enunciated under the following circumstances. After the cessation of hostilities in 1945, the communists selected Italy, France, Greece and Turkey as their main targets. They strengthened their position in France and Italy by taking advantage of the chaotic conditions prevailing in these countries after the war. They resorted to acts of sabotage and made the working of administration practically impossible. However, the situation in Greece and Turkey was more critical. The



Greeks were in danger of even losing their independence. The danger came from 13,000 communist-led guerillas who received equipment, arms and refuge from Greece's northern communist neighbours viz., Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania. Most of the guerillas were Greeks but they could not keep a civil war going on for two years without active and substantial outside support. In December 1946, the Greek Government complained to the Security Council against the violation of her territorial integrity by her neighbours. A Commission was sent by the Security Council to make a report. In January 1947, the United States sent an Economic Mission to Greece to find out as to what could be done for that country to save her from collapse. It was at that time that the British Government decided to withdraw her troops from Greece. The United Nations Relief Agency was also due to wind up its business on 31st March 1947.

The situation in Turkey was also alarming. In 1945, the Soviet Union refused to renew the old treaty of friendship with Turkey. It was also demanded that Turkey should share with the Soviet Union the control and defence of the Dardanelles. An old claim to the two large provinces of Eastern Turkey was also revived by the Soviet Union. A propaganda campaign was started by the Soviet Union against the Turkish Government which was described as Fascist and reactionary. The people of Turkey were urged to revolt against their Government. It was under these circumstances that the Turkish Government asked the United States to help her against the Soviet menace.

In March 1947, President Truman addressed a joint session of the American Congress and announced what came to be known as Truman Doctrine. This is what Truman said on that occasion: "The very existence of the Greek State is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists, who defy the Government's authority...Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy... Turkey has sought financial assistance from Great Britain and the U.S. for the purpose of effecting that modernization necessary for the maintenance of its national integrity. That integrity is essential for the preservation of order in the Middle East. We shall not realize our objectives unless we are willing to help free people to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the U.S. The U.S. has made frequent protests against correction and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta Agreement, in Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria...I believe that it must be the policy of the U.S. to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures...We must take immediate and resolute action...The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their



freedom. If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own nation."

The Truman Doctrine was a proposal to send military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey. It was American policy to support "free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." It was a "frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United Nations."

In May 1947, the American Congress authorised aid to Greece and Turkey. By 1950, it was found that the American policy had completely changed the state of affairs in Greece and Turkey. The guerillas were completely eliminated from the Greek scene. Peace was restored in the country. Railways began to operate normally. Traffic on roads became safe. Bridges were restored. Thousands of new houses were built. Agricultural production surpassed the pre-war level. More land was under cultivation than ever before. The same was the case with Turkey. Peace was restored in that country. French elections were held. The one party Government in Turkey disappeared after 27 years.

**Marshall Plan.** In a speech at Harvard on 5th June 1947, George Marshall, Secretary of State of the United States observed thus: "The truth of the matter is that Europe's requirements for next three or four years of foreign food and other essential products—principally from America—are so much greater than her present ability to pay that she must have substantial additional help or face economic, social and physical deterioration of a very grave character. It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace." Again "Initiative, I think, must come from Europe. The role of this country should consist of friendly aid in the drafting of a European programme and of later support of such a programme as far as it may be practicable for us to do so. The programme should be a joint one, agreed to by a number of, if not, all European nations."

The initiative was in fact taken by the British and French Governments who proposed to the Soviet Union a meeting between their foreign ministers and Bevin, Bidault and Molotov met in Paris on 27th June 1947. The Soviet Union refused to commit herself. When the British and French Governments invited 22 other European countries to the conference on the Marshall offer in July 1947, the Soviet Union forbade the States under her influence to attend. Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania had to stay away. Likewise, Finland and Czechoslovakia did not attend the conference in spite of their desire to do so.

In spite of this attitude of the Soviet Union and her satellites, the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) in the United States and Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC)



with headquarters in Paris were established. Thus, the free countries of Europe together with the United States embarked upon a joint enterprise for European economic recovery. The Soviet Union created the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) which supplemented the work of the revived Comintern. The Cominform came into existence at a meeting in Warsaw in 1947 presided over by Commissar Zhdanov of the Russian Politburo. The headquarters of the new organisation were established initially at Belgrade with the main object of defeating the European recovery programme.

In spite of opposition, the Marshall Plan achieved a great measure of success. In the four years of its existence (1947-1951), it received over 11 billion dollars from the United States and helped to protect Europe from economic collapse and communist domination. According to Prof. Edward Mead Earle, "It (Marshall Plan) was a spectacular example of a fundamental Anglo-American principle of statecraft—enlightened self-interest. The Government and the people of the United States believed with conviction and sincerity that Europe could survive as free and independent only if recovery were prompt and thorough-going. And since they believed that their own freedom was contingent upon the survival of free institutions and political independence in Europe, they were willing to invest, to stake more than \$10 billion in European recovery. Seen in retrospect, this was the most profitable investment, as well as the largest, which the people of the United States ever have made in their own security and national interest."

**Rio Pact, 1947.** The Rio Pact or the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance was signed at Rio de Janeiro in 1947 at the Inter-American conference for the maintenance of continental peace and security. The Preamble states that the treaty has been concluded in order to assure peace through adequate means to provide for reciprocal assistance to meet armed attacks against any American State and to deal with threats of aggression against any of them. The treaty has 26 clauses.

The parties to the treaty condemned war and undertook in their international relations not to resort to the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations (Article 1). They also undertook to submit every controversy which may arise between them to methods of peaceful settlement and to settle any such controversy by means of the procedures in force in the Inter-American system before referring the matter to the United Nations (Article 2). It was agreed that an armed attack by any State against an American State was to be considered as an attack against all the American States and consequently every party to the treaty undertook to assist in meeting the attack in the exercise of the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence recognised by the Charter. Measures of self-defence were to be taken until the Security Council took measures necessary to maintain international peace and security (Article 3).

If the integrity of the territory or sovereignty or political independence of any American State was affected by an aggression



which was not an armed attack or by an extra continental or intra-continental conflict or by any other fact or situation that might endanger the peace of America, the Organ of Consultation was to meet immediately in order to agree on the measure to be taken in case of aggression to assist the victim of aggression or the measures to be taken for common defence and maintenance of peace and security of the continent (Article 6).

In the case of a conflict between two or more American States, the contracting parties were to call upon the contending States to suspend hostilities and take all necessary measures to re-establish or maintain Inter-American peace and security and the solution of the conflict by peaceful means (Article 7).

The measures on which the Organ of Consultation may agree were to consist of one or more of the following: recall of chiefs of diplomatic missions, breaking of diplomatic relations, partial or complete interruption of economic relations or of rail sea or postal, telegraphic, telephonic and radio-telephonic or radio telegraphic communications and use of armed force (Article 8).

The following were to be considered as acts of aggression: unprovoked armed attack by a States, invasion through the trespassing of boundaries already demarcated or invasion affecting a region which was under effective jurisdiction of any State (Article 9).

The treaty was to remain in force indefinitely but could be denounced by any contracting party by a notification in writing to the Pan American Union (Article 25).

According to Dulles, the Rio Pact was a significant development in American foreign policy. It was based on the *principle of one for all and all for one*. The Pact set a precedent from which the United States went on to develop even more significant North Atlantic Pact.

**North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO).** The North Atlantic Treaty was signed in Washington on 4th April 1949 by the United States, Canada, Belgium, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and the United Kingdom. Greece and Turkey became members in February 1952. The Federal Republic of Germany joined the NATO in May 1955. At present, the NATO consists of 15 members.

As regards the circumstances leading to the establishment of the NATO, it was due to the war-like policy followed by the Soviet Union in the post-war period. She put pressure on Iran for the maintenance of Soviet forces in the North of Iran. She made territorial demands on Turkey including claims to bases in the Straits. She helped guerilla warfare in Greece and also the Communists who stirred up civil war. She captured control of the countries of Eastern Europe, culminating in the *coup d'état* in Czechoslovakia in 1948. She rejected the Marshall Plan and left no stone unturned to cripple the economic recovery of the West. She reorganised the Cominform. She violated the terms of the Potsdam agreement of 1946. She resorted to the Berlin blockade in 1948 and continue



the same for more than 10 months. She refused to ratify the peace treaties with the former enemy countries. She continued the maintenance of large Soviet forces throughout Eastern Europe and the building up of satellite forces. She abused the veto power in the United Nations. She counted upon its chances of setting up Communist regimes in countries where there was economic distress as a result of the World War II. She also encouraged subversion, sabotage and unrest in all those countries.

Many efforts were made to persuade the Soviet Union to agree to a peaceful settlement of differences and to cooperate in a universal approach to peace, security and progress under the United Nations. However, all those efforts were unsuccessful. It appeared that the Soviet Union was determined to exploit any situation that might help her to realise her goal of world empire. Under these circumstances, the United States could not keep quiet. She gave military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey. The Marshall Plan helped the nations of Western Europe to rebuild their shattered economies. However, it was felt that all that was not enough. In 1948, Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom signed the Brussels Treaty under which each pledged itself to assist the others in case of military attack. The American Government welcomed the treaty. Shortly thereafter, Senator Vandenberg proposed a resolution which called for "the association of the United States, by constitutional process, with such regional and other collective arrangements as are based on continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, and as affect its national security." The resolution was adopted by the Senate in June 1948. After that the American President began negotiations with other countries in the North Atlantic area. Those led to the development of the North Atlantic Treaty. The Treaty was signed in Washington on 4th April 1949. It was adopted by the Senate by a vote of 82 to 13. An American President ratified the treaty and it became effective on 24th August 1949.

**Provisions of the Treaty.** The North Atlantic Treaty has a Preamble and 14 Articles. The Preamble states that the parties to the treaty reaffirm their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments. "They are determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law." They are resolved to unite their efforts for collective defence and the prosecution of peace and security in the North Atlantic area.

Article 1 provides that the parties undertake to settle any international disputes in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered and to refrain in their own international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purpose of the United Nations.



Article 2 provides that the parties will contribute towards the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which those institutions are founded and by permitting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them.

Article 3 provides that in order more effectively to achieve the objectives of this treaty, the parties, separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack.

Article 4 provides that the parties will consult together whenever, in the opinion of any of them, the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the parties is threatened.

Article 5 provides that *the parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all.* They agree that if such an armed attack occurs, each of them in the exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence will assist the party or parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area. Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall immediately be reported to the Security Council. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security.

Article 6 provides that armed attack on one or more of the parties is deemed to include an armed attack on the territory of any of the parties in Europe or North America, on the Algerian Departments of France, on the occupation forces of any party in Europe, on the islands under the jurisdiction of any party in the North Atlantic area north of the Tropic of Cancer or on the vessels or aircraft in this area of any of the parties.

Article 7 provides that this treaty does not affect in any way the rights and obligations under the Charter of the parties which are members of the United Nations or the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 8 provides that each party declared that none of the international engagements now in force between it and any other of the parties or any third State is in conflict with the provisions of this treaty and undertakes not to enter into any international engagements in conflict with this treaty.

Article 10 provides that the parties may, by unanimous agreement, invite any other European State in a position to further the



principles of this treaty and to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area, to accede to this treaty.

Article 12 provides that after the treaty has been in force for 10 years or at any time thereafter, the parties shall, if any of them so requests, consult together for the purposes of reviewing the treaty having regard for the factors then affecting peace and security in the North Atlantic area including the development of universal as well as regional arrangements for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 13 provides that after the treaty has been in force for 20 years, any party may cease to be a party one year after its notice of denunciation has been given to the Government of the United States which shall inform the other parties concerned.

The NATO transacts its business through civil and military agencies. The top policy-making body in the NATO is the *North Atlantic Council*. Each member nation is represented on this Council. Usually, foreign ministers, defence ministers, and finance ministers are included in each Government's delegation. The Council is assisted by a number of committees to work on specialised problems. In addition to *ad hoc* committees appointed from time to time, there are about 20 permanent civilian committees.

The North Atlantic Council and the NATO Governments are assisted by the *NATO International Staff*. Its personnel are chosen from the NATO countries on the basis of merit. It provides secretariat services for the Council and serves as a clearing house for many kinds of co-operation among the NATO governments. The NATO International Staff is headed by a Secretary General who normally presides over the meetings of the North Atlantic Council.

The *Military Committee* of the NATO is similar to the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Each member nation is represented on the military committee at the Chief of Staff level. As these top military leaders can meet only occasionally, the Military Committee concentrates on planning the broad military policies of NATO and has given the day to day work to the Standing Group and Military Representatives Committee. The *Standing Group* is required to give regular guidance and direction to the operating military agencies of the NATO. It consists of one representative each from France, U.K. and U.S.A. The Standing Group also helps to direct the operation of NATO's supreme commands. The *Military Representatives Committee* includes a representative of the Chief of Staff of the military establishment of each NATO Government that has armed forces. The Committee meets in continuous session in Washington. It keeps in touch with national military staff, reviews military problems of common interest and permits the point of view of the military leaders in each Government to be made known.

The question has been asked as to why the United States has committed herself to the help of Western Europe as a result of the operation of this treaty. Many reasons have been given in support of the American action. It is pointed out that Europe's freedom



and strength are vital to America's own safety. So long as the free nations of Europe retain their freedom, the combined strength of the free world is sufficient to deter any potential aggressor. If these countries are absorbed and their resources exploited by the Communists, that would upset the balance of power and endanger the United States and the rest of the free world.

It is pointed out that free Europe contains about 335 million people, twice as many as live in the United States. The people are among the most highly skilled on earth. As allies, every one of these human beings is a valuable asset to the cause of freedom and peace. If they were to fall under Soviet domination her capacity for aggression would be enormously increased. Moreover, Western Europe has the world's most developed industrial plant. North America and Western Europe combined have a great total industrial capacity than that of the Communist bloc. If Western Europe were to come under Communist control, the position of North America would be endangered. America's security depends upon scientific and technical resources. This superiority comes from mineral resources, factories, laboratories, scientific genius, technicians, trained military personnel, bases, aircraft and other factors. In the long run, American ability to maintain superiority over the Communists depends upon keeping Western Europe free from Communist control. As most parts of the world are incapable of producing, maintaining and utilising modern arms in quantity, Western Europe represents the principal source of the basic military power which can assist the defence of peace. The European members of the NATO have more than 3 million men under arms and millions more in reserves. With adequate training and equipment, those forces are more than a match for Communist forces. Western Europe has many excellent ports and affords air bases close to the heart of the Soviet power. In the case of a war, these ports and bases can help the United States to resist enemy attack and retaliate with effect. Communist possession of these ports and bases would help the Soviet submarines to strangle Atlantic shipping and Soviet aircraft to launch deadly blows at North American cities. According to President Eisenhower, the NATO is *"a basic and indispensable element of American defence alliances against the continuing Soviet communist threat to the peace and security of the world"*.

According to F.H. Hartmann, the N.A.T.O. is a natural and logical supplement to the economic aid given to Western Europe under the Marshall Plan. According to the State Department of the American Government, "People are reluctant to make the strenuous effort and personal sacrifice required for successful economic recovery when they fear that their land will be overrun by alien armies and the fruits of their toil taken from them. If world recovery is to progress, the sense of security must be restored. Since the threat of armed aggression is at the root of insecurity, collective action which will enable free nations to confront a potential aggressor with preponderant power together with economic recovery and political stability, provides the only satisfactory antidote to fear." The NATO is bound to strengthen Western



European morale. Moreover, the formal association of the United States with the other NATO powers in the mutual assistance commitment is bound to halt the Soviet westward expansion permanently. No uncertainty has been left about the American policy towards Western Europe and consequently Soviet leaders will not risk an aggressive *coup* in the direction of the Atlantic. This view was put forward by President Truman in these words: "If we can make it sufficiently clear, in advance, that any armed attack affecting our national security would be met with overwhelming force, the armed attack might never occur." According to Senator Vandenberg, "In my opinion, the mere formal recognition of this community of interest in the event of an armed attack upon the Atlantic community... would be an infinite assurance against World War III, because in my opinion if the Kaiser in World War I or the Fuehrer in World War II had been on notice that an armed attack against any of these friendly nations with whom we associate ourselves would be considered a cause even for us to consider and study and determine whether or not we would enter into the common defence, that would have stopped both of those wars before they occurred." According to the view, being unwilling to bring on a major war with United States, the Soviet Union will accept her "containment", will give up any hope of reaching the Atlantic and will eventually settle down into a more cooperative frame of mind.

The advocates of the NATO also maintain that its creation will be a source of considerable support to the United States. According to the State Department White Paper, "The Atlantic Pact is a collective self-defence arrangement among countries of the North Atlantic area who while binding together to resist armed attack against any one of them, specifically reaffirm their obligations under the Charter to settle their disputes with any nations solely by peaceful means. It is aimed at coordinating the exercise of the right of self-defence specifically recognised in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. It is designed, therefore, to fit precisely into the framework of the United Nations and to assure practical efforts for maintaining peace and security in harmony with the Charter." In short, the official view is that the NATO will strengthen Western Europe, improve morals, stop Russian expansion westward and provide a powerful source of support for the future development of the United Nations.

**Achievements of NATO.** The supporters of the NATO point out to a large number of its achievements during the last 14 years. It is emphasized that there has been no war in Europe since the NATO began. This fact testifies to the effectiveness of the NATO as an instrument of peace. Communists have made no territorial gains anywhere in Europe or the Atlantic area after 1949. Communist voting strength and internal political influence in almost every NATO country has steadily declined. The ground forces available to NATO have increased from approximately 12 divisions in 1949 to more than 100 divisions in readiness. These NATO divisions are all either on active duty or in reserve. NATO air power has increased from



approximately 400 air-craft in 1949 to more than 6,000 air-craft in 1955. NATO's naval power has also increased considerably. Since 1951, the number of additional ships available for commission after mobilisation has increased by about 30 per cent. There has been a vast improvement in the effectiveness of ground, air and naval forces since 1949. This has been accomplished through better training and equipment. NATO forces are equipped with modern weapons and weapon systems. European military production is more than four times of what it was in 1949. Organisational arrangements have been developed to assure efficient co-ordination in the use of forces and other military resources. Indirectly, the NATO has contributed to the development of closer practical unity among European nations themselves and to the eradication of rivalries and antagonisms that formerly divided them and dissipated their strength. The Paris Agreements of October 1954 restored West German sovereignty, created a Western European Union, and tied Germany to the West through membership in both the Western European Union and the NATO. NATO has helped to revive the morale and self-confidence of the European people.

**Criticism.** The critics of the NATO point out that instead of improving relations, the NATO may worsen them. The NATO provides the Soviet leaders with the evidence of American determination to organise as much of the world as possible against the Soviet Union with a view to her eventual annihilation. According to the Russian press comment, "The North Atlantic Treaty project and the circumstances accompanying its preparation plainly disclose the desire of the Anglo-American bloc for world hegemony. It is clear that the purpose of the Pact is to put the reins of as many States as possible in the hands of U.S. and British ruling circles, depriving the States of the opportunity to conduct an independent foreign and domestic policy and employing the States as an auxiliary means for realisation of aggressive plans aimed at the establishment of Anglo-American world hegemony".

According to Hartmann, the influence of the United Nations is likely to be diminished by the establishment of the NATO. If the NATO intensifies a global division of influence between the United States and the Soviet Union, it will reduce to zero the opportunities for United Nations development. It can scarcely fail to transfer world attention from the United Nations to the rival blocs. It is likely to foster bloc voting in the General Assembly of the United Nations. It is also possible that it may cause the Soviet Union to leave the United Nations altogether. According to the Russians, the NATO is "*a mine under the United Nations*".

The creation of the NATO supplies the Soviet propagandists with extra fuel against the American Government. The European States not behind the Iron Curtain and not included in the NATO are left in an exposed condition. The NATO may lead the Soviet Union to reinforce its hold on Eastern Germany and Finland. It may frustrate efforts to build up Western Europe as a third centre of power. Many people believe that such a third centre, independent of both the United States and the Soviet Union, is preferable to a



bipolar division of the world between the two. The NATO is a step towards an ultimate war. It may force the United States to give too much attention to Europe and the Soviet Union may be able to extend her influence in other parts of the world.

The NATO may or may not be effective as an emergency dam against a flood threatening to overwhelm Europe. However, its existence may lead to the diversion of the flood itself. The Soviet Union may decide to concentrate in the Middle East and Far East.

Although the preamble of the NATO states that it has been set up to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilisation founded upon the principles of democracy, individual liberty and rule of law, the inclusion of Portugal, an authoritarian State means a sacrifice of ideological to strategic considerations. The readiness to fight the Soviet Union seems to be more important than love for democracy and liberty.

The term 'Atlantic area' as applied to the treaty is a misnomer. Strategic considerations have diluted the geographical conception of the North Atlantic area. This is proved by the inclusion of Italy, Greece and Turkey as the members of the NATO.

**European Defence Community.** On 27th May, 1952 a treaty was signed at Paris to establish the European Defence Community. It contained provision for common political institutions, armed forces, budget and arms programme. The single integrated army was given the name of European Defence Forces and plans were included for political institutions to supervise the European Defence Forces and act as the Governing Body of the Community. The Assembly of the Coal and Steel Community (Schuman Plan) was to act for the European Defence Community. The only difference was that when the Defence Community's affairs were discussed, three delegates each from France, Italy and Western Germany were to be added. France, Italy and Western Germany were to send 18 delegates each, Belgium and Netherlands 10 delegates each and Luxembourg 4.

The Netherlands and Western Germany were first to ratify the treaty. However, France refused to ratify the treaty. Consequently, a conference was held in London from 28th September to 3rd October 1954 with a view to find out a compromise. The conference worked out a system which provided for Western unity within the framework of the Brussels Treaty of 1948. The newly formed *Western European Union* had the same members as the European Defence Community except the addition of the United Kingdom. The Council of the Western European Union was given broad authority with the power to act in a number of important measures by majority vote thereby replacing national with international control. It was also decided that Western Germany was to be restored her sovereignty. The Allied High Commissioners gave up the exercise of most of their occupation rights. Provision was made for Western Germany to join the NATO and make her contribution to the defence of the West.



**Anzus Pact, 1951 :** A Treaty was entered into between the Governments of Australia, New Zealand and the United States in 1951 for the purpose of coordinating their efforts for collective defence and the preservation of peace in the Pacific area. Article 1 of the Pact provided that the parties undertook to settle any international dispute in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security were not endangered. They also undertook to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations. Article 2 provided that in order to achieve more effectively the obligations of this treaty, the Parties separately and jointly by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid would maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack. Article 3 provided that the Parties would consult one another whenever in the opinion of any of them the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the parties was threatened in the Pacific. Article 4 provided that each party recognised that an armed attack in the Pacific area on any of the parties would be dangerous to its own peace and safety. Each party declared that it would meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes. Any armed attack would be immediately reported to the Security Council for necessary action. According to Article 5, an armed attack was deemed to include an attack on the metropolitan territory of any of the parties or the Island territories under its jurisdiction in the Pacific or on its armed forces, public vessels or aircraft in the Pacific. Article 6 provided that this Treaty did not affect and shall not be interpreted as affecting in any way the rights and obligations of the parties under the Charter of the United Nations or the responsibility of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security. Article 7 provided that the parties shall establish a Council consisting of their Foreign Ministers or their deputies to consider methods concerning the implementation of this Treaty. The Council was to be so organized as to be able to meet at any time. According to Article 10, this Treaty was to remain in force for an indefinite period. Any country could leave the Pact after giving a notice of one year.

**Seato or Manila Pact (1954) :** Plans for the defence of South-East Asia had been canvassed ever since the emergence of Communist China as a major factor in Asian and world politics after 1949. Countries like the Philippines, Siam and South Korea which considered themselves menaced by the Communists made suggestions from time to time for the setting up of a defensive organisation. However, nothing substantial came out of those suggestions. In 1951, a conference was held between the Far-East military commands of Great Britain, the United States and France. On that occasion, it was contended by France that her struggle in Indo-China was really a fight for the preservation of South-East Asia from Communism and it was the duty of the other States to help her. The outbreak of the Korean war and the help given to North Korea by Red China and the Soviet Union frightened the Anzus powers. The Chinese Government also helped Dr. Ho Chi Minh. The possibility of a Chinese thrust to the Pacific was feared. The talks which had started at



Singapore were continued in Washington in 1952 and Canada, New Zealand and Australia also joined the deliberations. However, no definite action was taken. In 1953, Prime Minister Churchill proposed to the American Government that the principles of the NATO should be extended to South-East Asia but he did not get any favourable reply.

It was in April 1954 that Mr. Dulles, American Secretary of State, flew to London and asked the British Government to examine the possibility of establishing a collective defence system for South-East Asia and the neighbouring Pacific regions. Mr. Dulles wanted to set up the defensive organisation without the Colombo Powers but Sir Anthony Eden insisted on including them because "without their understanding and support no permanent South-East Asia defence organisation could be fully effective". The American Government wanted the British Government to sign the military pact at once and discuss its details later on. The object of the American Government was to strengthen her hands before going to the Geneva Conference but the British Government did not agree. However, within a few weeks of the Geneva agreement on Indo-China, a conference was summoned to meet in the Philippines on 6 September 1954. Invitations were sent to the United States, Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand and the Philippines. It was left to Sir Anthony Eden to approach the Colombo Powers. Invitations were sent to all of them, but with the exception of Pakistan, all of them declined to participate. As India refused the invitation, Pakistan accepted it.

On 8 September 1954, the United States, Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines signed a Treaty known as the SEATO or Treaty of Collective Defence of South-East Asia at Manila. The contracting parties recognised the sovereign equality of all its members. They reiterated their faith in the purposes and principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and with all Governments. They reaffirmed the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. They declared that they would earnestly strive by every possible means to promote self-government and secure the independence of all countries whose people desired it and were able to undertake its responsibilities. They declared publicly and formally their sense of unity so that any potential aggressor would appreciate that the parties stood together in the area. It was also declared that the contracting parties desired to coordinate their efforts for collective defence for the preservation of peace and security.

The contracting parties undertook to settle any international dispute in which they might be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice was not in danger. They undertook to refrain in their international relations from the threat of force or the use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purpose of the United Nations. In order more effectively to achieve the objective of the Treaty, it was agreed that the parties separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help



and mutual aid, would maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack and to prevent and counter subversive activities directed from without against their territorial integrity and political stability. The parties undertook to strengthen their free institutions and cooperate with one another in the further development of economic measures, including technical assistance, designed both to promote economic progress and social well-being and to further individual and collective efforts of the Governments towards those ends. Each party recognized that aggression by means of armed attack in the "treaty area" against any of the parties or against any State or territory which the parties by unanimous agreement might hereinafter designate would endanger its own peace and safety. Each party agreed that it would in that event act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes. The measures taken were to be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations. If in the opinion of any of the parties the inviolability or the integrity of the territory or the sovereignty or political independence of any party in the treaty area or any other State or territory to which the provisions of the Article from time to time apply, was threatened in any way other than by armed attack or was affected or threatened by any fact or situation which might endanger the peace of any area, the parties were required to consult immediately in order to agree on the measures which should be taken for the common defence. It was understood that no action on the territory of any State was to be taken except on the invitation or with the consent of the Government concerned. Provision was made for the establishment of a Council on which each of the contracting parties was to be represented. The Council was to consider matters concerning the implementation of the Treaty. It was also to provide for consultation with regard to military or any other planning as the situation obtaining in the treaty area might from time to time require. The Council was to be so organised as to be able to meet at any time. It was declared that the Treaty did not affect in any way the rights and obligations of any of the parties under the Charter of the United Nations or the responsibility of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security. Each party declared that none of the international engagements then in force between it and any other country was in conflict with the provisions of the Treaty. Each party undertook not to enter into any international engagement in conflict with this treaty. Any other State in a position to further the objectives of this treaty and to contribute to the security of the area could be invited to accede to this treaty by the unanimous agreement of the parties. The treaty area mentioned in the Treaty was the general area of South-East Asia, including the entire territories of the Asian parties and the general area of the South-West Pacific including the Pacific area north of 21 degrees North latitude. However, the parties were given the authority to include any other area in the treaty area. The treaty was to remain in force for an indefinite period. However, any party could cease to be a member after giving a notice of one month.

While signing the Treaty, it was made clear on behalf of the American delegation that its main object was to stop Communist aggre-



ssion. In the event of any other aggression or armed attack, the United States would consult under the provisions of Article 4. In the Protocol to the Treaty, it was declared that the parties to the Treaty unanimously designated the States of Cambodia and Laos and Free Territory under the jurisdiction of the State of Vietnam.

**The Baghdad Pact or CENTO (1955) :** The beginning of this Pact was made on 24 February 1955 when the Prime Ministers of Iraq and Turkey entered into a pact pledging themselves to "cooperate for their security and defence". Article 5 of the Pact throws its membership open to States "actively concerned with the security and peace in this region" (Middle East) and by virtue of it Great Britain acceded to the Pact on 24 April 1955. She hailed the Pact as a spontaneous move by Turkey and Iraq to unite for their mutual defence. Likewise, Pakistan joined the Pact on 1 July 1955 and Iran on 3 November 1955. The United States was not a full-fledged member of the Pact but from the very beginning, she showed her interest and sympathy towards it. She was a member of the various committees set up under the Pact. Her statesmen praised the aims and ideals of the Pact. With the passage of time, the United States came nearer and nearer the Pact. Particularly after the revolution in Iraq, the Pact became so weak that the United States was forced to join it as a full-fledged member. The Baghdad Pact also came to be known as the Central Treaty Organisation.

The Baghdad Pact consists of a preamble and 8 Articles. It provides that the High Contracting Parties will cooperate for their security and defence. Such measures as they agree to take to give effect to this cooperation may form the subject of special agreement with each other. In order to ensure the cooperation mentioned above, the competent authorities of the High Contracting Parties will determine the measures to be taken as soon as the Pact comes into force. Those measures will become operative as soon as they have been approved by the Governments of the Contracting Parties. The Parties undertake to refrain from any interference whatsoever in the internal affairs of each other. They will settle any dispute between themselves in a peaceful way in accordance with the United Nations Charter. The parties declare that the provisions of this Pact are not in contradiction with any of the international obligations contracted by either of them with any third State or States. They do not derogate from and cannot be interpreted as derogating from the said international obligations. The parties undertake not to enter into any international obligation incompatible with this Pact. The Pact shall be open for accession to any Arab State actively concerned with security and peace in this region. Any acceding State may conclude special agreements with one or more States which are parties to the Pact. A Permanent Council at ministerial level was to be set up to function within the framework of the Pact. The Pact was to remain in force for a period of 5 years, renewable after every five years. Any party could leave the pact by giving a notice to the other members. To begin with, the Headquarters were fixed at Baghdad but after the revolution in that country, those were shifted from there. The meetings of the Council are held at different places.



Pressure was put on Jordan to join the Pact but without success. Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia not only did not join the Pact but also opposed it. The Soviet Union also opposed it.

The original object of the Pact was to contain Communism. It was directed against the Soviet Union. However, the Pact has lost much of its utility and force after the Soviet Union successfully established friendly relations with Pakistan, Iran and Turkey.

In March 1954, the United States entered into military pacts with Pakistan, Iran and Turkey. In September 1954, the United States and Spain signed a Twenty Year Defence agreement giving the American Government the right to develop and use naval and air bases on Spanish soil. Spain was to be given military equipment by the American Government. In September 1954, the Balkan Pact was signed between Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia for a period of twenty years. It provided for mutual help in the event of an attack on any country.

**The Warsaw Pact, (1955).** If the Western Powers were able to set up military alliances against the Soviet Union and her camp followers, the latter could not be expected to lag behind. In December 1954, a conference of eight European nations *viz.* Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Poland, Rumania and U.S.S.R. with an observer from Communist China was held in Moscow to consider their attitude towards the Paris Peace Treaties. The Conference opposed the ratification of the Treaties and declared that in the event of their ratification the participating countries would adopt joint measures of defence. It was further declared that they would meet again to consider concrete measures for a joint defence command. As the Paris Treaties were ratified in spite of the above declaration, the eight countries mentioned above met in Warsaw for four days from 11 May to 14 May, 1955. After long discussions, they concluded a Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance. This is known as the Warsaw Pact.

It was decided to set up a joint command of the armed forces of the signatory States with its headquarters in Moscow. The unified command was to be headed by Konier, Marshal of the Soviet Union. The Defence Ministers or other Military leaders of the signatory countries were appointed Deputy Commanders-in-Chief and given command of the armed forces assigned to the unified armed forces by each respective signatory country. The contracting parties confirmed their striving for the creation of a system of collective security in Europe based on the participation of all European States in respect of their social or state structure which would make it possible to unite their efforts in the interest of ensuring peace in Europe. They also took into consideration the situation which had arisen in Europe as a result of the ratification of the Paris Agreements envisaging the formation of a new military alignment in the form of West European Union with the participation of West Germany. That created a threat to the national security of the peace-loving states and it was necessary for them to take measures necessary to safeguard their security. It was declared that the contracting parties were guided by the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter, in the interest of the



further strengthening and developing of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance in accordance with the principles of respecting the independence and sovereignty of States and non-interference in their internal affairs.

The Treaty provided that the contracting parties undertook to abstain in their international relations from threats of violence or its use and to settle international disputes by peaceful means. The contracting parties declared their readiness to cooperate in all international actions for the purpose of assuring international peace and security. They were to strive to reach agreement with the States desiring to cooperate in that cause and take measures to reduce armaments and the ban of atomic, hydrogen and other kinds of weapons of mass destruction. The contracting parties were to consult mutually on all important international problems affecting their common interests of strengthening international peace and security. They were to consult each other immediately in the event of a threat of armed attack against one or other States, signatories to the Pact, in the interests of their ensuring mutual defence and maintaining peace and security. In case of armed aggression in Europe against one or several States party to the Treaty by a state or group of States, each State member of the Treaty, in order to put into practice the right to individual or collective self-defence, was to afford to the State or the States which were the object of such an aggression, immediate assistance, individually and in agreement with other States, party to the Treaty, with all means which appeared necessary, including the use of armed force. The contracting parties were required to take immediately joint measures necessary to establish and preserve international peace and security. Measures taken on the basis of Article 4 were to assist security in accordance with the United Nations Charter. The measures were to be stopped as soon as the Security Council took steps for establishing and preserving international peace and security.

The Contracting parties agreed to set up a joint command of their armed forces to be allotted by agreement between the Powers, at the disposal of this command and used on the basis of jointly established principles. They were also required to take other agreed measures necessary to strengthen their defences in order to protect the peaceful toil of their people guaranteeing the integrity of their frontiers and territories and insure their defence against possible aggression. With the object of carrying out consultation provided by the present Treaty between the States participating in the Treaty and for the examination of questions arising in connection with the fulfilment of the treaty, a Political Consultative Committee was to be set up in each State participating in the Treaty. The Committee was authorised to set up any auxiliary organs it considered necessary. The contracting parties undertook not to enter into any coalition or union and not to enter into agreements whose aims were contrary to the terms of this treaty. They declared that their obligations under the existing international agreements were not contrary to the terms of this Treaty. They declared that they would act in a spirit of friendship and cooperation in order further to develop the economic and cultural ties between them and would be guided by principles of mutual



respect and would not interfere with the internal affairs of each other. The Treaty was to remain in force for twenty years. Those States which did not give notice of abrogation one year before the Treaty expired were to remain bound by it for a further period of 10 years. In the event of a system of collective security being set up in Europe and a Pact to that effect being signed, the present Treaty was to lapse from the date on which a collective security Treaty came into force.

**Revolt in Hungary (1956).** In 1956, there was a revolt in Hungary. In order to put down the rebellion, the Government of Hungary asked the Soviet Union to send her troops. The request was accepted by the Soviet Union and she sent her troops to Hungary and law and order was restored. The Soviet forces left the Hungarian capital soon after. However, trouble started once again. There was a lot of bloodshed. Many persons were murdered. Many leaders were hanged from lamp-posts in the streets of Budapest. The rebels burnt the national museum in Budapest. They became stronger and stronger every day. They smashed the nationalized enterprises and State-owned establishments. There was a general demand for the return of Mr. Nagy who had been arrested earlier. On 30 October 1956, Mr. Nagy who had taken the Government at the height of the fighting, declared that he would set up a coalition Government of all democratic parties and free elections on the lines of Western democracy would be held. At this time, Mr. Nagy was deserted by Mr. Kadar and his other colleagues and a new Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government was established. The new Government declared that it would safeguard the democratic achievements of the Hungarian people and defend the people's democratic system. Kadar's Government requested the Soviet Union for assistance in putting down the rebellions in the country. The Soviet Union sent her forces to Hungary and the rebels were hunted out and suppressed. Great atrocities were committed on that occasion. On 4 November 1956, it was declared that the rebels had been completely crushed. Mr. Nagy and many other members of his Government were arrested by the Soviet troops. The new Government in Hungary was headed by Mr. Kadar who was the First Secretary of the Communist Party. On 4 November 1956, a resolution was moved by the American Government in the Security Council that the Soviet Union should withdraw her troops from Hungary and not interfere in the internal affairs of that country. That resolution was vetoed by the Soviet Union. An emergency session of the General Assembly was called and a resolution was passed calling upon the Soviet Union to withdraw her troops from Hungary so that free elections could be held under the auspices of the United Nations. Another resolution was passed by the General Assembly censuring the Soviet Union for her violation of the Charter by depriving Hungary of her liberty and independence and the Hungarian people of their fundamental rights. The Soviet Union was again requested to withdraw her troops. However, all these resolutions were ignored by the Soviet Union.

**Czechoslovakia (1968).** It was under the leadership of Mr. Alexander Dubcek who was the First Secretary of the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia, that liberalizing forces began to operate in



Czechoslovakia. President Antonin Novotny who was the last of the stalwarts of the Stalin era, was forced to resign on public demand and his resignation was accepted on 22 March 1968. General Svoboda took the oath of office as the new President of Czechoslovakia on 30 March 1968. The press was given a lot of freedom and democratic forces became stronger in the country.

These changes were not liked by the Soviet Union and the other members of the Warsaw Pact. A meeting of the Communist parties of the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and East Germany was held in Warsaw on 14 and 15 July 1968. The meeting expressed "deep anxiety" at the developments in Czechoslovakia. Two meetings were held between the Soviet leaders and the Czech leaders at Cierna and Bratislava. The Government and the party leaders of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Powers wrote a joint letter to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in which they said: "The development of events in your country evokes deep anxiety among us. It is our profound conviction that the offensive of the reactionary forces, backed by imperialism, threatens to push your country off the road of socialism and that it is consequently jeopardizing the interests of the whole socialist system." The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia denied the allegations. It reaffirmed its loyalty to the Warsaw Pact and to the socialist community. It declared that the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was trying to give a different leadership than that of the "discredited bureaucratic police methods" of the past. On 18 July 1968 Mr. Dubeck gave an assurance in a Radio and television broadcast that there would be no retreat from the democratic reforms begun in January 1968. Herr Walter Ulbricht, the East German Communist leader, visited Czechoslovakia on 12 August and had long discussions with Mr. Dubeck.

On 16 August 1968, the Pravda accused the "anti-socialist reactionaries" of stepping up subversive activities in Czechoslovakia. On 20 August, a special meeting of the Central Committee of Communist Party of the Soviet Union was held at the Kremlin and the same night Czechoslovakia was invaded by the Soviet, Polish, Hungarian, Bulgarian and East German troops and Prague and other Czechoslovak cities were occupied within a few hours. There were loud protests against the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia but all those protests were ignored. The Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Powers were determined to crush all liberal forces in Czechoslovakia and the condemnation of their action had absolutely no effect on them. By and by, Dubeck and his friends were removed from their posts and at present Czechoslovakia is completely under the thumb of the Soviet Union. She can do nothing against her wishes. However, the popular demonstrations are going on in Czechoslovakia against the Soviet army of occupation. It is worthy of notice that Rumania did not participate in the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Certain developments have taken place with regard to the Warsaw Pact. Albania has completely left it and her leaders have the courage to defy the Soviet Union. In all this, they are backed by Communist China. Rumania is also lukewarm towards the Warsaw Pact. She is sick of the restrictions under the Iron Curtain and she



would like to have friendly relations both with the Soviet Union and the Western Powers. President Nixon visited Rumania in August 1969 on the invitation of the Rumanian Government and he was given a warm welcome. However, this has offended the Soviet Union which has given a warning of the consequences that might follow. It is to be seen whether Rumania is able to defend herself against the Soviet Union or meets the fate of Czechoslovakia. Much depends upon the extent to which the American Government is prepared to send military help to Rumania in the event of such an attack.

### **U-2 Incident (1960)**

On 1st May-1960, an American aircraft called U-2, while operating from bases in Pakistan and Turkey, crossed into the Soviet territory and penetrated more than 2000 kilometres. It was shot down by the Soviet Union. That led to a lot of bitterness between the United States and the Soviet Union. The view of Quincy Wright on this incident is that the United States violated the international law and aggravated the offence by statements intended to conceal its actions. It was the duty of the American Government to express regret and also give an assurance that such a thing will not be repeated. The American Government could justify her action on the ground of self-preservation and the extensive Soviet espionage activities. The Soviet Union was justified in shooting down the U-2 and in proceeding against the pilot under its criminal law.

### **Cuban Crisis (1962)**

It was reported in 1962 that Soviet military equipment had arrived in Cuba along with a large number of technicians and other military personnel. There was a widespread demand in the United States for the establishment of unilateral pacific blockade of Cuba. Some demanded the application of the blockade to Russian and other foreign vessels. A conference of the American Foreign Ministers was held in the beginning of October, 1962 at Washington. It was decided to adopt economic and security measures to cope with the Cuban armament build-up. A request was made to the non-Communist states to tighten their control over ships flying their flags and carrying Soviet goods to Cuba. The United States closed its ports to all ships carrying arms to Cuba. It closed its ports to ships sailing between a Communist-bloc port and Cuba. It prohibited all vessels registered in the United States from engaging in any manner in the Cuban trade. The West German, Norwegian, Turkish and Japanese shipping lines ordered their ships off the Cuba run. The Council of the OAS initiated work on further steps designed to isolate Cuba from the rest of the Western Hemisphere.

It was found from aerial survey that medium-range ballistic missiles had been installed in Cuba. It was also found that sites for intermediate-range missiles had been constructed in Cuba. That led to a crisis. On 22nd October, 1962, President Kennedy declared the adoption of seven measures. There was to be a strict "quarantine" on all offensive military equipment bound for Cuba. All ships so bound, from whatever nation or port, were to be turned back by the American Navy if found to be carrying offensive weapons. There



was to be a continued and increased aerial surveillance of Cuba. If the offensive build-up continued, other steps were to be taken and the armed forces were directed by the American President to prepare for any eventuality. It was declared by the American Government that it regarded "any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western Hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States requiring a full retaliatory response upon the Soviet Union." The American Government ordered reinforcement of the garrison of the U.S. Naval base at Guantanamo, Cuba, from which the United States dependants had been evacuated. An immediate meeting of the Organ of Consultation under the OAS to consider the Cuban situation was ordered. A request was made for summoning an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council "to take action against this latest Soviet threat to world peace." The Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev was asked to "halt and eliminate this clandestine, reckless and provocative threat."

On 23rd October, 1962, the OAS decided to take all measures necessary to end the threat to the peace and security of the Western Hemisphere resulting from the military build-up in Cuba. The decision was conveyed to the United Nations. At the same time, the American President issued the Quarantine Proclamation and on 24th October, 1962, the Quarantine went into effect. It was first to be implemented by Naval and Air Force units of the United States. The American Navy actually stopped the Soviet ships which were later on diverted from the Cuba run. U Thant tried to prevail upon the United States to suspend the blockade of Cuba and also asked Khrushchev to halt shipments to Cuba. The Soviet Union proposed to withdraw offensive weapons from Cuba if the American Government withdrew its rockets from Turkey. The proposal was rejected. Ultimately, the Soviet Union agreed to dismantle the Cuban missile sites and transport the missiles back to the Soviet Union, and the same was actually done. Aerial surveillance of Cuba continued even after the blockade was lifted.

It must be admitted that there was an imminent danger of a World War on the occasion of the Cuban crisis. It was averted on account of the enormous restraint shown by Khrushchev at this critical juncture. He withdrew from the conflict in spite of criticism from Communist China which accused the Soviet Union of having betrayed the cause of World Communism.

### Disarmament

On 31st March, 1958, the Soviet Union announced that it would unilaterally stop testing nuclear weapons for six months. It made it clear that if the nuclear powers did not act likewise, she would be at liberty to resume the tests. Taking into consideration the world public opinion, the United States and Great Britain also suspended the atomic tests. In his address to the General Assembly of the United Nations delivered on 18th September, 1959, Khrushchev proposed that within four years all the states should completely disarm themselves. They should not be left with any means of waging war. The land army, navy and air force should cease to exist. All the



military establishments should be disbanded and millions of men should be directed to do creative work. All military bases in foreign territories should be abolished. He also called for the establishment of control and inspection zones with a reduction of foreign troops in the territories of corresponding countries of Western Europe, establishment of an atom-free zone in Central Europe and the withdrawal of foreign troops and bases in foreign countries.

The Nuclear Ban Treaty Conference met at Geneva from October 1958 to April 1961. Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union participated in it. It was agreed that all tests in earth's atmosphere in outer space, in ocean and underground should be stopped except those producing signals of less than 4.75 seismic intensity as it was difficult to detect them. The annual inspections were to be limited to three in future, though originally the United States insisted on 20 inspections in a year. The treaty was to be enforced by a worldwide detective system operated by a single neutral administrator and an international staff. Control posts were to be set up on land and ships at sea to detect illegal tests by their sound and light, radio waves, nuclear radiations, radio-active debris, or earth shocks. Unfortunately, certain differences arose and the negotiations came to an abrupt end.

The Three-Power Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty was initialled on 25th July, 1963 in Moscow and formally signed on 5th August, 1963. It provided for a limited ban on all nuclear tests in the atmosphere, beyond its limits, including outer space or under water, including territorial waters or high seas. It covered all tests except those underground as no fool-proof method had yet been evolved for detecting underground tests. The treaty was to be open to all states for signatures. Each party was given the right to withdraw from the treaty after giving a notice of 3 months. The treaty was hailed by all the nations of the world as it was likely to reduce tension. It was the first agreement between the East and the West and India was the first country to sign this treaty. France refused to sign it because that it was likely to halt her nuclear programme. Communist China also refused to sign the treaty and condemned the Soviet Union for entering into an anti-Chinese alliance with the United States and selling out the interests of its own people and other Communist countries.

### **Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (1968)**

On 12th June, 1968, the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution by which it recommended the adoption of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Certain members of the United Nations abstained from voting and certain others voted for the resolution with reservations. President Johnson of the United States appeared before the General Assembly and personally urged the members to adopt the Treaty. He asserted that the Treaty in question went far to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and committed the nuclear powers to redouble their efforts to end the nuclear arms race. It also ensured the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.



Under the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, the nuclear powers agreed not to transfer their nuclear weapons or control over them to any non-nuclear power or to provide assistance in producing weapons. Under the Treaty, the nuclear powers were to have full liberty to develop and multiply their nuclear weapons. The restriction was only on the non-nuclear powers. However, the nuclear powers could give their nuclear know-how to non-nuclear powers for the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. Steps were to be taken to prevent the diversion of peaceful nuclear establishments to military use. No provision was made for control and inspection of nuclear establishments. The treaty was full of reservations.

After the passing of the resolution by the General Assembly, a demand was made that the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain should make a declaration that they would protect the aggrieved party in the event of an attack by a nuclear power. The result was that a declaration to that effect was made by these Powers on 17th June, 1968. It was declared that "Any State which commits aggression accompanied by the use of nuclear weapons or which threatens such aggression, must be aware that these actions are to be countered effectively by measures to be taken in accordance with the United Nations Charter to suppress the aggression or remove the threat of aggression". On 19th June, 1968, a resolution to that effect was also adopted by the Security Council. The Indian representative in the Security Council pointed out the defect in the resolution inasmuch as the duty to protect the aggrieved party was already imposed on the Security Council and that should not be made dependent on a country joining the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty. It was pointed out that the resolution went against the provisions of the United Nations Charter. The view of Pakistan was that so long as the Nuclear stock-piles were not physically dismantled and so long as the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty was not universally adopted, there was always the danger to peace. It is worthy of notice that France and China refused to associate themselves with the Treaty. The Treaty was to come into effect after its ratification by the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and 40 signatory countries. It actually came into force on 5th March, 1970.

In December 1966, the General Assembly of the United Nations approved of an International Treaty barring military activities in outer space and prohibiting states from placing weapons of mass destruction in the orbit around the earth and installing such weapons on the moon and other celestial bodies. It was specifically provided that the moon and other celestial bodies were to be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. The Treaty came into force on 10th October, 1967.

### **U.S.-Soviet Arms Limitation Treaty (1972)**

In May 1972, President Nixon visited the Soviet Union and on that occasion, the United States and the Soviet Union agreed to put a limitation on the production and use of strategic nuclear arms. This agreement practically ruled out a nuclear armed armageddon as a result of military confrontation between the Soviet Union and



the United States. Like the Partial Test Ban Treaty and the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, this agreement also has its limitations. This is not a stepping stone to universal disarmament. This agreement does not limit conventional weapons although their destructive capacity is very great. On account of a nuclear balance between superior powers, there is little danger of the nuclear weapons being used by one superior power against the other. However, their fearful arsenals are not to be dismantled nor will there be total halt to the arms race as the international system dominated by the United States and the Soviet Union is based on a military equation. The agreement in Moscow highlights the fact that the superior powers would like to avoid mutual confrontation. This agreement has given relief both to the Soviet Union and the United States who were feeling the burden of a nuclear arms race.

**China and the Soviet Union.** In 1949, the Communists were able to drive out Chiang Kai-shek and his Government from the mainland of China and a Communist Government was set up with Peking as its headquarters. To begin with, the Soviet Union gave a lot of economic and military help to Communist China. On 14 February 1950 was signed a "Treaty regarding Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Aid between the Soviet Socialist Republics and Chinese People's Republic." In the treaty, the two countries declared their readiness in a spirit of sincere cooperation to participate in all international actions aimed at securing peace and security throughout the world. The treaty bound the parties to prevent "the resumption of aggression and violation of peace on the part of Japan and any other power which would unite with Japan directly or in any other form in acts of aggression." Any power that would use Japanese territory as a base of operation against the Soviet Union or China would logically come within the purview of the treaty obligation. Article 5 of the Treaty guaranteed the sovereignty of each State from any interference from each other in the execution of any undertaking covered by the Treaty. It was declared that all actions under the Treaty had to be performed "in the spirit of friendship and cooperation in conformity with the principles of equality, mutual interest and also mutual respect for state sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of the other party". The two countries agreed to cooperate with each other in all important international questions and to develop and strengthen economic and cultural ties between the Soviet Union and Communist China. The Soviet Union also made a number of concessions to China in the Far East. She promised a loan over a period of five years to the tune of 300 million dollars.

Under this treaty, not less than 141 enterprises were set up in China under the joint Boards of management, half Russian and half Chinese. Thousands of Chinese students attended the Universities in the Soviet Union to get their training. The Chinese army was modernized and expanded with Soviet help. On 31 December 1953, the Soviet Union agreed to give up her property rights in the Manchurian Railways. The Soviet Union also agreed to leave Port Arthur by a Treaty negotiated in October 1954. This Treaty also provided for a Russian credit amounting to about a billion roubles. The Soviet Union also agreed to give up its shares in the mixed companies.



However, friendship between the Soviet Union and Communist China did not last long and differences arose between the two countries. Admittedly, the Soviet Union is a Euro-Asian Power and China only an Asian Power and the interests of the two are bound to be different and there can always be the possibility of a clash. Communist China would not like the Soviet Union to dominate South-East Asia and such a proposition would not be acceptable to the Soviet Union. There also arose certain ideological differences between the two countries. When Khrushchev came to power, he initiated a new policy of peaceful co-existence between capitalism and socialism. He believed that the Communists could beat the capitalists in competition. He was not prepared to risk a nuclear war. This new policy of Khrushchev was condemned by Communist China under Mao Tse-Tung and Chou En-lai. The Chinese leaders believed in a policy of revolution and fight to the finish against Capitalism. They believed in the complete destruction of Capitalism. No wonder, the new Soviet policy was not acceptable to them and they accused Khrushchev of cowardice.

The differences between the two countries came to fore in 1958 and by 1959 the Chinese began to attack the Soviet policy indirectly. Two important meetings were held in 1961, one at Bucharest and the other at Moscow. In the Twenty-second Party Congress held in Moscow in 1961, Khrushchev attacked the Albanian Communist Party which was receiving support from the Chinese Government. When Khrushchev started his drive against Stalinism, the same was not approved of by the Chinese Government. Communist China condemned Khrushchev in 1962 on the occasion of the Cuban crisis and the virtual surrender of the Soviet Union before the United States. The pro-India policy of the Soviet Union was also condemned by the Chinese. The result of all this was that Russia withdrew all support from Communist China and both the countries became open enemies.

When in October 1964, Khrushchev was removed from Premiership and replaced by Mr. Kosygin, it was hoped that the relations between the Soviet Union and Communist China might improve. As a matter of fact, many conciliatory moves were made by Mr. Kosygin to win over Communist China but all those attempts failed. Communist China cannot tolerate the idea that the Soviet Union should give economic and military help to India which is her enemy. The relations between the two countries have further been strained on account of the border clashes. Communist China is determined to revise her boundaries with the Soviet Union and get back from her all those territories which were taken away from China by the Soviet Union during the 19th and 20th centuries. Although both the countries are Communist, there is no solidarity between them and as a matter of fact there is going on a rivalry between the two for leadership in the Communist world.

### **The United States and Communist China**

In spite of American help, Chiang Kai-Shek was driven out from the Chinese mainland in 1949 and he took shelter in Formosa (Taiwan). The Communists would have liked to complete their victory by capturing Formosa also but the American Government stood in



their way. In July 1950, the Chinese Communists seemed to be getting ready to attack Formosa. For two days, their shore batteries shelled Quemoy Island which is three miles off the mainland of Amoy. However, President Truman neutralised Formosa by posting the Seventh Fleet in between so that neither Formosa was attacked by the Chinese Communists nor the Chinese Nationalists under Chiang Kai-Shek attacked the Chinese mainland. This state of affairs continued upto January 1953 when President Eisenhower cancelled the order of President Truman and issued instructions that the Seventh Fleet would no longer be employed to shield Communist China. Nationalist China was thus given freedom to attack the Chinese mainland and the Chinese Communists were allowed to attack, if they pleased, Formosa. The plea of Eisenhower was that the American Navy must not be used to serve as a defensive arm of Communist China. Chou En-lai, the Chinese premier, gave a challenge to the American Government that the Communists were going to liberate Formosa and the Americans could stop them if they pleased. The challenge was accepted by President Eisenhower. On many occasions, attempts were made by the Chinese Communists to bomb the Islands in the neighbourhood of Formosa but they did not dare to attack the Island of Formosa. The United States entered into a military Pact with the Government of Chiang Kai-Shek and pledged herself to come to his help if the Island of Formosa was attacked. The Chinese Communists knew fully well that an attack on Formosa would mean a war with the United States. It was such a high stake that both Communist China and the Soviet Union, in spite of their repeated declarations, were not prepared to take.

When the Korean War started in June 1950, the United States at once came to the help of South Korea. A resolution was passed by the United Nations branding North Korea as the aggressor. North Korea was helped openly by Communist China and indirectly by the Soviet Union. Communist China sent lakhs of volunteers to help the people of North Korea. There was every possibility of a war between the United Nations on the one hand and Communist China on the other. However, General MacArthur was not allowed to cross the 38 Parallel and he himself was removed from the United Nations Command. The part played by the United States in the Korean war was bound to embitter the relations between Communist China and the United States.

In 1962, Communist China attacked India. The Government of India requested the American Government to help her and President Kennedy openly came forward to help India against Communist China. It was partly due to the American help to India which forced Communist China to stay her hands and declare a unilateral ceasefire in November 1962. The American Government also helped India to prepare herself against any Chinese attack in the future. This also must have alienated Communist China against the United States.

Communist China helped North Viet-Nam against South Viet-Nam which was backed by the United States. That also embittered the relations between the two countries.



For more than two decades, the United States opposed the entry of Communist China into the United Nations. She also refused to recognise her. No wonder, there was bitterness between the two countries.

It is true that earlier also, efforts had been made by the United States to establish contacts with Communist China but not much had come out of them. It was in 1971 that Dr. Kissinger paid a secret visit to Peking via Pakistan. It was after that visit that it was declared that President Nixon would pay a visit to Communist China. Elaborate preparations were made for that purpose and ultimately President Nixon actually went to Communist China in February 1972. At the end of his visit, a joint communique was issued in which it was stated that President Nixon had a serious and frank exchange of views on Sino-U.S. relations and world affairs. Extensive, earnest and frank discussions were held between President Nixon and Premier Chou En-lai on the normalisation of relations between the two countries as well as on other matters of interest common to both sides. In the communique, both sides stated their separate points of view.

The U.S. side stated that peace in Asia and peace in the World requires efforts both to reduce immediate tensions and to eliminate the basic causes of conflict. The United States will work for a just and secure peace : Just because it fulfils the aspirations of peoples and nations for freedom and progress : secure, because it removes the danger of foreign aggression. The United States supports individual freedom and social progress for all the peoples of the world, free of outside pressure or intervention. The United States believed that the effort to reduce tensions is served by improving communications between countries that have different ideologies so as to lessen the risks of confrontation through accident, miscalculation or misunderstanding. Countries should trust each other with mutual respect and be willing to compete peacefully, letting performance to be the ultimate judge. No country should claim infallibility and each country should be prepared to re-examine its own attitudes for the common good. The United States stressed that the peoples of Indo-China should be allowed to determine their destiny without outside intervention, that eight-point proposal put forward by the Republic of Viet-Nam and the United States on January 27, 1972 represents a basis for the attainment of that objective. In the absence of a negotiated settlement, the United States envisages the ultimate aim of self-determination for each country of Indo-China. The United States will maintain its close ties with and support for the Republic of Korea. The United States will support efforts of the Republic of Korea to seek a relaxation of tension and increase communications in the Korean Peninsula. The United States places the highest value on its friendly relations with Japan. It will continue to develop the existing close bonds. Consistent with the United Nations Security Council Resolution of December 21, 1971, the United States favours the continuation of the cease-fire between India and Pakistan and the withdrawal of all military forces to within their own territories and to their own sides of the ceasefire line in Jammu & Kashmir. The United States supports the right of the peoples of South



Asia to shape their own future in peace, free of military threat and without having the area become the subject of big-power rivalry. All nations, big or small, should be equal. Big nations should not bully the small and strong nations should not bully the weak.

The Chinese side stated that it firmly supports the struggles of all oppressed peoples and nations for freedom and liberation and the people of all countries have the right to choose their social system according to their own wishes and the right to safeguard the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their own countries and oppose foreign aggression, interference, control and subversion. All foreign troops should be withdrawn to their own countries. The Chinese side expressed support to Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia in their efforts for achievement of their goals and its formal support to the seven-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam. It firmly supports the eight-point programme for the peaceful unification of Korea put forward by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Korea on April 12, 1971 and the stand for the abolition of the U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. It firmly opposes the revival and outward expansion of Japanese militarism and firmly supports the Japanese people's desire to build an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral Japan. It firmly maintains that India and Pakistan should, in accordance with the United Nations Resolutions on the India-Pakistan question, immediately withdraw all their forces to their respective territories and to their own sides of the cease-fire line in Jammu & Kashmir and firmly supports the Pakistan Government and people in their struggle to preserve their independence and sovereignty and the people of Jammu & Kashmir in their struggle for the right of self-determination.

It was stated in the communique that there are essential differences between China and the United States in their social systems and foreign policies. However, the two sides agreed that countries, regardless of their social systems, should conduct their relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-aggression against other states, non-interference in the international affairs of other states, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. International disputes should be settled on this basis, without resorting to the use of force or threat of force. The United States and the People's Republic of China are prepared to apply these principles to their mutual relations. With these principles of international relations in mind, the two sides stated that progress towards the normalisation of relations between China and the United States is in the interests of all countries. Both wish to reduce the danger of international military conflict. Neither should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each is opposed to the efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony. Neither is prepared to negotiate on behalf of any third party or to enter into agreements or understandings with the other directed at other states. Both sides are of the view that it would be against the interests of the peoples of the world for any major country to collude with another against other countries or for major countries to divide up the world into spheres of influence. Both sides reviewed



the long-standing serious disputes between China and the United States. The Chinese side reaffirmed its position thus: The Taiwan question is the crucial question obstructing the normalisation of relations between China and the United States. The Government of the Peoples' Republic of China is the sole legal Government of China. Taiwan is a province of China which has long been returned to the motherland. The liberation of Taiwan is China's internal affair in which no other country has the right to interfere and all U.S. forces and military installations must be withdrawn from Taiwan. The Chinese Government firmly opposes any activities which aim at the creation of "One China, one Taiwan", "China, two Governments", "Two Chinas" and "Independent Taiwan" or advocate that "The status of Taiwan remains to be determined". The U.S. side declared: The United States acknowledges that there is but one China and Taiwan is a part of China. The United States Government re-affirms its interest in a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves. With this prospect in mind, it affirms the ultimate objective of the withdrawal of all U.S. forces and military installations from Taiwan. In the meantime, it will progressively reduce its forces and military installations in Taiwan as tension in the area diminished.

The two sides agreed that it is desirable to broaden the understanding between the two peoples. To this end, they discussed specific areas in such fields as science, technology, culture, sports and journalism in which people to people contacts and exchanges would be mutually beneficial. Each side undertakes to facilitate the further development of such contacts and exchanges. Both sides view bilateral trade as another area from which mutual benefits can be derived and agree that economic relations based on equality and mutual benefit are in the interests of the peoples of the two countries. They agreed to facilitate the progressive development of trade between the two countries. The two countries agree that they will stay in contact through various channels, including the sending of a senior U.S. representative to Peking from time to time for concrete consultations to further the normalisation of relations between the two countries and continue to exchange views on issues of common interest. The two sides expressed the hope that the gains achieved during the Nixon visit to Communist China in February 1972 would open up new prospects for the relations between the two countries. They believed that the normalisation of relations between the two countries is not only in the interest of the Chinese and American peoples but also contributes to the relaxation of tension in Asia and the world.

It is true that Nixon's visit did not establish diplomatic relations between the two countries but the fact remains that Dr. Kissinger has already visited Peking for prolonged discussions. The communique mentioned above has alienated Formosa towards the United States as she feels that she has been sacrificed to Communist China by the American Government. The Government of Japan is also sore on the ground that she was not consulted by the American Government in this connection. However, President Nixon seems to be determined to lessen tension both with regard to Communist China and the Soviet Union and hence his visits to both the countries.



### Southern Rhodesia

In November 1965, the White minority in South Rhodesia unilaterally declared its independence from the United Kingdom. Both the General Assembly and the Security Council condemned the Government of South Rhodesia for her action. In December 1966, the Security Council applied selective mandatory economic sanctions against Rhodesia. In May 1968, the Security Council imposed comprehensive mandatory sanctions and also set up a Sanctions Committee to see to its enforcement. In 1969, it was reported that in spite of sanctions, there was going on a lot of trade between Southern Rhodesia on the one hand and Portugal and South Africa on the other. An attempt was made in June 1969 to censure Portugal and South Africa but the same failed. When Southern Rhodesia declared herself as a Republic, a resolution was passed again by the Security Council condemning her and also called upon the member-states to cut off all diplomatic, consular, trade and military and other relations with that Republic.

**China and India.** During the Korean War, Communist China sent her forces to fight on behalf of North Korea. The American Government, under pressure from the United Kingdom and India, did not allow General MacArthur to pursue the Chinese Armies beyond the frontiers of North Korea. The result was that Communist China did not get a beating. Soon after the Korean war, the Chinese began to talk of liberating Tibet. As a matter of fact, the Chinese troops entered Tibet in October 1950. In 1951, India accepted the control and authority of Communist China over Tibet. In 1954, a treaty of friendship was signed between India and Communist China. This treaty embodied the five principles of the mutual recognition of each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, non-aggression, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. India gave up all her territorial rights in Tibet. The Indian military posts at Yatung and Gyantse were withdrawn. India made a gift to China of the post and telegraph communication system set up by the British Government in Tibet. In spite of this treaty, Communist China began to encroach upon Indian territory and ultimately declared war on her in October 1962. After defeating the Indian armies, Communist China declared a unilateral cease-fire. However, Communist China continues to occupy thousands of square miles of Indian territory.

**Indonesia.** In 1949, Indonesia became independent under Soekarno. India played an important part in securing her independence against Holland. In 1955 was held the Bandung Conference which was attended by representatives from Asia and Africa. This raised the prestige of Indonesia. By and by, Indonesia came under the influence of Communist China. In September 1965, an attempt was made by the Communists to capture power in Indonesia. In that coup, many generals of Indonesia were killed but the coup failed. All those who had a hand in the coup were tried and punished. President Soekarno was removed from his office. General Suharto came to power. By and by, things are coming to normal in that region.



**Malaysia.** As Indonesia got her independence after the Second World War, Malaysia also became independent after some struggle. When the Governments of Great Britain and Malaysia decided to set up the federation of Malaysia by 31 August 1963, opposition came from the Philippines and Indonesia. However, in spite of opposition, Malaysia did come into being on 16 September 1963. Indonesia under President Soekarno followed a policy of confrontation towards Malaysia and this state of affairs continued till 1966 when President Soekarno was himself deprived of all his powers. The policy of confrontation was ended by General Suharto. Singapore left Malaysia in 1965 and became independent.

**Rhodesia.** Under the leadership of Mr. Ian Smith, Rhodesia made a unilateral declaration of independence on 11 November 1965. The declaration was declared illegal by Sir Humphry Gibbs under orders from Queen Elizabeth. A lot of pressure was put on Rhodesia and even sanctions were proposed but Rhodesia under Smith continues to be independent and defy the British Government.

**Vietnam.** After the Second World War, France had to wage a bloody war in French Indo-China to defend her empire in that region. The Viet Minh Communists were led by Dr. Ho Chi Minh and helped by Communist China and the Soviet Union. In spite of American help, the French position became critical in the beginning of 1954. After protracted negotiations, an agreement was arrived at the Geneva Conference and hostilities were ended. The French colonial empire in that region was liquidated. Cambodia and Laos were declared as independent states. The State of Vietnam was divided into North Vietnam and South Vietnam. South Vietnam was made independent and a Communist Government was recognised in North Vietnam under Dr. Ho Chi Minh. Provision was made for the holding of elections in 1956 to decide the future of Vietnam. In spite of the settlement of 1954, there has been no peace in Vietnam. The American Government has done everything in its power to help South Vietnam against North Vietnam supported by Communist China and the Soviet Union. There has been a wholesale bombing of the targets in North Vietnam but there has been no end of war. President Johnson declared on 31 March 1968 that the United States would stop all air and sea attacks on North Vietnam with a view to bring peace in that region. North Vietnam responded to this move of President Johnson and suggested that talks between the two countries with regard to the future of Vietnam should be held in Paris. It was in this atmosphere that the talks between the two countries started in Paris in May 1968. Three years have passed (1971) and nothing has come out of the Paris talks and it is practically certain that nothing would come out of those talks. The death of Dr. Ho Chi Minh has made no difference and fighting goes on in Vietnam.

In 1970, the United States interfered in Cambodia to help the Government of General Lon Nol who had come to power after the overthrow of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, formerly the Head of the kingdom of Cambodia. It was claimed by the American Government that the object of its intervention in Cambodia was served in as much as the Government of General Lon Nol was able to stand on its legs.



In February, 1971, the Government of South Vietnam announced that some parts of its armed forces had crossed into the enemy-occupied territory of Laos to attack North Vietnamese forces and military supplies which had been assembled in sanctuaries close to the border of South Vietnam. Those sanctuaries lay between 16 and 17 Parallels and comprised concentrations which were an important part of the Ho Chi Minh Trail system. It was declared that no American ground combat forces or advisers will cross into Laos. The operation would be a limited one, both as to time and area. The American claim was that the object of the invasion was served.

In spite of American participation in the war in South Viet-Nam, the same had not ended. As a matter of fact, it appeared that the forces of North Viet-Nam were making headway against South Viet-Nam in the beginning of 1972. As the United States was not prepared for such an eventuality, American bombing on North Viet-Nam was intensified. Not only military objectives were bombed but even bridges, rail-track, electric installations, factories etc. were bombed and wrecked. The American Government spread mines in the harbours and rivers of North Viet-Nam. Efforts have been made to bring about peace in this region. President Podgorny went to Hanoi to advise the Government of North Viet-Nam to come to terms with the American Government. Dr. Kissinger had also visited Peking for a similar purpose. The outcome of the talks has still to be seen (July 1972).

**Israel.** The Jewish state of Israel was proclaimed at Tel Aviv on 15 May 1948 and was recognised simultaneously by the United States and the Soviet Union. However, this was not liked by the Arab states and no wonder they joined hands in attacking the new-born state. In spite of their superiority in numbers, the Jews were able to beat them back. After many efforts, some kind of a truce was established on all the fronts by July 1949.

When the U.A.R. nationalised the Suez Canal in 1956, Great Britain and France joined hands with Israel to attack Egypt. There was bitter fighting and ultimately the war was brought to a close on account of the threat of intervention held out by the Soviet Union.

The relations between Israel and the Arab States were most unsatisfactory. There was bitterness on both sides. In January 1965, certain water installations were dynamited on the Israel side of the Jordan border. Many raids were organised by Al Fateh against Israel. That state of affairs continued for about 2 years. A joint defence pact was signed between the UAR and Syria by which it was provided that an attack on one would be considered as an attack on the other. In November 1966, Israel presented a complaint of "acts of aggression" by Syria to the Security Council. In the same month, Israel launched her biggest offensive against Jordan. A meeting of the Security Council was summoned on the complaint of Jordan and the state of Israel was condemned for her attack. In April 1967, Israel attacked Syria and did a lot of damage. In May 1967, heavy Egyptian troop movements were



reported out of Cairo. President Nasser requested the Secretary General of the United Nations to withdraw the United Nations Emergency Force which was a sort of barrier between the UAR and Israel. The Secretary General withdrew the Emergency Force. After that, President Nasser closed the Gulf of Aqaba to all Israeli ships. It was claimed that the waters of the Tirana Strait belonged to the UAR. War seemed to be imminent. It was under these circumstances that Israel attacked the UAR on 4 June 1967 and also destroyed the large number of her aircraft. Although many Muslim States declared war against Israel, the main strain of war was on the UAR, Syria and Jordan. The war lasted for about a week and the Arabs were completely defeated. Cease-fire was declared in compliance with a resolution of the Security Council. Although many years have passed, there has been no peace. Both parties seem to be determined to fight it out. The Arab States are getting a lot of help from the Soviet Union in terms of an arms pact signed in June 1967 between the UAR and the Soviet Union. Sometimes there is a cold war and sometimes a hot war. Off and on, both sides attack each other. There is always the possibility of a conflagration. It is an open secret that the United States is helping Israel and the Soviet Union is helping the UAR but both of these powers are interested in avoiding a war in which they may be dragged in. The death of President Nasser has not changed matters and his policies are being carried on by Sadat, his successor in office.

In 1971, the Government of India had to intervene in East Pakistan. There was a wholesale massacre of the people of East Bengal by the Pakistani authorities. The result was that lakhs of people migrated into India and the Government of India was faced with a very serious problem. All kinds of efforts were made to persuade Pakistan to restore normal conditions in which the refugees could go back to their homes, but to no purpose. The refugee problem was so enormous that it was not possible for the Government of India to continue for long in that state of affairs. Moreover, the brutalities committed by Pakistani soldiers in East Bengal demanded intervention from outside sources. That led to a War between India and Pakistan in December 1971 in which Pakistan was defeated and a free independent Bangla Desh came into existence. The new Government called back all the refugees.

Nobody will deny the existence of the conflicting interests of the Great Powers of the World. Communist China and the Soviet Union are the deadly enemies of each other. The interests of the United States and the Soviet Union also conflict. If the Soviet Union backed India in the Indo-Pakistan war in December 1971, the United States backed Pakistan and also accused the Soviet Union of having aggravated the crisis. The Soviet Union recognised Bangla Desh at once but the United States recognised her grudgingly after a long time. Their interests conflict both in South-East Asia and also in Western Asia. The Soviet Union supports North Viet-Nam and the United States backs South Viet-Nam. The Soviet Union supports U.A.R. and the Arab countries while the United States backs Israel. If in spite of their clash of interests, they do not



fight it is due to the fact that a war will be suicidal for both. President Nixon went to Peking in February 1972 to come to an understanding with Communist China so that he could deal with the Soviet Union effectively and he found Communist China willing to come to terms. The Soviet Union was not prepared to allow friendship to grow between the United States and Communist China and consequently welcomed President Nixon in Moscow in May 1972 in spite of the severe bombing of Viet-Nam by the American bombers. The Soviet Union has not allowed herself to be isolated and has checked the combination of the United States and Communist China against her. She also entered into a treaty with India in August 1971 to further safeguard herself in the event of a collaboration between the United States and Communist China against her in the future. It appears that the visit of President Nixon to Peking and Moscow will help to lessen tension in the world. The possibility of local conflicts cannot be ruled out but the prospects of a World War are less on account of the realisation by the Great Powers that in the event of a World War there will be no victors or the vanquished and humanity itself may be destroyed in such a con.



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